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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
JULY 1976

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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Acknowledgement: We neglected to mention in our May issue that a portion of "The Diplomacy of Interdependence" by Harlan Cleveland, was first published in the Sunday New York Times on February 29, 1976.

IMPORTANT NOTE: Some of our readers appear to have the impression that articles submitted to the JOURNAL for the David K. E. Bruce Awards must relate to the Bicentennial. This is NOT the case. The Bruce Awards (\$500 first prize, \$300 second prize and two \$100 third prizes) are aimed at stimulating the submission of high-quality articles by members of the Foreign Service and AFSA: they are not limited as to subject matter.

COVER: Woodcut by Marie Skora

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

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AFSA LIVES!

By the time you read this, the current Governing Board will have been in office for a year. For most of us it seems longer. We have been waging a two-front war, without a full-time counselor, and without a clear vision of the general will of the Membership. We knew that you voted for change from the previous Board—but change of what kind?

The annual meeting of the Washington Membership, held June 1 and reported elsewhere in these pages, cast little light on what the Membership had had in mind a year ago, but did give us a badly needed glimpse of your current concerns. About 200 Members were present, both active and retired—so far as we know, a fair cross-section of the more actively interested ones in Washington.

Members attending the meeting showed little interest in the AFSA President's attack on Wayne Hays and Secretary Kissinger, favoring instead a speech dismissing that statement, enumerating past difficulties carrying on the Association's work and pledging that the Governing Board would steadfastly continue to try to serve the interests of the membership.

The Members present appeared uninterested in hearing more about the AFSA leadership problem; instead they listened to and applauded the numerous substantive reports of the officers, activities, and committees. And, finally, they passed a resolution calling on the Governing Board to give higher priority to the Association's employee representation function in the coming fiscal year.


The Governing Board is listening and wants to be responsive to the will of the Membership. While we cannot ignore our well-known internal problems, we do not intend to be obsessed with them, and we will continue our efforts to represent Foreign Service employees to the extent allowed by law and Executive Order through our respective Standing Committees and other specialized committees such as Grievance, Members' Interests, and Extraordinary Dangers. We will seek to build on our efforts of the last year to increase participation—through maintaining our in-agency keyperson networks in Washington, continuing close cooperation with the special interest groups like COA, JFSOC, 2000+ and WAO, distributing the Chapter and Keyperson Manual to further overseas posts, and consulting the Membership on issues such as the new State FSO promotion proposals. In the coming fiscal year, we plan to attach higher priority to our conditions of employment function, not only in response to the request at the annual meeting, but also because we believe that we must be able to continue to demonstrate our effectiveness as employee representative to succeed in upholding the professional standards in

which we all believe.

To do this we need your help. As Second Vice President Patterson and outgoing Treasurer Jenkins pointed out, we achieved our balanced budget in FY 1976 only at the cost of going for a year without a full-time Counselor. Despite the efforts of many unpaid volunteers whose long hours of dedicated work we warmly acknowledge, it must be said that our effectiveness in legislative and employee relations issues was limited without a person for this position. We cannot long continue to cut costs this way. So long as our Membership does not increase and our dues structure remains tied to rank rather than income and inflation continues (33% since we last raised dues) we will unavoidably and reluctantly have to make cuts in quality. Of course, we need to increase Membership well beyond the present one-third of eligible Foreign Service people, and that requires efforts by our chapters, keypersons and individual members. But we cannot thereby ignore the long-postponed need to increase dues, or at least index them to income so that they will rise in the future with our expenses and our Members' ability to pay. Before taking this step we realize that the Membership as a whole must give advance approval and individual Members must be prepared to pay it.

Regardless of whether we hire a full-time Counselor, we must have additional volunteers here in Washington to help in areas where we have been thin on the ground—such as congressional relations and grievance counseling. The Board and its Committees will be conducting such a search, and will be calling on the Washington keyman networks for help.

Finally, we must not allow our fine group of AFSA representatives at home and abroad to be disrupted by the annual summer transfer season and the frequent changes it will bring in keymen and Chapter Representatives. We urge our activists to arrange for an orderly succession and to continue to contribute in their new locations, and we invite all AFSA Members transferring between Washington and the field to visit AFSA headquarters (2101 E Street or Room 3644, N.S.), look up a Board or Committee Member, or even attend one of the Tuesday noon Board meetings (which, it is generally agreed, are never dull) as a part of your transition checklist.

While many have been working hard here in Washington for you, in the end this is your organization, for you to inform yourself about, support and participate in. We hope that by observation, word and deed you will be able to spread your activism to others who might join us in our work for the common good of our profession. 

POEMS

Since the dawn of civilization man has been intrigued by the mysteries of the universe; compelled to gaze at it, venerate it, study it and now, in the age of technology, go to it—his magnificent obsession—the back of beyond.

$$E = mc^2$$

Pioneer-10 moves out toward the future, seeking a clue to the past, while on the threshold of a new consciousness we leave our past here, images in a time capsule, hoping the future will find us. In the beginning the probe, followed by man the hunter, passing through dark, lonely systems to find the elusive source. Beyond alpha Centauri time and space and energy are equations of relativity, but we *are* going there, so when and where will we finally be? In Andromeda, three million light years away and considerably bolder, yet relatively speaking, only a few years older? Or perhaps in another dimension, if we "make it" out there, racing the speed of light to the other side of the curve.

Pioneer-11 moves out toward the future, and— who is to say it's absurd.

—Susan Scharfman

OREGON COAST

sunset
and moon-rise,
a tremulous pastel see-saw.
planet children
riding skies
pacific seas
and tangerine sands
silver too
from the moon.
the flat horizon
straining to support
dense orbs prying
the far edges of our disc.
standing at the cracking center
we held tinsel forces close
and kept the sand
from swallowing the stars.

—Ken Torp

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON — M. Juanita Guess and Robert S. Clements, senior members of Clements & Co., and specialists in insurance for the American Foreign Service, have just returned from an extensive trip though west, central and east Africa, where they concentrated their efforts in Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Zaire, Nigeria, Kenya and Egypt. They also traveled and worked in Romania, Russia, Denmark and France.

As world-wide insurance brokers, they studied local insuring conditions and costs specifically related to property and automobile insurance. The results of this fact-finding trip were most gratifying.

In their visits to the Embassies, Miss Guess and Mr. Clements consulted with present clients as well as other Embassy personnel. They were able to furnish information and to assist on troublesome claims.

Miss Guess reconfirmed that Clements & Co.'s unique automobile physical damage policy is not in conflict with local liability requirements in these countries. (This dollar policy is described in their Foreign Property Policy Analysis as Policy "D." The coverage offered by this policy, combined with local liability insurance, provides complete auto protection.)

Mr. Clements made direct contact with local claims adjusting facilities and extended the services for the overseas clients of Clements & Co.

Information on current insuring conditions is available through their Washington offices. Since these information-gathering trips are made on a regular basis, inquiries should not be confined to the most recent countries visited.

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, July, 1976

The Other German Willy Brandt's Life & Times



by David Binder



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"There is only one thing wrong with it: no German journalist has written this book."
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Here is a major political biography, based on massive research and inside information, much of it drawn from Binder's personal relationships with chief figures—including Brandt—while the author was the New York Times' bureau chief in Bonn.

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THE OTHER GERMAN
Willy Brandt's Life & Times
by David Binder

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A MORNING IN LISBON

The seagulls hovered
Under the scarlet Salazar Bridge
Spanning the whispering Tagus;
Some taking the morning sun
While breasting their blue bedspread.
A family of tugboats chugged
Along the Maritime Station,
Nestling against each other
For their daily baths
From crewmen's hoses
And glistening buckets
Pulled hand over hand from the river.
The ear matched the eye's delight;
A cacophony of dockside sounds:
Creeping work cranes,
Belling cautionary greetings;
Fork trucks putting their backs
Into massive loads of freight;
An occasional mournful boat whistle;
The muted swish of a wave
Against hulls or docks,
The tapping of a seaman's chipping hammer,
Flaking off the old,
Making way for the new.
On the far shore, Christ the King,
One hundred feet high,
Looked right at me.
Spreading His arms benevolently,
He seemed to communicate,
"Peace, brothers and sisters."
"Love one another."
A black freighter,
Delighted to be free,
Kicked up a slip of spray
At her heels,
As she headed for the open sea.

—Don Weaver

AFTER THE TYPHOON, MANILA

We picked our way to mass through
a Sunday morning rinsing itself
from the night before's typhoon
that left a jumbled sky of broken
clouds forcing the sun to seek out
siry spores. The sidewalk overran
with ground sweat, slippery in the
sleek and steaming air.

That's when

I nearly squashed them, my foot
arrested by her scream and they awash
in the soaked aftermath, born to
blindness, abandoned by weary keepers
who couldn't stomach ailing litters.

My daughter took the kittens up
while I, shrinking from their
dirty wet, applauded. And brought
them back, nursing on a dropper:
an unrehearsed kindness, reaching
through calamity.

And died,

one by one,
within the week,
in mercy's hold.

—William A. Sommers



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MADMAN AT THE ROXAS STATION, THE PHILIPPINES

Alone, shunned, he stood in shreds,
wrapped in the agony of himself
which served as rostrum to the homily
wherein he spoke of his long journey
into discontent, tossing at the
cowered travelers his long black hair
writhing like strands from Medusa's wig.
In crashing imprecations he told
of lands beyond these ill-laid tracks
where men fought and children died
and women raised them up to start again,
of gold and selling and the fierce denizens
who traded everything for everyone, of minds
that bled their thoughts in dark red
splotches on the ground.

His eyes burned

in pity for wretches he had never seen;
he begged us reconsider the journey
just begun. In these mad and frenzied
revelations his forehead became an undulation
of creased fleshy berms as he struggled
to control the rivered meaning spilling
from his betel covered teeth.

Then full stop

and with his eyes skewer us and laugh
in high pitched hatred as if we had become
mud-sweated caribous whose presence was

insulting. A cheated look gained his
sallow, wrinkled face and he began to pace
the station waiting room, head turned
right to left, seeking where the magi sat
that cozened him. And in the instant knowing
turned to preach upon his madness,
likened to the holy ghost that danced
and darted all around our heads
giving tongue to thoughts we struggled
to enslave.

Riled now to swing the greater
edge of his indictment, the clattering train
caught him at the backhand: express to
Ilo-Ilo and the gulf, screeching ancient brakes
to carry us through sugar and through rice.
Armed with tickets to escape, we crowded on
by push and shove, the hard board seats,
the aisles paved with eating rubbish
mortared in with chicken dung, coke bottles
shuttling at our feet and screams of
where to sit and what to eat playing coda
to encounter's end.

His brow now smoothed,
Medusa tamed, he leaned against the crumbling
station wall and, encompassed in
the benediction of his madness,
let us pass.

—William A. Sommers

Security follows up. Even to China.

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

Readers might also be interested to know that, in April, 1975, our past President, Mr. Gore, followed up with a visit to the People's Republic of China. With other members of the Mayor's Committee for International Visitors, he was briefed, in the absence of Mr. Bush, by his Deputy, Mr. Holdridge. And in addition, the General Services Officer,



Mr. Morin displayed the two remaining liftvans to Security's representative. (One of the vans already had been used outbound by the Administrative Officer, Mr. Blackburn.)

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"Whom a statesman trusts at all he should trust largely, not to say unboundedly; and he should avow his trust to the world."
— Henry Taylor (1836)

Kissinger and the Press - A Mutual Malaise

NICHOLAS DANILOFF

"The main point," Henry Kissinger said in an extraordinarily audacious interview, "stems from the fact that I've always acted alone. Americans admire the cowboy leading the caravan alone astride his horse. Without even a pistol, maybe, he doesn't go in for shooting. He acts, that's all: aiming at the right spot at the right time. A Wild West tale if you like."

It was a romantic, even naive, self-portrait which Kissinger painted for Oriana Fallaci in 1972 when he was still in the ascendant as President Nixon's advisor for national security affairs. What he did not contemplate, however, was how a loner can be felled when he creeps out from behind his cover, and rides into town. As Secretary of State, he has been clearly at the head of the caravan, and in assuming the post he was rash enough to refuse the shield which those experienced in the ways of Washington proffered him.

This article attempts to describe the sort of shield—the pattern of relationships—which secretaries of

Nicholas Daniloff has been covering foreign affairs on Capitol Hill for UPI since September of 1974. Between June and September of that year he was reporting from the White House on the Nixon resignation crisis. Just prior to that he was a Nieman fellow at Harvard and had previously been assigned to report on the State Department, 1967-73, during which period he accompanied the Secretary on several trips abroad.



Illustration by PAS for novel-length fable entitled "The Great Porpoise Conspiracy."

state might consider in dealing with one of the obstacles of public life: the press.

What is the press?

At first blush, it appears to be a transmission belt which carries information about the country, theoretically informing the electorate in a timely and reasonably accurate fashion. It seems, too, to be a lever of political power because of its potential for creating general trends of thought throughout the country, for laying the ground work for that much-sought-after national consensus in foreign affairs.

And, yet, the press is not a simple lever, which when pulled, yields a definite and predictable result. It defies Newton's First Law; there is no equal and opposite reaction. When the press moves, there is an uncanny gearing up, or gearing down, which never quite corresponds to the result foreseen by the would-be manipulator. The press is really more like an antique mirror than a transmission belt, reflecting with more or less distortion the furniture in a dusky room.

A policymaker might consider this hypothesis: the press palpitates in hourly, daily and weekly rhythms. The movements of its systems and sub-systems may be hard to predict, but can be influenced if properly nudged. It makes sense, therefore, to create an apparatus which is able to operate at any hour of the day or night, on any day of the week, to jolt the press in a systematic manner.

