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