A systematic approach was not characteristic of Kissinger's relations with the press in the beginning. Why should it have been? He was, after all, the Gray Eminence of the White House whose role was to be eminent, but to be gray, nonetheless. If there were reasons to dribble some information, say, about the super-secret SALT talks to the Washington press for the particular benefit of Congress, he would do it in a discreet and selective manner. He might also maintain some relations with the press on the basis of influence and well-established reputations, past acquaintance, or sheer intellectual relief. But from the start, Kissinger's relations were eclectic, and his style was one of loneliness. Here a word about Kissinger's philosophy of leadership is essential because it

helps to explain the current uneasiness between the press and the Department of State:

A leader must lead: he must innovate. He must never become a passive vessel into which a policy of lowest common denominator is poured from the rivalries of government agencies. Policy must take account of the competitions among government agencies and the forces existing in the world. But it must not yield to them. In an easier, academic moment, Kissinger wrote, "It can never be the task of leadership to solicit a consensus but to create the conditions which make a consensus possible. A leader, if he performs his true function, must resign himself to being alone part of the time, at least when he charts the road ahead."

Translated into practice, these ideas have meant that policy is formulated in a tight little group, by

**"The net effect
of these disasters
is to unravel
the ground rules
which have been used
since World War II
to discuss national
security affairs
with reporters."**

unusually cerebral and dedicated men. Maintaining control over the formulation of policy is essential, and this militates against extensive delegation of authority. Inevitably when authority is delegated, mistakes are made, and policy is corrupted.

When Kissinger moved to the State Department in the fall of 1973, he was soon confronted with two demands from the regular State Department correspondents. They asked to be allowed to travel with him aboard his plane (a request Secretary of State Rusk denied, but Rogers sanctioned), and that a good spokesman be appointed for the Department. Kissinger seemed to meet this initial confrontation in the hoped-for manner. Yes, the practice of flying with the Secretary of State would be continued; yes, he would name a topflight spokesman for the Department: himself.

Kissinger's administration started off shakily, then picked up speed. It is pardonable, perhaps, that in the dangerous days of the Yom Kippur War, the Secretary of State made a first serious mistake with the press while making a bold diplomatic move. Early on the morning of October 19, 1973, he flew secretly to Moscow for talks with Leonid Brezhnev on ways to end the Middle East War, after a dinner meeting with Huang Chen, chief of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China. As he emerged from the PRC dinner meeting, a reporter asked him, "Anything new on the Middle East, sir?"

"No," he replied. "Nothing at all."

Then he headed for Andrews Air Force Base for a 1 A.M. takeoff. The White House announcement came 30 minutes later.

The incident has receded into the past. And there followed much excitement, not to say exhilaration, for the gentlemen of the press. The fourth Israeli-Arab war ended, and "shuttle diplomacy" began with a vengeance. Never before has international diplomacy been conducted at such a frenetic pace; never before has the press been drawn into such an intimate relationship with the Secretary of State, or been used with such effect to trumpet optimism, or reverberate ominous forebodings of failure. Roger Morris, an aide of Kissinger's who resigned from the National Security Council in disgust, wrote in the May 1974 issues of the *COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW* that the press seemed to have suspended its critical judgment of Kissinger. He charged that the diplomatic reporters had concluded "a separate peace."

No one who has flown with the Secretary of State could wholly accept that view; and no one would deny that the Secretary has poured an extraordinary part of himself into press relations. On the aircraft the journalists are disgustingly privileged. They not only receive the word; they discuss it, dispute it, subject it to graduate scrutiny. The dialogue goes beyond journalistic needs, and becomes particularly engrossing in the off-the-record discussion on the long flights back to Andrews across the Atlantic or Pacific. Most graciously, the Sec-

retary of State will find extra time for those who have a special, or personal, problem to discuss.

It is a very personal system which probably gives the Secretary of State intellectual relief from the burdens of state and the gray officials who surround him. It is also wantonly generous, and taxing.

"I have briefed you to a fare-thee-well," Kissinger has occasionally said. And it is true. But has it been worth it in the short run, or the long?

Any journalist who is worth his salt knows the hazard of relying on a single source, just as any reader ought to know the hazard of relying on any single newspaper. It is a fundamental fact in conveying information that statements should be corroborated by second and third sources if accuracy is to be assured. A single source may be very authoritative, but in rendering his version Kissinger may unwittingly misstate a small element or omit a detail. He will most certainly take advantage of the opportunity of shaping or tilting, if he so desires.

The flying press room is, of course, subject to this limitation. The contact with Kissinger is extraordinarily stimulating, but he remains a single source. Put another way, the traveling press is his prisoner, largely deprived of files, and without sure and dependable outside communications. One can tape the master's words; read them and reread them for nuances; crosscheck with colleagues; trade approaches with the pack; interrogate unwilling lieutenants—and gain some benefit thereby. Still, an uneasy feeling creeps in.

This feeling of being caught in a web of dependency is accentuated by any intimation of half-truthing—or worse—on the part of the principal. One much remembered incident occurred during Kissinger's February 1974 shuttle to Israel and Syria. Israel refused to negotiate unless Syria produced a list of Israeli prisoners of war. It was believed Kissinger was going to Syria to obtain the list; in fact, he possessed the list before his departure and misled the press into believing it was yet to come. He later pleaded that he had been pledged to secrecy and feared public disclosure would upset the delicate negotiations which he had been

preparing.

"It may sound naive," one prominent journalist commented to a seminar last summer at American University, "but I was shocked (at this incident) and had trouble sleeping. My gripe was that he shouldn't have said anything. 'No comment' would have sufficed when we questioned him. No comment, or off-the-record. It hurts one's credibility, both ours and his, and if there is a lack of trust between press and government, this is no way to keep the public informed."

This is, of course, the start of the slippery slope. The credibility gap goes back at least to President Eisenhower's dissociation from the U-2 incident, and it is reinforced by every administration. During the Nixon years, government and press regularly mauled each other. In December 1971 the Washington Post insisted on breaking the background rules to reveal it was Kissinger who was warning that President Nixon might cancel the 1972 Moscow summit trip if the Soviet Union did not become more cooperative in the Indo-Pakistan war. More recently, and more insidiously, the press has enshrined the phrase "a senior official traveling with Secretary Kissinger" into a code word. For that bastard phrase, of course, read: KISSINGER. It is surprising that not every newspaper reader seems to have grasped the point even now. There have been other incidents, too, like the flap over confidential materials which crept into Edward Sheehan's article on Middle East policy published in a recent issue of FOREIGN POLICY magazine.

The net effect of these disasters is to unravel the ground rules which have been used since World War II to discuss national security affairs with reporters. "Off-the-record," "deep background," "The Lindley Rule," "background" are less in use today than ten years ago. There are public affairs officers in the State Department who cannot even distinguish the nuances between these ground rules through ignorance and lack of practice. Responsible officials have been trying to comply with journalistic demands for on-the-record statements with the result that information conveyed is bland, guarded. The cycle evolves, however, and already foreign affairs writers are secretly

hankering for more candid explanations even if this means a compromise with the full truth by disguising the source.

The breakdown of the ground rules, and the effort by Kissinger to monopolize the release of information has created a source problem for correspondents.

To be fair, this is an eternal problem which can never be consigned to a stable pattern of relationships. Nor would newsmen want it stabilized. But the existing pattern has unhealthy aspects both from the Secretary's point of view and from that of the press.

From the press viewpoint, information is too closely held in the State Department. The middle level officials who used to be knowledgeable sources during the Rusk administration have lost their considerable utility. The Secretary's lieutenants are difficult to reach, and often reluctant to discuss unless specifically authorized. The Secretary, himself, has not seen fit to hold regular background briefings in Washington although he has performed quite regularly at public press conferences. But press conferences are a limited mode of communication because the world is listening in, the Congress is listening, the public is listening.

Tight control of information inevitably drives correspondents to alternative sources. Such sources may include academic specialists and research institutes. A prime rule here is: go to the opposition, the loyal opposition or the disloyal opposition, if you want candor and a new approach to policy questions. As an administration becomes scarred by the controversial positions that it takes, the potential for embarrassment from the opposition increases, and compounds the problem of preserving executive power.

The Kissinger administration is ending in a malaise, but this discomfort can be eased by a new administration. Improvements will depend to no small extent on the new Secretary's character and style, but some remedies might include:

- Dean Rusk's practice of occasional, but frequent, Friday afternoon briefings on foreign affairs with the State Department regulars should be reinstated. The practice

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"A sound relationship between America and Africa is crucial to an international structure of relations that promotes peace, widening prosperity, and human dignity." — Secretary Kissinger

U.S. Policy Toward Africa



SENATOR DICK CLARK

In our Bicentennial year, we must evaluate United States Africa policy in light of the continuing struggle for freedom and independence on the African continent.

The fight against colonial rule and racial domination is not yet over. The most devastating wars in Africa's long struggles for national independence may be just beginning. This is still by far the most important international relations issue to the African states. More than anything else, our Africa policy is judged by what we do to encourage independence, majority rule and human rights in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

At the same time, all the countries of Africa share a common struggle for genuine economic independence. They seek economic development assistance that will make it possible for them to feed their own people. But more than assistance, they seek the kind of trade and investment relations with the industrialized nations that will enable them to earn and produce to

their full potential. They seek access to our markets for their goods. They seek stability in their export earnings so that their economic development will not be continually at the mercy of sudden falls in national income. And they seek the kind of foreign investment that will develop not only their vast natural resources but their vast human potential as well.

The nations of Africa also share a common commitment to independence from the outside powers. Their continuing effort to remain non-aligned is essential to preserving their newly-won freedom. If there is one message African leaders want the United States Government to understand, it is that they will not be pawns of either the Soviet Union or the United States. To regard them as such is wrong and can only lead to one mistake after another in our Africa policy. After so many years of colonial rule, the African nations will not allow outside powers to dictate their policies. They strive for good relations with all the nations of the world on an equal basis—often against far greater odds than any they face in southern Africa. In the world of Sino-Soviet competition and East-West competition there are numerous opportunities for foreign powers to exploit the continuing struggle for genuine independence: a desperately poor country's need for economic assistance,

a new nation's need to protect its boundaries, and even the need for weapons to carry on the struggle for independence—all leave nations vulnerable to outside intervention.

The United States has always expressed strong support for independence and freedom in Africa. We called on Portugal to give up her African colonies. We did not recognize the Rhodesian white settlers' unilateral declaration of independence and supported international economic sanctions against Rhodesia in the UN. We have called on South Africa to give up her illegal occupation of Namibia and have consistently declared that we "abhor" apartheid.

We express support for economic development and have provided economic development assistance to Africa. We have expressed the view that trade relations between the industrialized and the developing countries should be more equitable and work should begin in earnest on a new international economic order.

We have recently expressed strong support for African non-alignment, declaring that outside powers should not intervene in Africa's internal affairs.

Yet, all too often, United States policy-makers have decided that our real interests do not lie with supporting the struggle for independence and freedom in Africa.

Dick Clark is the senior Senator from Iowa and a member of the Senate Agriculture and Foreign Relations Committees, the Democratic Steering Committee, the Rules Committee, and the Special Committee on Aging. He chairs subcommittees on Rural Development and African Affairs. He has also been particularly active in the area of Congressional reform. Senator Clark was a delegate to the 1974 World Food Conference.

Our actions have undermined our rhetorical commitments.

During the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies, policy-makers decided our interests lay in supporting our NATO ally—right or wrong—and guaranteeing access to the Azores base. Contacts with and support for the liberation movements maintained during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations disappeared entirely early in the Nixon Administration. Policy-makers actually believed that Portugal would remain in Africa for the indefinite future. They did not realize that neither Portugal nor the NATO alliance was well-served by a colonialism that drained the resources and energies of one of the poorest European states. Those fighting for their independence against colonial domination were left with nowhere to turn but to the Communist Powers for support—and American credibility in Africa suffered.

While expressing a commitment to peaceful rather than violent change in southern Africa, the United States has frequently voted against and vetoed United Nations resolutions to increase nonviolent pressure for independence with majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia. The most recent example is our veto of the resolution supporting a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. This particular veto was surprising because the United States has maintained a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa for more than a decade. Another example—our violation of economic sanctions against Rhodesia has seriously undercut an important international effort to force a negotiated settlement there.

Many African states understandably wonder: if the United States opposes violent change in southern Africa and yet fails to work for peaceful transitions to majority rule, does it in fact perceive its real interests in preserving the status quo?

In our efforts to encourage economic development and independence in the LDCs, other parts of the world have always received far more attention than Africa. Africa is still regarded as primarily Europe's market and source of raw materials and investment opportunities. This 19th century view of Africa ignores current realities. In

the first nine months of 1975, Africa supplied 34 percent of United States imports of crude oil, 36 percent of our cobalt imports, 44 percent of our manganese imports, 40 percent of our antimony imports, 39 percent of our platinum imports, 21 percent of our coffee and 48 percent of our cocoa.

Africa is anxious to diversify its economic relations, to be independent of the former colonial powers economically as well as politically. The United States has made little real effort to encourage this independence. It has offered nothing approaching Europe's Lome convention to encourage trade and stabilize Africa's foreign exchange receipts.

The history of United States commitment to the African development fund is an important example of Africa's low economic priority to the United States:

In 1967, the United States encouraged the establishment of the fund to operate as the soft-loan window of the Africa-financed African development bank. We pledged a contribution of \$60 million if other nations would participate at a level of \$110 million.

In 1972, the United States participated in negotiations to establish the fund and reduced its proposed contribution to \$15 million.

In 1976, the United States is the only country that participated in these negotiations that has still not fulfilled its pledge. Japan has contributed \$16.7 million. Canada has contributed \$25 million.

All outside donors have contributed \$145 million and have pledged to increase their contributions over the next three years. The United States has not contributed anything.

By comparison, the United States will provide \$2.52 billion to the Inter-American Development Bank over the next four years.

Our actions in Africa have frequently been inconsistent with our verbal support of non-alignment and keeping foreign powers out of African disputes.

- We decided to intervene militarily in Angola on the opposite side of the Soviet Union, rather than attempting diplomatically to achieve non-intervention by all foreign powers.

- We did not respond to Saudi Arabia's offer to replace Soviet

economic and military assistance to Somalia, encouraging that country's desire for non-alignment. All the while, we were expressing great concern about Soviet presence there.

- We are providing substantial military assistance to Kenya, Ethiopia and Zaire, all of which have neighbors that are receiving military assistance from the Soviet Union.

Finally, although we have a stated policy of providing assistance to the world's poorest people, our economic assistance to Africa—the continent which has 16 of the 25 least developed countries—has always been relatively small. Per capita income in Africa is only 75 percent of the average of all less developed countries. Yet Africa continues to receive less assistance than any other region. This year the Administration's total economic assistance request for Africa was \$250 million of \$1.8 billion.

In recent years, crises on the African continent have forced us to realize that Africa's economic and political independence are in fact in the United States' interest.

First, the disastrous drought in the Sahel made us realize the importance of a basic economic independence for even the poorest African countries—the ability to produce enough food to adequately feed their own people. Occurring in the midst of a world food shortage, this drought brought home to us the fact that there was no longer enough surplus in the major food exporting nations to deal adequately with disasters in the developing countries.

Second, the Arab oil embargo forced us to re-evaluate the importance to the United States of Africa's economic development—and of our trade with an investment in that continent. Nigeria became the United States' number one oil supplier and is still one of the top two. Those responsible for analyzing the availability of raw materials began thinking about Africa's vast untapped natural resource potential, as well as its importance as a current supplier. Clearly, Africa was no longer perceived as being economically important only to Europe.

Third, the independence of the former Portuguese colonies, and

particularly the Angola war, made American policy-makers realize that African political independence and nonalignment are in the United States' interest. It also became clear that the United States has much to gain if it can help bring about early, negotiated transitions to majority rule in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. Otherwise, change in southern Africa will be brought about by tragic military conflicts. These will inevitably involve foreign powers and endanger world stability.

Because of these events—and because an active press had educated the American people about them—Secretary Kissinger went to Africa with a new United States policy. At present, it is still another set of policy pronouncements, words that have not been backed up by action. But the pronouncements are not vague rhetoric. They are specific commitments.

In Lusaka, Secretary Kissinger committed the United States to active economic and diplomatic support for independence, majority rule and basic human rights of all peoples in southern Africa. I introduced an amendment to the Foreign Military Assistance Act to provide the funding needed for the AID commitment to southern Africa—and it has been unanimously approved by the Foreign Relations Committee.

In Dakar, Secretary Kissinger committed the United States to participating in a major multilateral effort to develop the agricultural resources of the Sahel, to help that region overcome the effects of the drought, and to enable it to better survive similar droughts in the future.

In Nairobi, a renewed commitment was made to working for a new international economic order. A proposal for encouraging the development of the world's natural resources was perhaps the most important new United States commitment—especially for Africa.

It is important that Congress and the Executive Branch follow through on these commitments. If we work to fulfill them, we will have gone a long way toward an African policy based on mutual cooperation in the struggle for independence and freedom for all nations. But if we do not follow through, it will have a disastrous ef-

fect on United States relations with Africa. Once again, we will have made a set of rhetorical commitments that are not backed up by our actions. Only this time, the disappointment will be greater because the commitments were more forthcoming. And this time, if we do not follow through on our southern African commitments, we may well have lost our last chance to have any effect on events there.

There are some disturbing indications that short-term non-African interests may well be given priority over our fundamental interest in following through on our recent African commitments.

Reportedly, some of President Ford's conservative advisors are urging him not to support the Secretary of State's new southern African policy. They argue that to support peaceful change in southern Africa is to lose conservative votes. I believe that such advice is an insult to American voters, who have learned that the United States has much more to gain from peaceful settlements than from military confrontations. Americans have also learned that peace does not come easily. It has to be worked for in the way that Secretary Kissinger has proposed the United States work for negotiated settlements in southern Africa.

Secondly, Congress may well not follow through on the all-important repeal of the Byrd Amendment which requires United States violation of international sanctions against Rhodesia. The short-term economic interests of the specialty steel industry may seem more important in an election year than United States long-term interests in Africa—or even than our interest in having access to Rhodesian chrome after independence. To continue violating sanctions now would be a serious mistake. There is no more important symbol of the United States' lack of real commitment to majority rule and human rights in southern Africa than our continued imports of chrome from Rhodesia. There is no more important sign of hope to the Smith regime than the fact that Congress has not repealed the Byrd Amendment.

Finally, the Executive Branch may soon negate the effect of its new southern Africa policy proposals by the sale of nuclear reac-

tors to South Africa. South Africa has not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and has frequently boasted to neighboring black African states that it has the capability of producing nuclear weapons. To increase South Africa's nuclear capability—even to strengthen its economic might—would be inconsistent with our commitment to work for peaceful change in southern Africa.

The nations of Africa realize that the United States can play an important role in their struggle for freedom and independence:

- As a former colony, rather than a former colonial power, we have some advantages in our relations with Africa that our NATO allies do not have. African leaders believe that our own experience should make us understand the struggle for national independence.

- As the most powerful western nation, the United States can have unique influence over the minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa, Africans believe. These regimes will not listen to the Communist powers but seek the approval and support of the West.

- As a multiracial nation committed to human rights and racial equality, we can identify with the struggle to achieve these goals in southern Africa.

- As the world's largest agricultural producer, we can make a unique contribution to economic development on a continent where over 80 percent of the people still live in rural areas.

- As one of the superpowers, we can make a contribution to African independence by encouraging non-alignment and African solutions to African problems. We can seek to establish good relations with all African countries rather than competing for influence with the Soviet Union by taking sides in African disputes.

Despite all our past mistakes, there is still tremendous potential for good United States-African relations. The new policy that Kissinger outlined on his recent trip is an important commitment to African-American cooperation in the struggle for freedom and independence on that continent. We must now all work to make that commitment a real one.



Shining the Penny

SARA RAU

Invoking liberty is not socially acceptable unless you are a politician, a poet, or a philosopher. I am none of these. Yet, to explore what about me is quintessentially American, I am obliged to sharpen my perspective on that great, fuzzy-feelered abstraction: freedom. Freedom, I have learned at some cost, is important; important for individuals, for groups, and for countries. I approach the subject obliquely and with respect. My medium is personal parable. Listen my children . . .

Once upon a time (forty-four years ago) my fairy godmother, resplendent in spiked crown and holding her torch aloft, stood over my crib and bestowed on me a shiny copper penny; "coin of the realm," she called it.

"Little princess," she said, "out of all the babies in the world, I have given only a few such an inheritance. For many years you will forget my gift. But when you finally claim it, it will act as both curse and blessing. The curse will be that you cannot share your inheritance or even give it away. The blessing will be the talisman itself. You must keep it, rub it until it glistens, and repeat the incantation, 'Shine on.' " Then she lumbered off, muttering incoherently about huddled masses and the McCarran Immigration Act.

The years passed. As a child in

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the small college town of Columbia, Missouri, I didn't bother about my penny. It lay forgotten in my bureau drawer and acquired a dark, dull patina.

Toward the end of my college days, a scruffy girl from philosophy class asked me to join a group of students staging a sit-in at Woolworth's lunch counter as a protest against racial discrimination. The possibilities of the strategy intrigued me. I sensed what an effective tool for change was being honed. Yet, I demurred and lost the chance to become a pioneer in the civil rights movement. I had spent most of my life tracing invectives on the roof of my mouth with my tongue, while someone older and stronger and louder warned me against "them." Silence had become a bad habit.

My legal majority and marriage took place in the '50s. McCarthy, like a Tamerlane of the spirit, had swept down on Washington, leaving in his path the ruins of the State Department, which my husband had recently joined. Much later, I learned from a friend what it was like to return from lunch and find one's desk rifled, one's personal papers thumbmarked. A Foreign Service officer's opinions too often became a boomerang and many of those men lucky enough (or bland enough) to have avoided attack and dismissal retreated behind the passive voice or the hedged bet.

When we went overseas in the '60s, I was as confident and naive as any Henry James heroine. Isabel Archer would have recognized my Little Black Dress, the collection of white gloves, the engraved calling cards. But it was the Middle East, not Jamesian Europe, that provided the back-

drop for my farewell to innocence.

After two years in Greece, we were posted to Port Said. What I had imagined as an exotic den of iniquity turned out to be a bog of provincial boredom. At first, the only adventure in town was being trailed by Egyptian secret police while I took the baby walking. Our first bugged telephone also provided moments of mirth and excitement. The fun waned as I realized that police stood outside our apartment door when we gave a party, taking down names of guests and later questioning them at headquarters. Like old palimpsest, the edges of despair began to show through the overprint of Port Said's daily monotony. Victor, a wealthy Levantine Jew, made tentative overtures. It could be profitable for us if we would help him smuggle part of his fortune out of a country which had come to confuse Zionism, Semitism, and Capitalism. We refused; it would have been a travesty of diplomatic privilege. Others asked; we refused. Then Ibrahim, a doctor married to a European, said that he could no longer endure life in the new Egypt, but would need his medical books for a beginning elsewhere. We demanded the privilege of examining the boxes and their contents, then took the heavy volumes with us when we left the country. For the first time we had made a moral decision somewhere beyond the precise letter of the law. We had acted because Ibrahim could not. At that moment I suddenly remembered the penny my godmother had given me so many years before. I groped in my pocket and magically, the coin appeared. Musing over what

she had said about its being both a curse and a blessing, I gave it an experimental rub between my fingers.

In 1963 the State Department sent my husband to graduate school in Berkeley, California. That year our son, Ken, entered first grade. To my surprise (and, yes, dismay), he was the sole white child in the class, but aside from the minor irritation of having the children stroke his fine blond hair, he moved in an atmosphere of quiet cordiality. The morning after four little black girls were killed in the Birmingham church bombing, I brought Ken to school as if I were floating within the borders of a nightmare. I woke to find myself standing in the hall, clutching my son's hand, and feeling hot tears roll down my cheeks. "It's all right," some of the mothers and teachers said as they passed. Others were silent. [What kind of fairy godmother would allow this to happen?] I reached for my cursed penny and rubbed and rubbed. Rubbed and rubbed and rubbed.

Three and a half years later, on the night before we were to leave South Africa, the telephone jangled at 3:00 a.m. In the pinched, stilted accent of the Afrikaner, a policeman informed us that Molly, our maid, was in jail for spending the night in a white suburb for which she had no pass. Fifty dollars bailed her out, and she stood on the platform waving until she became a tiny dot on the track. While I began a trip which would take me 8,000 miles to the other side of the world, I realized that Molly could not walk the five miles from the center of Pretoria to the white suburbs at night. If Molly's waving hand could have flown away like a blackbird, it could have come with me and together we would have rubbed the penny. But I left South Africa without her.

Our boat trip home up the east coast of Africa was redirected when the Six Day War erupted. Later, we learned that our friend, Stavros, an Egyptian-born Greek employed for many years at the consulate in Port Said, had been jailed during the hostilities because of his professional association with the Americans. He was put into solitary confinement in a Cairo prison, questioned and tortured for

six months. Although the United States had broken off diplomatic relations with Egypt, authorities working through the Swiss embassy finally managed to free him and send him to Athens where he was employed by the American embassy. Stavros was lucky to have friends; but he would have been far luckier if he had had my penny.


We drove overland from Germany to Turkey in 1967, stopping off in Thessaloniki, where we renewed an old friendship with Yorgo, my husband's former Greek teacher. Outside the classroom he had schooled us in his love for all things Greek: the olive trees, almond blossoms in springtime, retsina and folksongs in tavernas, the poetry of Kavafy, and the liberal politics of Venezelos. Now the dark night of the Colonels had settled over Greece; in the homeland of democracy, liberal politics were not in fashion. Yorgo had been summarily dismissed as principal of a large boys' school, but continued to eke out a living for himself and his crippled sister by tutoring a few Americans. No penny, no fairy godmother for Yorgo or for Greece.

In Istanbul we played a game of whistling in the dark over the harsh atonalities of men operating outside the boundaries of rational society. Weeks before our arrival, the Israeli consul general was kidnapped and gunned down by Turkish anarchist guerrillas. After their capture, the assassins revealed that their initial target had been the American consul general. For the next two years, he and my husband lived with bodyguards and house guards, whose presence served to remind us of our new diplomatic role: political pawns in the game of international terror. Every time my husband was delayed at the office or one of the children disappeared for an hour or two, I rubbed the penny and hoped it was a true talisman. Life and luck hang by cobwebs, and pennies can be lost or stolen.

We arrived in Kabul, Afghanistan weeks after the coup in 1973, which toppled the monarchy and established a Republic, with the king's cousin as its new

president. (Afghans are a tribal people and like to keep even a coup d'état within the family). On my first solo venture out at night, a turbaned guard jammed a machine gun through the car window when I strayed into the vicinity of the former prime minister's house. Several days later another American woman was shot, though not fatally, for doing the same thing. A new ideological tilt toward Russia, combined with the old xenophobia, resulted in the persecution of many of Afghanistan's most valuable citizens. Western-educated officials were frequently removed from important posts and, in some cases, jailed. Businessmen were under constant surveillance; most of their factories and businesses were confiscated and nationalized. A few individuals who kept their money in foreign banks slipped out of the country. Our friends Noor and Fawzia were not so lucky. After university in California, they had returned to Kabul and had tied up most of the family inheritance in Afghan tourism: a travel agency, two hotels, a rent-a-car franchise. They watched helplessly as the government moved slowly but inexorably to transform their enterprises into the flotsam and jetsam of the social revolution. Noor and Fawzia had not lacked imagination and courage, only a fairy godmother and a talisman.

Now that I have returned to the United States, I think frequently of these things. They are my touchstones, much like the black rocks which alchemists once used to strike their gold against to determine its value by the mark it left. Memories of particular people and places evoke the fear that comes on a moonless night: the wild-fire gossip, the hushed innuendo, the official platitude masking the private despair, the bribe that passes from hand to hand, the lost profession, the unobtainable homeland, the ridiculous, unspeakable loss of hope and dignity . . .

Against the dark surface of these touchstones, I strike the coin of my own freedom and test its purity. I rub the burnished, copper penny—my curse, my blessing, my inheritance—and say again, half-ruefully, "Shine on." 

The Workhorse of the World

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN

Fifty years ago, manufacturing in the US was concentrated on the Eastern seaboard, and companies exported to the rest of the country, which reacted with a predictable degree of sectionalism and parochialism. I can well remember my father, a small merchant, violently resentful of the factories and stores that came to Minneapolis, Minnesota, financed by Eastern capital. "Those so-and-so's on Wall Street," he would say, "come here to exploit our community. They send the profits back to New York. They make all the decisions in the board rooms on Wall Street." My first recollection of a radio is Dad hunched over an old crystal set with the earphones on his head and his finger guiding a pointer over the wire spool as he tried to hear more clearly the denunciations hurled at Wall Street by a Texas populist speaking at midnight out of Fort Worth.

The sectionalism of my father, and thousands like him, fortunately had little effect. The US Constitution prohibited state and local restrictions on the flow of goods and capital. In short order, assisted in part by the demands of World

War II, the United States became a unified economy. The resulting mass market, reaching from coast to coast, has been the single most important reason why the United States has the highest standard of living in the World. It triggered large industries, utilizing modern technology and developing modern management techniques.

Now the same process, reaching toward a unified world economy, is taking place around the world. Its instrument is the multinational corporation, which can aptly be called the workhorse of the world. The process is a slow and tortuous one, for instead of having one central bank, one currency and no tariffs, as was the case in the United States, the internationalization of production is taking place in a world with over 150 central banks, over 150 different kinds of money, and countless tariffs and other restrictions to trade and free flow of investment. Nonetheless, the world has moved in recent years toward a unified economy with breakneck speed.

Today, the estimated level of production of multinational corporations exceeds \$750 billion per year, greater than the gross national product of any country other than the United States. Multinational corporation production is in-

creasing by close to ten percent a year, compared to an average of four percent for noninternational companies. The level of multinational direct investment is estimated at close to \$300 billion, nearly one-half of which is from the United States. Multinational companies, not only US, but also European and, increasingly, Japanese, are reaching all over the world, seeking the most efficient combinations of technology, people and resources to produce and distribute at lowest possible cost to the consumer and with the highest possible profit to the shareholders. More and more companies are developing a global social conscience as their shares spread around the world and top management begins to reflect the nationalities of the countries where they do business.

Internationalization of production of this magnitude has come about because it is effective. It works. It involves a major extension of the economies of scale and management, making possible the use of science and technology, mobilizing high levels of capital and advanced organization skills. It may well be that internationalized production has already reached a point where, rather than simply overlapping national economies, it

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Victory in Saigon

GIAI PHONG! *The Fall and Liberation of Saigon*, by Tiziano Terzani. St. Martin's Press, \$10.

Expelled by the Thieu government because of his pro-Viet Cong reporting, the author returned to Saigon just before the debacle and, being an Italian, was able to report not only about the last days of political maneuvering and the American evacuation, but also about the "liberation" of the city and how the North Vietnamese comported themselves during the weeks immediately following.

He does not pretend to objectivity: To him, as to so many other critics of the war, the Americans were a colonial occupying power, and the Viet Cong represented "the people." Terzani is a bit discomfited that Saigon was taken not by the Viet Cong but by North Vietnamese regulars, but he reports that the people (except for some unreconstructed "obstinate" were delirious with joy.

Much is made of the apparent absence of the bloodbath that had been predicted by both Thieu and Nixon; but, curiously while there is much reporting about how the Americans left their friends in the lurch, the book contains no mention of the fact that the United States took some 50 to 60,000 endangered Vietnamese out of the country and admitted about 133,000 refugees—many of whom, of course, might well have been treated very harshly by the victors. Also, there is no awareness that the departure panic that Terzani describes was minimized by the success of the American Embassy in keeping the preparations from the press.

Among many other interesting items of information, the book contains proof that the Viet Cong assassinated Nguyen Van Bong, in the opinion of this reviewer one of the few completely independent and uncorruptible democratic leaders of South Vietnam. Bong, as a member of the VC assassination squad is correctly quoted, might have eventually come to replace Tran Thien Khiem as prime minister.

At the time of that assassination, the Viet Cong themselves, of course, tried to throw the blame on others. For that reason the leader of the assassination squad, who had confessed to the crime under torture, came in for heavy criticism; for it was essential, as Terzani quotes his VC source, "that people go on believing that Bong's elimination had been the work of the military, not ours."*

Such direct glimpses into communist terror tactics, when they come not from anti-communists who might be suspected of having an axe to grind, are especially illuminating. Some of Terzani's VC sources also had no hesitation, after the victory, in claiming credit for having effectively disguised themselves as members of a "Third Force" while they manipulated the Buddhists of the An Quang pagoda.

While it is essentially a paean of praise for the victors, "Giai Phong!" nevertheless contains interesting reference material on the period immediately after the takeover. It is a pity that the author is so uncritical. Few readers will believe, for instance, that when it came to burning foreign books, the communists made a distinction between those books of John Steinbeck which he produced before 1965 (when he wrote mildly positively about American intervention) and those written later, with only the latter consigned to the flames.

—M. F. H.

**The widow of Bong, who found refuge in the US and was sorely beset by the lingering uncertainty about her husband's sudden end, is now the wife of an American Foreign Service officer.*

Toward Interdependence

THE UNHINGED ALLIANCE, by J. Robert Schaetzel. Harper & Row, \$8.95.

Under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations, former Ambassador J. Robert Schaetzel has written a policy study of the relations between the United States and the European Community. This study is not a rehash of the history of the European Community; nor is it a self-congratulatory memoir of Schaetzel's own experience as United States Ambassador to the Community from 1966 to

1972. Rather, the "target" (the word is well chosen) is American policy and its serious and manifold shortcomings.

Ambassador Schaetzel's perspective is shaped by two considerations flowing from his own personal experience and point of view. First, he was and has remained close to the scene of the action. He knows the subject matter intimately. Second, his expectations—and demands on the American policymaker—are high. He places great weight on the importance of Western Europe to American interests. The contrast with what he describes as the Nixon-Kissinger method and approach—secrecy, bilateralism, superficiality (remember the Year of Europe?)—is almost total.

Fully half of this book is devoted to a discussion of detailed policy recommendations. Schaetzel's proposals in the fields of industrial policy, money, trade and political institutions warrant the attention of the Secretary and his staff and of the Community's Commission and staff as well. The proposals for greater European cooperation in defense could be self-defeating if they resulted in weakening the US-European defense relationship.

Ambassador Schaetzel apparently believes there is a conflict between policy toward Western Europe and a policy of détente with the Soviet Union. He cites the Non-Proliferation Treaty as an example since Western Europe, as the result of American prodding, must by the terms of the Treaty give up the nuclear weapons option. Schaetzel may be correct in this one example. However, in general the opposite is true: a strong Atlantic Community makes détente possible, and détente reflects a state of balance in our relations with the Soviet Union which is in the interest of Western Europe as well as of the United States.

We sometimes take our successes for granted. One of them in the Western world is the European Community. It helped end Franco-German enmity. It is a transnational institution which has assumed some of the powers of its members. This is what interdependence is all about. That is Ambassador Schaetzel's message.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

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So Much for Logic

THE LOGIC OF WORLD POWER: *An Inquiry into the Origins, Currents, and Contradictions of World Politics*, by Franz Schurmann. Pantheon Books, \$15.00 hardcover, \$6.95 paper.

Franz Schurmann, well-known for writing on modern China, has mistitled this book, for it is neither logical nor about world power. Instead it is about emotion—the author's—and supposed imperialism—America's. Let the author speak: "The making of this book began on February 7, 1965, when American planes began the continuous bombing of North Vietnam. The experiences that have shaped it came from the antiwar movement. The knowledge came from countless discussions with people who sought to know why America chose the path of barbarism in Indochina." The author shares the "knowledge" thus gleaned in the three great sections of a 568-page manuscript: first, the "Arcana of Empire," on American bureaucracy and imperialism; second, "Russia, China, and America" on America's tie to the Sino-Soviet relationship; and finally, "Vietnam," on the bureaucratic, imperial, and political aspects of the war.

In his epilogue the author boasts that his readers will have guessed: He did no research for this enormous book, at least not in the conventional sense. Published in 1974, written in 1972 and 1973, the book by the second page of the prologue shows its paucity of information and lack of concern for systematic scholarly inquiry. On that page the author substitutes his egregious surmises for information long available in standard sources, asserting: "It was the American monopoly of atomic weaponry that propelled the terrified Russians to embark on a crash program of their own to produce an atomic bomb, thereby creating the world's second greatest military power." Another and by no means rare example from midway through the book: "The logic and pattern of Russian behavior indicates that they have always been in favor of nuclear nonproliferation, except for the brief period of their nuclear sharing pact with China. It also indicates that they have always desired some form of great power ar-

rangements to keep the world under control." So much, one might say, for logic.

What, then, justifies attention to this book? First, there is a concentration—it is too diffuse to be a focus—on the fundamentally important Sino-Soviet-American triangle since World War II, with special attention to the problems and issues of the Vietnam War. Then there is some attempt to carry on Richard Barnet's bureaucratic analysis of American diplomacy and national security policy. Both concerns deserve approbation at least for intention. Finally, there are ideas, novel views of power, politics, and pretension. All of the foregoing features might be strengths if Schurmann had researched, reconsidered, and rewritten this manuscript.

As it is, the manuscript is startling, stimulating in places, but in important respects dated (it still uses the "Pax Americana" figure, now some years old and never appropriate); and it is, after all, not informed.

—THOMAS H. ETZOLD
For Lucidity

ON WRITING WELL, by William Zinsser. Harper and Row, \$6.95.

William Zinsser's slim volume, "On Writing Well," is an excellent counterpart to Strunk and White's classic, "The Elements of Style." Zinsser is a professional writer and journalist who now teaches at Yale and his fast-paced manual on writing nonfiction is instructive and entertaining, with many fresh ideas and useful tips. He urges the writer, for example, to develop a reverence for words, to strive for originality and the unexpected, to pay particular attention to the last sentence of every paragraph, the sentence that leads the reader on, and, above all, to use the English language "in a way that will achieve the greatest strength and the least clutter."

There are unique obstacles to writing well in the State Department and Foreign Service. We are forced to engage in institutional writing. We find ourselves violating all the rules in the book.

Lucid and uncluttered writing in the Zinsser manner may tell us many things we ought to hear and ought to be saying about foreign policy.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

KISSINGER & THE PRESS

from page 8

of allowing journalists to fly aboard the Secretary's plane should be continued, and should be accompanied by briefings by the Secretary and his lieutenants. The Secretary's participation in these briefings can be lessened; the participation of his lieutenants *should be* increased. This would alleviate the burden on the chief diplomat, and prevent him from becoming a single source.

• Next, comes the question of delegation of authority. Will the new Secretary of State have the administrative skill to delegate? If he does, he should find a chief spokesman of stature, a mature diplomat of high sensibility, or a younger man of similar sensitivity and high motivation. In either case, he must be granted frequent access to the Secretary and his chief assistants. But that in itself will not suffice. He will also have to beat back the natural efforts of the bureaucracy to prevent him from learning what is being done, and what decisions are about to be taken. The

spokesman will have to exercise, himself, the same journalistic aggressiveness as the clients he is trying to serve. The prospective spokesman should take a few lessons from Ambassador McCloskey. For starters, he should reread McCloskey's speech to the National Press Club May 10, 1973.

• If the Secretary will delegate authority in decision making within the State Department, the usefulness of middle level officials in press relations is likely to come back automatically. The vitality of the daily news briefing is likely to progress from a fragile holding operation to a forum of discussion and communication.

• The role of the President of the United States is often neglected in discussions about foreign affairs correspondence, yet he is clearly a pivotal figure in the process. He has the most ready access to the public through television, and at the start of a new administration he has the ability to discourse on complicated problems. (Within several years the down cycle will dull the patience of his audience.)

But initially he should seize this inherent power of communication, and explain the executive's actions in intelligent detail. To assist this communications operation there may be utility in appointing a Foreign Service officer to the White House to serve as a point of contact. Such a White House spokesman on foreign affairs would be subordinate to the State Department spokesman and should be in tune with the State Department News Office. He should be able to brief on substantive and technical developments at the White House on a background basis.

• Finally, never lie.

It is better, for the sake of press relations to say, "I cannot and will not comment on this because of the inherent delicacy of the situation. And my refusal to comment should not be construed as meaning one thing or another."

When it comes to officials lying or misleading, journalists, like elephants, never forget!

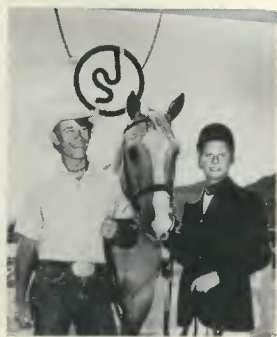


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WORKHORSE OF THE WORLD

from page 14

constitutes the solid underpinning of an emergent world economy. This single process may be the most important development of this generation.

One of the exciting things about the rapid emergence of multinational corporations on the world scene is that no one sat down and planned it. There was no blueprint; for a long time, no one paid much attention to what was happening. Instead, it was the response of the free sector of the economy worldwide to a new market—a great big market, that was emerging all over the world, the product of natural economic forces, stimulated by modern communication.

I have spent considerable time examining multinational corporations because this group of companies, headquartered all over the world doing business across national lines, composes the greatest financial, technical and managerial force in recorded history. Collectively, multinational corporations have the brains and muscle to save

the world from self-destruction. They are the masters of new technology, have the skills and innovative strength to engineer change, and the organization and management skills, together with the cash flow and borrowing power, to launch desperately needed, new, large, problem-solving international enterprise.

All of this adds up to what could be a production explosion to match the population explosion. Recently, I saw an interesting projection quantifying the possibility that the world *could* produce enough to provide an adequate living standard for its exploding population. This hypothesis took into consideration, on the demand side, a world population of six billion plus by the year 2000, and a per capita GNP of \$2,250—consisting of an above-poverty-line per capita income of \$1,200 plus appropriate additions for social infrastructure, for resource wastage, and a correction to allow for progress against pollution. The total world GNP needed by the year 2000 would be \$13.3 trillion annually.

On the production side of this hypothesis, today's world GNP of \$4 trillion rises to \$12.8 trillion simply by projecting forward plausible levels of the internationalized production growth rate (ten per cent) and of non-internationalized output growth (four per cent) that were, in fact, achieved in the '60s and early '70s. Using the same growth rates, World GNP would reach \$72.4 trillion by 2030, which would cover not only the necessities of the industrialized world, but far more important, the needs of the developing world. Such a production explosion could more than match the dimensions of the population explosion. If these projections, which, of course, are pure extrapolation, are valid, the future may well depend on how clearly and quickly nation-states comprehend that there can be no basic or enduring conflicts between national interests and the interests of the whole human community.

Internationalization of production does not take place in a vacuum. It involves painful and difficult adjustments. The resistance

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I USED TO TALK TO MYSELF—
THEN I STARTED READING THE
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I STILL TALK TO MYSELF, BUT
NOW PEOPLE STOP TO LISTEN



to new ways and new technology is as old as man himself. Wherever new means of producing more efficiently have evolved, old ways are threatened. People whose livelihood is at stake rise up to protest the wickedness of the change that is taking place. The target—the devil, as it were—of those forces that resist change is today the multinational corporation. More often than not, charges made against the multinational corporation and its country of origin—usually the United States—are wrapped in the emotionalism of national sovereignty. Let me make it clear at this point that multinational corporations are not and have not been paragons of virtue. They must compete for resources, financial and human. If they fail to offer present and potential shareholders competitive rates of return on investment, if they fail to make profits, if they fail to offer present or potential employees competitive levels of compensation, they will not survive. It is not realistic to expect more than a limited commitment of their resources to the pub-

lic interest.

This does not argue against management sensitivity to the environment within which a multinational corporation operates. Quite the contrary, a multinational corporation's concern with a local community and its needs, such as education, vocational training, medical care and the like, and its identification with the aspirations and the overall mores of a host country, is a matter of human morality, management wisdom and sound business policy. A multinational corporation ignores them at its peril. However, in the last analysis, the multinational corporation's central mission is that of a private enterprise seeking to make a profit in a competitive market place by the most efficient allocation of the firm's resources of capital, manpower, technology, management skill, and other corporate capacities.

Nonetheless, as a profit-making institution, the multinational corporation can play a key role in economic development. The distinctive aspect of that role is not so

much the transfer of resources, but rather the impact of moving those resources of capital, technology and management skills as a package of productive factors tailored to the needs of a given opportunity or project. This differs from the deployment of experts and technicians through technical assistance programs. The complementary capability of efficient utilization that comes with a complete package of productive factors geared to the competitive needs of a given opportunity or project is crucial. The backstopping service of head office staffs and laboratories with access to procurement channels and marketing outlets, and ability to mobilize and deploy around the world, are also important characteristics of the package that makes possible a unique contribution by the multinational corporation.

For the use of these resources, the multinational corporation obviously requires a return from the host country. Examination of this price brings to light the confrontation between the multinational corporation and nation-state that is

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taking place in many parts of the world today. Historically, the price exacted by the multinational corporation has sometimes been high. Rape of the environment, piracy on the consumer, and extravagant profits have taken place. The abuses of the colonial period remain vivid in the minds and history of many countries, with the result that multinational corporations tend to have, often unjustly today, a worldwide exploitative image. Many developing countries feel bitterly that the price they have paid for outside capital and know-how was far too high. Looking to the future, these same countries ask critical questions. Will the multinational corporate package in the long run benefit the host country? Is there a danger of overspecialization? Will they become merely a branch plant of a larger operation without any real expansion of their economic base, failing to accomplish necessary diversification? Will the technology applied be capital-intensive or labor-intensive? Will the new enterprise provide a lot of new jobs, or only a

handful? What will its effect be through the country? Will it spill over, stimulating new production? Or will it only create tensions when a handful of new high-paid jobs attract people to the urban areas, exciting expectations that can't be fulfilled?

The developing countries are not the only ones questioning the internationalization of production. In the US, too, as in other countries that are home base for international firms, resentment and resistance to investment abroad is on the rise. The American labor movement has switched from its historic position in support of a free trade, open world. With growing bitterness, labor is charging that the export of technology and capital means runaway plants, lost jobs and dying communities. More and more it demands restrictions on capital and technology movements and strict regulation of multinational corporations.

Arching over all questions of cost benefit is the issue of control. Unfortunately, it does not lend itself to an objective analysis of the

real costs and benefits of foreign investment. Control is basically an emotional question. It is wrapped up in the whole concept of nationalism.

One of the many intellectual legacies left us by Arnold Toynbee is a thoughtful and perceptive article called, "Corporate Response to Nationalism." In it, he described nationalism as a cult, a new religion on the world scene, which has appeared on humanity's horizon as traditional religions have faded in their significance. Nationalism constitutes, he said, worship of a God he described as a Moloch, to whom mankind has made human sacrifices of its children. And he said, "In my country, half of the young men of my generation died in World War I; half of the young men of my son's generation died in World War II." Nationalism, Toynbee held, was preposterous. Basically, he argued, government's purpose is to bring people together collectively to solve common problems, to build roads and bridges, to move out the garbage, to provide the waterworks and the gasworks

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and the public utilities. Government was not meant to be worshipped as a God. It is simply a mechanism by which men collectively solve common problems. He summarized by saying, and I still quote him, "While our hearts are still blindly devoted to national sovereignty, our heads are telling us that in this age, national sovereignty spells mass suicide. The supreme political question of our time is whether the head is going to persuade the heart. Will allegiance to the fatal idea of national sovereignty be transferred to the idea of world government in time to save mankind from self-destruction?"

Today, progress toward international institutions on the political front, capable of moving effectively to the solution of worldwide problems, has been painfully slow. I do not denigrate the United Nations or its affiliate agencies when I say that, so far, its efforts to lead the world have been dominated by the sovereign politics of the nation-state, which have prevented it from moving out to build the interna-

tional institutions needed to solve urgent international problems. While institution-building on the international political front has been minute, on the private economic front it has been extraordinary. At this moment in history, the movement toward a unified world economy triggered by multinational corporations seems to be the best hope for the future, the best chance to bring the human community together so it can go about the business of devising global solutions for international problems that can't be resolved within the confines of national boundaries.

And where does India stand at this critical period? Which direction will she choose as we all face the fork in the path? Obviously, it is her prerogative, indeed her inescapable obligation, to make her own choice, for her own reasons, in her own way. But it seems to me that the terms of choice are clear: will India go the exclusive, nationalist route where ethnic preferences override productive considerations; where the inquiry "are you an Indian?" supersedes the

question "can you do the job"; where the ephemeral concerns of national pride override the rock-bottom needs of the Indian people? Or will she choose the embracing, rational humanism that is the foundation of her ancient traditions?

There is something to be said for both sides of this equation. But as I look at human history over the millennia, and specifically at the history of this subcontinent, I see that the times of intermingling, the times of free movement of people and of goods, were perhaps the most demanding and complex, but they were also the most rewarding in every way: culturally as well as economically.

And I see another equation that needs to be resolved: in India, in the United States, in every society of this planet. The equation of production and distribution, as delicate as it is vital. On the distribution side, objectives and measurements are qualitative, involving ethical judgments and moral values; on the production side, objectives and measurements are quantitative, requiring a different

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set of incentives and motivations for maximum effectiveness. Obviously, both sides must be heeded if a healthy society is to result. The problem lies in the ratio: what is the best balance between the two sides of the equation?

In sum, I see the time in which we live as an age of confrontation, in both the promising and the dangerous sense of that word. The confrontation is inescapable because it is triggered by human interdependence, an interdependence that deepens and widens as technology advances. Interest groups of various kinds will continue to clash with unprecedented force for the remainder of this century. Escalation to open and violent conflict remains a possibility that cannot be discarded. And an ancient question assumes new and perhaps final dimension: will we be wise enough and resourceful enough to harness the power and know-how at our disposal to meet the needs and assuage the aspirations of mankind soon enough and adequately enough to insure survival for us all?



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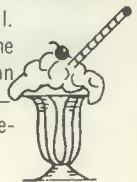
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LETTERS TO FSJ

Letter to an Author

 I read with sympathy and considerable interest your article on "Cancer and Foreign Service" in the May issue of the JOURNAL.

It reminded me of a concern I have had for a long time regarding the number of people with whom we served in India who later died of cancer. Being a layman, I had no reason to believe it was other than happenstance, but after reading the article, I wonder. Perhaps some valuable research is waiting to be done from the Medical Branch's mortality statistics and records.

My husband and I were posted at the Embassy in New Delhi, 1956-58 (I had also served there in 1955). Of the Americans we knew there then who died within the next ten years, there were eight to ten who, we were told, had succumbed to cancer. The group included the following—(all happen to be women):

- Four wives of Department of State officers
- The wife of an officer in the Military Attache branch
- An AID officer
- An employee of the Department of Agriculture.

I have no knowledge of the specific type of cancer involved in each case and whether or not there is any common denominator, but I do know that as we heard of each additional death, we would say "that is one more to add to the list." Some of the names we have since forgotten, but those we do remember make a rather impressive group.

In defense of the Medical Branch, I must say that it is far superior to what I knew it to be back in the days when it occupied one room with only one doctor as a medical consultant. However, in its growth—the expansion of its scientific facilities—and the use of specialists on a part time basis—it may have lost a very important element, as mentioned in your article—a genuine concern for, and interest in, the individual.


Of course, we recognize that the physician-patient relationship is a two-way one. Part of the problem may be that many "patients" are not forthcoming with Medical

Branch doctors because of the doctor's power to give or withhold clearance for overseas assignments which may be strongly desired by the examinee or the examinee's spouse.

We commend you on your article with its emphasis on preventive medicine; for its value in alerting Foreign Service people that a particular post's health risks will vary from individual to individual; and, we also wish to express our sympathy to you for your personal loss.

MRS. R. B. HORGAN
Columbia, Md.

Shameful Episode

 Upon reaching my summer home here a couple of days ago, I found several back issues of the JOURNAL, among them the March 1976 issue containing the feature article entitled "The Panama Canal Treaty: Past and Present United States Interests."

This is a scholarly, well-thought-out article and highly professional in every sense of the word. The author, Roger S. Leeds, is to be congratulated on it.

There is one point about it, however, that I should like to underscore. He limits his discussion about the immediate background of the 1903 Panamanian Revolution and the resulting 1903 Treaty to one brief sentence, to wit:

But in 1903, after the United States *enticed* [the italics are mine] Panama to proclaim its independence from Colombia, an agreement was finally reached and construction got under way.

The word "enticed" does not accurately describe what happened, and this one sentence does not tell the whole Machiavellian story of our part in the affair. In Watergate terms, it does not "let the whole thing hang out."


The whole truth is that (1) in 1846 the US signed and ratified a treaty with New Granada (later Colombia) guaranteeing New Granada sovereignty over the Panamanian Isthmus—then an integral part of New Granada; (2) despite this solemn written guarantee on our part when in 1903 the revolution erupted on the Isthmus, US military forces prevented Colombia from suppressing that rebellion within its own sovereign territory, thereby guaranteeing the success of the revolution; (3) promptly after the success of the revolution the

US with a quickness probably unprecedented in its history recognized the new Panamanian Government; and, finally, (4) the US signed the 1903 Treaty with a French citizen (Bunau-Varilla) authorized to represent the Panamanian Government, but without any Panamanian citizen or official previously having seen a word of the final Treaty, so far as is known.

United States historians generally agree that this, taken as a whole, is probably the most shameful episode in our entire diplomatic history—at least up to that time.

LOUIS C. NOLAN
Little Switzerland, N.C.

Letter to AFSA-Frankfurt

 I have received a copy of your April 28 letter to the Editor of the Foreign Service JOURNAL (June FSJ, p. 34, ed.), and I would like to comment briefly on some aspects of it.

The Governing Board decided on February 23 to permit Hemenway to have a monthly column in the AFSA News, which has appeared regularly since April, and in which he is free to put to the Membership any of his proposals. On May 11 the Board suspended that column, pending the outcome of the referendum thereon. (See resolution in June issue.) By now you have seen the May FSJ, in which the four referenda proposals which he originally advocated in his January 28 mailout are indeed put to the membership. The delay was due to Hemenway, who held the signatures he had received for nearly two months, then tried to submit different texts than those requested by the signatories.

No doubt it is regrettable that so many elected AFSA Board Members have resigned so early in their terms, but I question the viability of your Bylaws amendment proposal for special elections. As indicated in Article XIII, it takes more than four months to amend the Bylaws, and Article XI stipulates a six-month election period. If your proposal were immediately launched as a Bylaw Amendment, the problem you identify could not be resolved until well into the 1977 regular election cycle. Moreover, the Bylaws do not fix the total number of Board Members; based on current membership figures, we will have only twelve next time,

which would probably lead to a special election early in the term following enactment of your proposed amendment. Elections are expensive; the last one cost well over \$17,000, which we can ill afford.

I must also take issue with the "plague on both your houses" view expressed in your letter. Many elected Board Members, and some who were subsequently appointed, began with a determination to work with Hemenway, despite differences of view. So far no one has found it possible, and some Board Members have resigned while others have joined the Board majority in opposing his attempts to use his AFSA position as a platform for his own political views and the settlement of old and new scores.

I recognize, of course, that your above-the-battle posture, which has also been expressed by other Chapters and individual members of the Association, is a political fact which I must take into account. On April 2 I offered to resign if Hemenway would, without admission of wrongdoing on either part, in order to resolve the leadership crisis which is causing anguish to me as it is to you. Hemenway has not replied.


Finally, I do not agree that the "bickering" between the Board majority and Hemenway has "crippled AFSA activity in Washington." Much of the work of the Association continues in Committees—for example, the negotiations by the State Standing Committee, which I head, with management over their new three-tiered FSO selection system about which we have been telegraphing the field; and the establishment of a legislatively based Foreign Service grievance system.

Despite my disagreement with several points in your letter, please be assured that I and my Board colleagues do read what we receive from the field, and try our best to act on it and respond to it.

LARS H. HYDLE
Vice President

The JOURNAL welcomes the expression of its reader's opinions in the form of letters to the editor. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary. Send to: Letters to the Editor, Foreign Service JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.


Watch Per Diem After 21 Days

 I am writing to caution other FSOs who may be on TDY in the United States longer than 21 days, that unless specifically provided for, per diem will be halved after that period. I am told that this does not apply to GS employees. I understand that my case is not unusual.

I was a member of a Board of Examiners Panel in Los Angeles April-May 1975 and traveled on orders issued by PER/MGT/EX. After returning to Washington, I was surprised to learn that the Department's Office of Financial Services had rejected my claim for full per diem after 21 days and I was given half—i.e. \$12.50. PER/MGT/EX then issued amended orders on June 10 providing for full per diem. However, Financial Services found these orders unacceptable (apparently because done after the fact) and I was informed that my claim had been forwarded to the General Accounting Office for adjudication. Despite follow-ups, the claim is still "pending" at GAO. The onus is on me for not being aware of the 21 day rule.

ELAINE D. SMITH
Washington, D.C.

Surrealism in AFSA

 To me, there's a surreal quality about the AFSA these days as it is reflected in the Foreign Service JOURNAL. Here's an organization transformed ineluctably by some young Turks into a trade union, now diverted from its present bread and butter purposes and from its simultaneous efforts to maintain itself as the professional voice of what it perceives to be an elite corps by a comic opera fight between its president and its board of directors.

From my vantage point as a retired FSO, it's pretty weird. What is President Hemenway up to and how did he get there and for whom does he speak? The recent pages of the JOURNAL suggest to me that he speaks mainly for himself, not for the FSO, and certainly not for the FSO-retired whose interest in the service can only be that of the outsider—observer and non-participant.


I agree with Donald A. Wehmeyer at Seabrook, Texas who said in the May issue of the JOURNAL that the AFSA constitution

ought to be amended so "that the President must be an officer still on active duty." The fact of the matter is that Hemenway is no more an FSO than I am and ought to relinquish the presidency to someone who is.

JORMA L. KAUKONEN
FSO-retired

Mill Valley, Calif.

MEMO TO: A Very Special Lady

 Working on the BOOKFAIR has moments of excitement that make the whole thing (backaches, broken nails, and all) very worthwhile. In the past two weeks, we've received two sizable collections of books which have provided almost an entire BOOKFAIR's worth of excitement! The first: 70 feet of books from the home of former Congressman Peter Freylinghuysen. The second: your own library which has brought to life a name familiar through at least 25 of my 35 years as an F.S. spouse.

The last Biographic Register in which your name appeared listed you in a position of importance with the 1938 New York World's Fair. I was in high school at the time, working with the Art Students League, in the WPA Art program, and dreaming of being the first female to break the all-male ranks of the Stage Designers Union. The Register states that you joined State in 1945 and follows your promotions from P4 through GS14 (high, for a woman in 1963), but it only reflects the impact of your tenure through mention of the 1952 award. Your wide knowledge of art and the world that created it, your concern with women and civil rights, and your involvement with people who have made and are history is apparent through your collection of books.

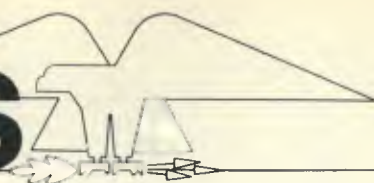
Most of us know your name—a few have had the honor of knowing you and yet you've touched all of us who have served overseas, through the Exchange Program and projects like "Porgy and Bess."

One of your friends said "Some people write about the fine arts, a few wonderful and fortunate people do something about and with the arts—Mary French, God Bless her, is one of the latter."

We salute you, Mary French, and we love you—God Bless!

RUTHANNE NADLER
Chairman, Bookfair '76

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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TERRORISM

AFSA PROTESTS MEETING WITH SUDANESE PRESIDENT

For some years now, AFSA has been keeping an eye on this country's efforts against international terrorism, with especial concern for the safety of the Foreign Service people overseas whom we represent. Our Committee on Extraordinary Dangers deals regularly with Management on these matters, but was taken aback to discover that President Ford had been scheduled to meet with President Nimeiri of the Sudan on June 10.

AFSA immediately wrote the President a letter of protest, since it had been the Sudanese leader who had released the assassins of Ambassador Cleo Noel and DCM Curtis Moore after personally having promised the killers would be

tried and if convicted, imprisoned. AFSA further said it was "inalterably opposed" to the resumption of a full range of diplomatic and economic relations with the Sudan under present circumstances. Finally the Association cited the visit as a demonstration of the USG's failure to act effectively against governments which harbor, support, or release terrorists who attack official USG employees or other Americans.

We have also written Secretary Kissinger, questioning the "hard-line" never-negotiate stance vis-à-vis terrorists, calling for a review of our policy, and noting the Department's breach of its past agreement to consult with AFSA in matters bearing on the issue.

TAXATION OF OVERSEAS ALLOWANCES

In the June issue of the JOURNAL we reported that the Inter-Agency Committee on Overseas Allowances has recommended in its report (completed early this year) against any taxation of the allowances of US civilian government employees stationed abroad. To our dismay, we learned in a meeting with Asst. Secretary of State (Administration) Thomas that the committee's published report represents a consensus of only 19 of the 20 agencies that took part in the effort, and that the 20th (Treasury) abstained because the result did not reflect the position of the US Administration. The Treasury statement of the Administration's position is that:

"Any portion of government overseas allowances that constitutes an economic benefit (i.e., exceeds reimbursements for additional overseas costs) should be taxable under any circumstances. This portion would include at least part of the housing allowance." (Extract from March 25 cover letter by Inter-Agency Committee Chairman Thomas forwarding report to Congress.)

Assistant Secretary Thomas chaired the Inter-Agency Committee; Charles A. Mann, Assistant Administrator, Program and Management Services, in AID also served as a member.

In a meeting with AFSA representatives on May 21, Assistant Secretary Thomas informed us that there have been no further formal exchanges between State and the cognizant committees of Congress since this letter was sent, but that there are continuing informal contacts between staffs. Based on these contacts, Mr. Thomas said that congressional opinion has changed somewhat, and that the likelihood of taxation of all allowances has diminished. However, "housing is an issue." Mr. Thomas suggested that one outcome of the current Congressional staff work could be a proposal to determine a "Washington equivalent" for housing costs. That Washington equivalent portion of overseas housing allowances would then be taxed. Any excess paid because of higher local housing costs at post would

be treated as an untaxed cost of living adjustment.

We will advise further and recommend an appropriate course of action for AFSA when Congressional committee reports on possible changes in the prevailing legislation are published, which could be as early as this summer.

CHAPTERS

CHAPTER NEWS SOUGHT

AFSA News would like to run as a regular feature news from the various chapters which would be helpful for other chapters in conducting their business at post, either with post management or internally. If you want to tell of a successful negotiation or make an illuminating year-end report (see AFSA/Santiago's in the April FSJ, p. 38) please write in about your experiences. Where anonymity is needed, we can provide. We hope, in short, that such a section of the News could serve as a forum for the exchange of chapters' ideas.

AFSA HOLDS ITS ANNUAL MEETING

Some 200 members were in the State Department's West Auditorium at noon on June 1 for AFSA's annual general meeting. President Hemenway, speaking into the glare of television lights and a battery of microphones, delivered a sharply-worded attack on Secretary of State Kissinger and Congressman Wayne Hays. Mr. Hemenway declared, in part, that there was a "Kissinger/Hays axis, as immoral and corrupting of government as any sexual scandal that may develop could be." Apart from his oral remarks, Mr. Hemenway distributed an eight-page "President's Report" in which he criticized the AFSA Governing Board and the Association's other officers. The hush in the auditorium following these actions extended to the media as well; neither the press nor the three television networks present carried any of the Hemenway statements.

Following Mr. Hemenway to the rostrum, Vice President Lars Hydle voiced a disclaimer to the President's oral statement, saying that Mr. Hemenway's remarks were personal observations and had not been cleared by the AFSA Board. He stepped down amidst spontaneous and prolonged applause.

Both Mr. Hydle and John Patterson turned aside the Hemenway criticism, noting that the work of the Association was being carried out, largely through the various committees and standing groups, despite the President's arbitrary and disruptive actions.

AFSA Treasurer Jo Ann Jenkins reported that while the Association is solvent and the investment portfolio is being well-managed it is still too early to say what effect the loss in the AFSA vs. AFGE representational election in USIA will have on membership.

The general meeting also heard reports from all of the major committee chairpeople and those involved with AFSA's various program activities, including the Scholarship, Educational Counseling, FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, and Staff Legal office. Highlights of these reports will be found in later issues. Copies of the various reports in full may be obtained by sending the chit on page 29 to AFSA.

The only resolution introduced from the floor during the meeting that was acted upon called for the Governing Board to give higher priority in the future to AFSA's labor-management role. It passed by a unanimous voice vote. After extensive parliamentary discussion, the President adjourned the meeting some two hours after it began.

The following reports are abridged.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

I have written a speech for you—a report of problems faced in 1975-76, some solved—some not solved. Every one here can read. I am not going to read that speech to you; I am going to distribute it.

It is appropriate, I think, to say a FEW WORDS ABOUT MORALITY. Since John Foster Dulles, the mix of foreign policy and morality is in ill repute. The "pragmatists"—men of no fixed principles—have taken over.

Mr. Wayne Hays has become a topical subject all over town. Wayne Hays has been a household word in the Foreign Service for a decade. *Schadenfreude ist die beste Freude*. Rather, a larger morality should concern us here—What does an honest employee of the diplomatic service do when he knows of gross improprieties?

At Nuremberg the world rejected the plea of the defeated leaders excusing their own immorality. The plea that they copped was "I was only following orders." That defense was rejected.

Mr. Hays is known to be a man with "clout." He enjoys that clout only because others in the complementary executive branch of government bow to his will, whether he is right or wrong; moral or immoral.

It is a case of "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours." In this manner Wayne Hays made a deal with Henry Kissinger, through the agent Lawrence Eagleburger to substitute a patchwork bill for a proper system of justice for the men and women of the Foreign Service. It was drafted by men who did not want to guarantee due process for the diplomatic service, and ratified within AFSA by men who were only trying to get along.

Wayne Hays has publicly declared that he—Wayne Hays—is the grievance system of the Foreign Service. And, for a consideration, Henry Kissinger and Eagleburger have confirmed that Wayne Hays is.

There has been in Washington for the past several years a Kissinger/Hays axis, as immoral and corrupting of government as any sexual scandal that may develop could be.

The Kissinger/Hays Axis is causing injury to the entire nation. Eagleburger has admitted that the reason the team of Kissinger/Sonnenfeldt/Eagleburger does so well in the Department of State is that "We almost always get our own way."

In the Department of State, instead, we find cozy relationships developed between Henry Kissinger and his new-found friend, Wayne Hays, one of the most arrogant and corrupt men in the House of Representatives. I can say, speaking from my own first-hand knowledge that both Wayne Hays and Henry Kissinger are capable of propagating untruths for the purpose of deceiving their own government and colleagues. I have asked Mr. Flynt of Georgia for the opportunity to testify before his committee in the matter of Wayne Hays.

The Kissinger/Hays domination of the past three years amounts to a kind of intellectual dictatorship. No dissenting views need apply. All right to effective challenge is denied by these arrogant men. Their sycophants extend right down into the heart of AFSA itself.

History may well indicate that Mr. Hays is one of the most corrupt legislators in the 1970s; it certainly will note the Department of State under Henry Kissinger was no less corrupt. Kissinger did not invent the difficulties, but they have all grown worse under his administration. Unfortunately, as the main text of my prepared speech today indicates, certain elements of the AFSA leadership are just as bad.

They simply are reflecting the dominant Hays/Kissinger morality. The two Vice Presidents of this Association are such men.

You also have the kind of man who will coalesce in any kind of expedient act with Congressmen with "clout." Let me say this—the reason Wayne Hays allegedly has "clout" is because we all have permitted him to grab it, from the Secretary of State down to the most humble member of AFSA. The people of this nation can take it away again, and I am certain that in the long run if they follow the traditional path of American idealism, they will.

JOHN D. HEMENWAY

VICE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

It becomes my duty, once again, to point out that the views just expressed are personal views of Mr. Hemenway, not cleared with the Governing Board, and do not represent the Association. They illustrate the problems the Association has faced over the past year.

This has been a very difficult year for AFSA, and one which has imposed special responsibilities on me as Vice President and on my colleague John Patterson as Second Vice President.

The difficulties have not been simply because the Membership elected Board Members of widely differing views. Such differences reflect the diversity within the Association and the Foreign Service, and could have been a source of strength. The difficulties reflect the fact that the AFSA President, who is supposed to set the tone for the Board and the Association, has ascribed evil motives to Board Members who disagreed with him. This is as contrary to parliamentary decorum as it is to the traditions of diplomacy which we all share. It denies the underlying human need for courtesy and mutual respect which alone make it possible for people of diverse views to work together.

Moreover, the AFSA President's attacks on the integrity of certain Members of AFSA and its Boards and Committees strike at the heart of our Association's purpose. If one accepts the logic of his allegations that I and others have sold out your interests for favor in promotions and assignments, one accepts that no active duty Foreign Service officer or employee has the courage or objectivity to represent the interests of the Foreign Service vis-à-vis management, the Congress, and the public; and indeed that Foreign Service people are the only people in the entire international labor movement who are incapable of organizing and representing themselves.

My Board colleagues and I reject that argument, and so have several thousand Foreign Service people who have voted in several representation elections over the past several years to be represented by an exclusive employee representative organization—whether AFSA or AFGE—rather than no representative.

Moreover, we have had difficulties, not simply because there are strong differences over the proper role of AFSA—for example, how it should reach its decisions, and what those decisions should be in the areas of professional and employee interest. Again, these differences could have been a source of strength and creativity. The difficulties arise because the AFSA President has sought not only to give voice to his own personal views, but to mislead the audiences with whom he is communicating—management, the press, and the Congress, for example—that his personal views, often contrary to those of the Governing Board, and often not even known to the Board—represent the official views of the Association. The Governing Board has had to disavow and repudiate such actions and to devise procedures by which our audiences can tell whether and when they're listening to the real AFSA. Many of these have been reported in past AFSA News issues. In doing this, we have been criticized not only by Mr. Hemenway and his friends, but from several other sides—for moving too slowly to counter his activities, or on the other hand for squabbling or washing dirty linen; for censoring him, or giving him a platform for vicious attacks. We have agonized over these matters, and acted according to our best lights.

There is no question that these problems have absorbed substantial amounts of our time, and we recognize that AFSA has often given an impression of disarray during recent months. But I'm here to tell you that AFSA lives. We have forestalled the worst consequences of Mr. Hemenway's behavior; we have continued to function both on professional and employee issues; and we can even boast diffidently of some accomplishments which eluded previous Governing Boards. These will be detailed in the reports of officers, activities, and committees which follow. Aside from these substantive efforts, our troubles have brought together Board Members, and the constituencies they represent, in a renewed attempt to make the Association effective, representative, and responsive. On behalf of the

Governing Board majority, I pledge to you a continuing determined effort to make AFSA the kind of Association its Members, and the Foreign Service, deserve.

LARS H. HYDLE

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

As Lars Hydle points out, this has been a difficult year for the Association, its Governing Board, and, I must admit, for its Vice Presidents. In my report I would like to concentrate on some of the actions the Board has taken to institutionalize its ongoing activities despite problems, and to discuss frankly an area in which we *must* do better.

We have had problems in maintaining the AFSA staff. Last July, after Mr. Hemenway's election, they were near revolt and resignation after he told them—contrary to the Bylaws—that their survival in their positions depended on his recommendation. Only July 24th the Governing Board passed a resolution delegating authority to the Executive Director and to the Counselor to manage, respectively, the Association's professional and management support and Executive Order activities.

Also last summer, the Governing Board's differences were threatening to paralyze its ability to act expeditiously on Executive Order business. I introduced on August 11 a resolution to delegate much of this work to Committees, and on October 28 the Governing Board passed a similar resolution which delegated to the Standing Committees for State, AID, and USIA affairs the authority to act for AFSA in Executive Order matters concerning the Foreign Service in their respective constituencies, except for the work of interagency committees, such as Grievance, Members' Interests, and Extraordinary Dangers. Each of the agency standing committees is composed *only* of AFSA Members from that constituency. The Governing Board retained the right to approve formal agreements and to override Committee actions, but this Board decision assured that the employee representative activities would get done, and, equally importantly in my view, that the primary responsibility for employee representation in each agency rests with the people directly involved, from that agency.

Despite these institutional adjustments, and a greatly increased workload for Board and Committee Members, I must frankly say that we have not done as well as we should. In part this is due to the time we have had to spend dealing with Mr. Hemenway, as Mr. Hydle has already pointed out. But beyond that, the Association has suffered from staff shortages, particularly the absence of a Counselor, and from some ambiguity in our sense of priorities.

We must better meet our Executive Order responsibilities so that the Foreign Service is fully represented in labor-management matters so crucial to the lives of the men and women of the Foreign Service. This requires better backstopping of negotiations and advice on the Executive Order. It requires the cross-referencing and cross-application of various activities between the Agencies and AFSA. It means better monitoring of Agency directives and activities so that all AFSA committees are properly informed. Finally, an enhanced labor-management role under the Executive Order requires more contacts on the Hill and with other organizations and better communications in general. This soft spot in our organization will be aided by the addition of a Counselor within the next month or so, but it also requires the active and continued support and commitment of the Association.

Now is not the time to be turned off by what you've heard or what you may think about the Association as a result of the crisis brought on by Mr. Hemenway's election. Despite the difficulties, there have been solid achievements as you will hear during the various reports on program and committee activities. Please stick with us, continue to give us your support and participate with us as we strive to improve the Association not only as a professional organization, but as the present and future exclusive employee representative of the Foreign Service.

JOHN A. PATTERSON

TREASURER'S REPORT

For several years the status of finances of the American Foreign Service Association have been troubling. Since I became Treasurer only seven months ago, we have brought greater controls over unbudgeted disbursements, reviewed administrative assessments against the Scholarship Fund, evaluated management of the Scholarship Fund Investment Portfolio, and improved cash control procedures at the Foreign Service Club. In all of these endeavors, I have enjoyed the good, reliable support of the Finance Committee and AFSA Executive Director Allen B. Moreland and his staff.

There are three primary funds in AFSA, viz: *The AFSA Scholarship Fund*, which partially finances the Scholarship Program and the Education and Counseling Center; the *AFSA Fund* for the Openness and Awards Programs, from which the Herter, Rivkin and Harriman awards and supporting programs are financed; and the *General Fund* which supports the general activities of the Association, including the Headquarters staff, the staff responsibilities under Executive Order 11636, the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and the Foreign Service Club.

The Scholarship Fund and AFSA Fund are restricted to their programs and are supported by private contributions which are eligible for individual income tax deductions. The General Fund is available for use for all general purposes of the Association listed above and is financed from receipts from dues, FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL advertising and subscriptions and club receipts.

The Scholarship Fund

The Scholarship Fund has had a consistent growth in recent years. Total assets in the fund have risen progressively from \$89,000 in 1961 to over \$600,000 in 1976. During this period \$528,000 has been expended on scholarships and \$53,000 on the Education and Counseling Center since its inception in 1972. The American Association of Foreign Service Women and AFSA jointly finance the annual scholarship awards and the Education and Counseling Center. In calendar year 1976, \$35,000 in scholarships will be awarded on the basis of need and, for the first time \$10,000 will be awarded in scholarships based on merit to 20 persons.

At our request, Mr. Frank Wilson, a retired Foreign Service Officer now with the Export-Import Bank, reviewed the investment portfolio of the Scholarship Fund. Mr. Wilson was specifically asked to review the performance of the brokerage firm handling investments for the Fund and to make recommendations for improved guidelines and review procedures for monitoring it.

AFSA finances both the Scholarship Programs and the AFSA half of the Education and Counseling Center budget from earnings of the Scholarship Fund, supplemented by an annual contribution of approximately \$11,000 from the American Association of Foreign Service Women, representing generally the earnings of their annual book sale.

AFSA Fund for Openness and Awards

The AFSA Fund restricted to Openness and Awards needs replenishing. The donors for the Herter, Rivkin and Harriman awards provide the honoraria which accompanies the awards, but we need additional public contributions to cover the administration and representational costs of the awards program. We need a publicly supported fund to help us subsidize in part the traditional Eighth-Floor Awards luncheon, our most important representational function.

General Fund

The status of the General Fund is the primary barometer by which the financial health of the Association can be measured. During the current fiscal year we have managed for the first time in several years to get by without a need for short-term borrowing. The margin has been thin and the future is full of uncertainty.

The General Fund needs controls in any one of three areas:

legal expenses, salaries and club deficits.

The Governing Board has adopted a resolution to require prior Board approval before legal expenses can be incurred, and that in-house legal resources be exhausted before contracting for outside legal assistance.

The number and salary level of AFSA employees must be kept at a level that will permit the Association to carry out programs and responsibilities with a professional staff paid as fair a "going rate" as we can manage and with a heavy reliance on volunteer assistance.

The Foreign Service Club, a source of financial concern, underwent a major reorganization in February, and early returns have been encouraging. Covering all direct expenses, it is now contributing toward indirect costs as well. We will be reviewing it after six months' experience.

In total, the financial circumstances of AFSA are not rosy, but the Association is holding its own this fiscal year. In the next fiscal year we expect to see some innovative approaches to dealing with membership dues, along with a possible dues increase, and increased generation of monies and contributions to AFSA supported funds. We hope to be able to focus on improving AFSA's finances during the coming year rather than getting bogged down in researching allegations of past wrongdoings.

The annual Treasurer's report should be prepared at the close of the calendar year when year-end fiscal figures and the annual report of audit of the Association's finances are available.

JOANN JENKINS

The written report also had 27 pages of attachments, mainly tables, which may be requested via the chit on page 29.

AFSA EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS—FY 1975, 1974, 1973, 1972

EXPENSES	1975	1974	1973	1972
Salaries	175,526	155,482	164,217	148,460
Emp. Tax & Benefits	13,568	13,285	10,986	15,402
Total Payroll Exp	189,094	168,767	175,203	163,862
Prof Fees & Contracted Serv	20,953	18,772	19,245	23,764
Food & Beverages	36,089	44,117	56,122	41,732
Supplies	2,753	4,934	1,848	9,833
Tel & Tel	2,430	2,787	1,987	1,952
Postage	2,025	3,318	2,951	3,160
Occupancy	35,291	35,091	36,936	28,073
Printing	69,614	70,366	63,979	66,594
Conf, Conv & Mtgs	8,265	5,449	8,083	5,272
Election Exp	18,786	—	—	—
Ins	4,321	4,847	—	—
Misc Exp	9,190	9,434	17,037	18,307
Exp from Unrestricted Funds	398,811	367,882	383,391	362,549
Scholarships Awarded	38,460	36,970	35,330	40,536
Specified Asst to Individuals (Ed & Coun Ctr)	4,175	2,975	3,566	323
Depreciation	15,154	15,390	15,840	15,773
	456,600	423,217	438,127	419,181
RECEIPTS				
Dues	165,607	162,351	162,697	184,499
Subscrip Earned	41,428	39,725	40,654	41,090
Total Membership Rec	207,035	202,076	203,351	225,589
Adv Sales	50,537	50,343	47,191	53,257
Club Sales	81,152	99,140	107,869	103,618
Misc Inc	1,190	7,708	12,924	23,309
Total Unrestr Reven	344,573	359,267	371,335	405,773
Restricted Income				
Ed Center Inc	3,861	1,708	427	—
Investment Inc	10,300	48,864	29,916	17,279
Contributions to Restricted Funds	61,945	41,924	168,466	79,621
Total Receipts	420,679	451,763	570,144	502,673
Special Assessment			135,539	
Source—Auditors' Reports				

TWO NEW BOARD MEMBERS APPOINTED

On June 2, Paul von Ward of CU in State became AFSA Treasurer, following JoAnn Jenkins, who resigned after a seven months' stint because she was assigned to a B & F position in Abidjan. As has been the case in the past, the State Standing Committee asked all interested candidates to speak at an open meeting, this time with the general membership as well as the key-people voting. With this group's endorsement Paul was voted in by the Governing Board.

On June 15, Peter Wolcott of ICS in USIA was appointed to be USIA representative, replacing Will Sutter who was leaving after seven months' yeoman service on the Board to be the PAO in Vientiane.

We shall miss JoAnn's and Will's hard work and friendship on the

Board; they have labored under trying circumstances and have given much for the people of the Association. For those who follow such matters, six of AFSA's Board are now appointed, the remaining eight elected. We welcome our two new comrades and will be running their "bios" in the August FSJ.



Paul von Ward, Treas.

IF AT FIRST YOU DON'T SUCCEED . . .

Observers of the Washington scene continue to be puzzled by the Department's frenetic attempts to place 60-year-old ex-Ambassador Turner B. Shelton, a former Hollywood producer and former Ambassador to Nicaragua who is now over mandatory retirement age. He is also over time in class for his FSO-2 rank from which he has never been promoted since being lateraled into it in 1961.

Mr. Shelton first was proposed in December as Ambassador to the Bahamas, where he had previously been Consul General, but the Bahamian Government never gave the USG its agrément.

Next in February the Consular Officers' Association and AFSA got wind that he'd been slated as Consul General in Bermuda, one of the diminishing number of consular-designated Principal Officer positions. Because Mr. Shelton lacked the requisite consular and administrative skills or a consular commission, and because a fine consular officer's orders to Bermuda had been broken to make room for Mr. Shelton (in contravention of our Open Assignments policy) both we and the COA protested to State's management, and this appeared in the press. Congressional and British resistance then led to this appointment's also being abandoned.

Then in mid-May came word that the Department had named Mr. Shelton to be Consul General at Casablanca, a language-designated economic principal officership. Sadly, Mr. Shelton again lacked the French or Arabic or the economic expertise and again a highly qualified officer was to be bumped. Ex-Ambassador-to-Morocco Robert Neumann wrote to the papers calling the appointment a disgrace. AFSA protested once again to management and our letter to Deputy Secretary Eagleburger was reported in the news. As we go to press the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is blocking the appointment on the technical ground (pointed out for them by AFSA and COA) that Mr. Shelton's consular commission had expired when he retired from the Service last December before being immediately rehired as an FSR to go on over-complement.

Mr. Shelton's political connections are said to include Messrs. Richard Nixon, Bebe Rebozo, Howard Hughes, and Senator Carl Curtis. While the Department's lawyers say his old commission is still valid and that he needs no Senate confirmation for the Casablanca post, they may change their opinion after the Republican convention has made its decision.

GOVERNING BOARD

The Governing Board met as follows: **Tuesday, May 18:** Applications for Counselor; AID's Buzard Point move; discussion of chapter regulation; notification to retired members of grievance rights; acceptance of report on Moscow radiation problem and censure of President; Joe McBride appointed to State Standing Committee. **Tuesday, May 25:** Regulation on appointing new Board members; radiation problem in Moscow; appointment of Treasurer. **Tuesday, June 3:** Views from AFSA/Vienna (George Anderson, AFSA Rep and Shop Steward) (no quorum). **Tuesday, June 8:** Approval of annual audit of AFSA; report of the Interim Recall Committee; reaction of Moscow chapter to unsubstantiated charges; decision on action concerning Sudan. **Tuesday, June 15:** AFSA position on terrorism, appointment of Peter Wolcott to Board, recognition of five representatives of recall petitioners.

REQUESTS FOR ANNUAL REPORTS

Write: AFSA NEWS: Room 3644, New State

- President's Oral Remarks—Hemenway
- President's Written Remarks—Hemenway
- Vice President—Hydle
- Second Vice President—Patterson
- Treasurer's Report—Jenkins
- Financial Tables—Jenkins
- Education and Scholarship—Richards
- FS Educational Counseling Center—Metcalf
- Foreign Service Journal—Smith
- AFSA News—Cooley
- Staff Attorney—Waelder
- State Standing Committee—Hydle
- AID Standing Committee—Wallace
- USIA Standing Committee—Cummins
- Members Interests—Woodring
- Grievance—Hydle
- Legal—Finn
- Insurance—Krizay
- Extraordinary Dangers—Blaney
- Membership—Cooley

Send

to:

AID AFFAIRS

GSA TO BUZZARD POINT?

The General Service Administration's pressing of AID to accept offices in a rundown, distant part of Washington was reported in June's FSJ, page 42. This past month has seen the tables turned as AFSA Board member Roy Harrell proposed that the GSA itself move to the site—already rejected by four other agencies. Then, he offered, AID might consider whether it wanted to take over the GSA's newly vacated building. We're still waiting for GSA's reply.

PROMOTIONS SAFEGUARDS GAINED BY AFSA

Despite outrageous behavior by the Agency with regard to promotions, there are occasional positive forces at work. After long and tedious negotiations, AID/AFSA has finally gained parity with our State and USIA colleagues on promotion procedures and safeguards. Not only will promotion panels not have prior knowledge of numbers of people to be promoted in each category, but the rank order registers will be sealed and locked in the presence of AFSA representatives and later opened in their presence. Now there will be three general groupings by evaluation panels: group "A" is that group recommended for promotion, and it is precisely rank ordered; group "B" is those whose performance is satisfactory or better; group "C" comprises officers whose performance is unsatisfactory. Finally, if for some reason more promotions are authorized than could be executed because not enough people were recommended for promotion in a given backstop category, the Agency may apply the surplus quota to other backstop categories. This newly negotiated feature between AFSA and the Agency will preclude the situation recently witnessed by all, where after a promotion freeze, the Agency contended it could not even effect the meager total number of promotions authorized.

Now all we need are more promotions!

OUTRAGE OF THE MONTH

AID'S ABUSE OF LOOPHOLE TO PROMOTE CRONIES

Almost two years ago, AID had the notorious distinction of being the first Foreign Affairs Agency taken to court by the Association on the matter of AID's RIF. Now, AID has the honor of being the Outrage of the Month for the second time in three months.

In the May issue of the FSJ, we documented the case of a career AID Foreign Service employee receiving a double promotion from FSR-4 to FSR-2, in spite of the promotion freeze at that grade level. We asked the Ambassador of the country concerned not to concur in the officer's promotion and appointment. Unfortunately, our cable crossed with the concurrence cable.

In April we were advised that an FSRL-4 officer in AID/W was being promoted to Deputy Director in Panama, a position currently graded at the R-1 level. We preempted this proposal by a long cable to the Ambassador opposing the assignment. The Ambassador deferred the issue to the Department of State, but the Department did nothing, even though it has substantive and managerial responsibility for AID. We were greatly disappointed by the Department's acquiescence in applying a lesser professional standard towards AID. Thus, AID continues to be duplicitous and hypocritical with regard to promotions, playing its traditional game of favoritism and cronyism while the bulk of its Foreign Service employees continue to hope for improved integrity in its personnel system.

In both of these cases, AID management was using its "authority" under the Section 631B loophole of the Foreign Assistance Act to arbitrarily appoint personnel to positions, regardless of qualifications. We recognize limited circumstances for the propriety of "political" appointments, as do our State Department colleagues. But abuse of the authority is simply professionally unpalatable. We ask how long AID's Foreign Service can continue to be the whipping boy of capricious management. We

have taken the hundreds of terminations, not the Civil Service; we take the promotion freeze, not the Civil Service; and the integrity of one Service is subverted through the arbitrary use of the Section 631B authority. Yet we are the ones tasked to carry out the Congressional mandate abroad while two-thirds of AID's American direct-hire personnel remain in Washington.

It now seems that the only hope for greater integrity lies in continued public exposure of AID's irresponsible and unprofessional conduct and simultaneous efforts to press for legislation which will accord AID Foreign Service personnel the same rights shared by our Foreign Service colleagues in State and USIA. We are concentrating on both, and are finding some Congressional support.

Thanks to Representative Jack Brooks of Texas, an even more egregious "Outrage" was precluded. AID has acceded to the appointment of Bert A. Gallegos, ousted federal antipoverty chief, to head the AID Mission in Nicaragua. Brooks wrote Administrator Parker that Gallegos' "mismanagement of the Community Services Administration is well documented" and asked Parker to carefully review the material and determine "if you believe AID's best interests are served by this appointment to a sensitive overseas managerial position." Mr. Parker declined to answer a reporter's calls on the issue, though Gallegos did subsequently resign.

The positive aspect of this development is finding that a Congressman such as Brooks is concerned about the integrity of our representation abroad. It would have been a cruel injustice for Nicaragua to have been the innocent recipient of the ghost of Ambassador Turner Shelton in the flesh of Bert Gallegos. If it had not been for Brooks, AID would have exported Tammany Hall and thereby further undermined the credibility of our Foreign Service and government.

USIA'S YEAR-END REPORT

The USIA/AFSA negotiating team held more than a dozen sessions with USIA Management on the 1976 Generalist and Specialist promotion precepts. The thrust of our efforts (and they were successful) focused upon:

(1) Bringing the FAS promotion precepts and FAS panel composition more into line with those of the FSIO panels;

(2) Upgrading the quality and accountability for Officers Evaluation Reports by requiring that promotion panels cite poorly-prepared or particularly well-prepared reports by sending letters of commendation or of censure to rating and/or reviewing officers;

(3) Maintaining the percentage of officers to be "low-ranked" at 3 percent. Parenthetically, NO USIA officers—either generalist or specialist—were identified for selection-out this past year;

(4) Increasing the maximum promotion possibilities for specialist (FAS) officers by 50 percent (from 259 to 389) under a rather complicated formula which permits promotion of officers who find themselves in higher-graded positions and at the top of the promo-

AFSA ELECTION CERTIFIED

Although the current Governing Board took office in July of 1975, its election (under Labor Department supervision) was finally "certified" only this May 21st. The delay was due to repeated protests, filings, and appeals by two defeated candidates, Messrs. John J. Harter (VP) and Paul J. Leahey (Ret.) and one victorious one, Mr. John Hemenway (Pres.).

The progress of the election certification from an Administrative Law Judge, through the Labor Department's Office of Labor-Management Standards Enforcement and finally to the State Department's Employee and Management Relations Commission has been tortuous and continuously documented in these pages: February FSJ, p. 40, May FSJ, p. 39 and John Harter letters to the editor in the October, December, February, April, and June FSJ's. Those desiring yet more may write AFSA News for a longer article on the subject. The term of the current Board runs to July 15, 1977.

tion panel's rank-order list but whose promotion prospects were obstructed by the mathematics of the FAS class/cone computations;

(5) Requiring the Agency to provide briefings for all FAS officers to explain the extremely complicated nature of the FAS promotion system and to advise offices of the promotion prospects within their individual grade/cone.

USIA/AFSA was represented on the joint AFSA Members Interests Committee and contributed to that committee's energetic activities. Under Peter Wolcott, our people also assisted in a number of concerns raised by individual members.

USEFUL TAX INFO

Members of the Foreign Service who have rented out their home owned in the Washington area while assigned abroad and who wish to sell it to buy a new principal residence upon returning to the US apparently do not qualify for the tax deferral.

It is IRS's informal opinion that a home rented out for a length of time ceases to be a principal residence and becomes business property for the purpose of generating income. IRS would apparently recognize rental of a principal residence as a "temporary convenience" only if the rental period is for a few months and is related to the timing of the sale. Otherwise, if a returning member of the Foreign Service sells his home after renting it, he will be expected to pay capital gains tax on any gain realized.

The only way to qualify for tax deferral on an exchange of principal residences, according to informal advice from tax experts, would be for the home owner to reoccupy his house in order to reestablish it as his principal residence. The law does not indicate how long the period of reoccupation must be before selling, but the longer it is the stronger would be the case should IRS question it.

AFSA has no record of IRS questioning the tax returns of members of the Foreign Service who have filed for tax deferral but would be interested to learn of members' experiences in this regard. Send to TAXATION: AFSA, Room 3644, N.S.

CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL

TRAVEL

Foreign Service people have long had to wrestle with the problem of being separated from their young children who go to school away from their parent(s)' post of assignment.

In 1975, AFSA's Education and Counseling Center (FSECC) studied this problem. We found that special strains and hardships are imposed on our children because of constant moving, loss of friends, lack of ties to their American cultural roots, and, above all, separation from their families in order to obtain a decent education. President Tom Boyatt testified before Congress urging that the Standardized Regulations be amended to provide a minimum of one annual trip for dependent students. Senator Pell, formerly of the Foreign Service, supported an amendment to provide an annual visit for American Foreign Service dependents and for the student dependents of all other US Government employees stationed abroad. AFSA assisted in drafting this bill to improve and strengthen Government overseas activities by establishing a uniform system for compensating all Government employees for our children's travel regardless of the agency by which we are employed.

In 1975, the Department told posts of changes made in the expanded legislation. But they say our children's travel must begin abroad and end there to qualify for education travel expenses. The Association has tried to persuade the Department that if our children's first round trip began several years ago, they have forevermore satisfied the "first trip" requirement in the legislation. The Department's regulations on this point are unclear. Thus the Department can blunt the real intent of AFSA-sponsored legislation. We suggest that members transferring this summer and needing the educational travel allowance either take their children to post with them to ensure that the first-trip hurdle has been satisfied, hopefully forevermore, or first check with A/ALS if they have any questions about the coverage of the new educational travel regulations.

Foreign Service People

Marriages

Phillips-Koenig. Dr. Sheridan A. Phillips, daughter of FSO-retired Lawrence A. Phillips and Mrs. Phillips, was married in May to Dr. William J. Koenig.

Hansen-Plotkin. FSO Ruth E. Hansen was married to FSIO Lawrence I. Plotkin on February 28, in Washington. Ms. Hansen will be joining her husband at the American Embassy in Warsaw this month.

Deaths

Davis. Sarah Louise Collins Davis, widow of former Ambassador Nathaniel P. Davis, died on May 5, in Bradenton, Florida. Ambassador Davis died in September of 1973. Mrs. Davis is survived by a brother, Edward Collins, Route 1, Old Columbus Road, Granville, Ohio 43023.

Jorgensen. Wesley E. Jorgensen, FSO-retired, died on May 5 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Mr. Jorgensen joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and served at Curacao, Bradford, Georgetown, Port of Spain, Munich, Beirut and as consul general at St. John and Bangkok. He is survived by his wife, Esmee, of Ocean Club, Apt. 805, 4020 Galt Ocean Dr., Fort Lauderdale, Florida. 33308.

Kelley. Robert F. Kelley, FSO-retired, died on June 2, in Washington. Mr. Kelley entered the Foreign Service in 1922 and served at Calcutta, then in the East European Division. While there he took the lead in training FSOs in Russian language, culture and Soviet problems. Among his students were former Ambassadors to Moscow George F. Kennan and the late Charles E. Bohlen. After 14 years in the Eastern European Division he was assigned to Ankara and retired in 1945 upon his return to Washington. He helped to establish Radio Liberty in 1951 and served as deputy to the president and then vice president of the Radio Liberty Committee. He is survived by a sister, Mrs. John Burns, of Jamaica Plain, Mass.

Merchant. Livingston T. Merchant, retired Ambassador, died on May 15 in Washington, D.C. Ambassador Merchant joined the State Department in 1942 and was appointed a Foreign Service officer in 1947. After assignment as Counselor of Embassy at Nanking, he became Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. Later assignments included negotiations on aid for Korea, special assistant to Secretary Acheson for mutual security affairs, Deputy for Political Affairs to the US special representative in Europe, alternate US Permanent Representative on the NATO Council, and Assistant Secretary of State for European

Affairs. Mr. Merchant served as Ambassador to Canada from 1956 to 1958 and 1961 to 1962. From 1959 to 1961 he was Under Secretary for Political Affairs. He became a Career Ambassador in 1960, received the National Civil Service League career service award in 1958, and was presented the 1976 Foreign Service Cup from AFSA, DACOR and AFSPA on April 2. He was a Charter Trustee of Princeton University, former Chairman of the Atlantic Council of the United States and Vice Chairman of that body at the time of his death. He also served as the US Executive Director of the World Bank from 1965-68.

Dr. A. Guy Hope wrote in a letter to the Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH, "For such key positions in the United States government as were held by Livvie Merchant, intelligence, astuteness and urbanity are, or should be, taken for granted. Many men, however, have served in such positions with distinction without possessing to such a high degree the qualities of innate kindness, thoughtfulness for others and consistent courtesy which he demonstrated in his relations with everyone he dealt with in the sensitive business of diplomacy."

Ambassador Merchant is survived by his wife, Elizabeth S., of 4101 Cathedral Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., a son, the Rev. Livingston T., Jr., of Dallas, Texas, a daughter, Mary Jasperson of Santa Cruz, California, six grandchildren and one great grandchild. Contributions in memory of Ambassador Merchant may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund, for the Livingston T. Merchant Princeton Memorial Scholarship for children of Foreign Service officers, c/o American Foreign Service Association.

Noble. Sue Nabors Noble, mother of FSO Marshall H. Noble, died in May in Washington. In addition to Mr. Noble, of 2475 Virginia Ave., N.W., Apt. 714, she is survived by another son, producer-director Joshua Logan, and a brother, William C. Nabors of Mansfield, La. Contributions in memory of Mrs. Noble may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

F.S. JUNIORS

The Outward Bound Style Weekend Retreat for Foreign Service Teenagers: (grades 9 through 12) is scheduled for September 18, 19, 20 at the Danes in Great Falls, Va. **Rap sessions will focus on re-entry. Canoeing will range from beginner to whitewater.** Registration forms are available to the first 15 applicants through the Family Workshop, FSI (235-8771) or write Lee Dane, Southdown Farm, Great Falls, Va. 22066.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

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

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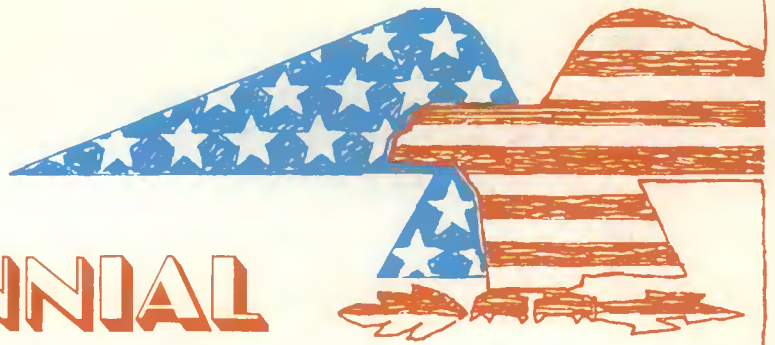
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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL



BICENTENNIAL CONTEST

for the David K. E. Bruce Awards

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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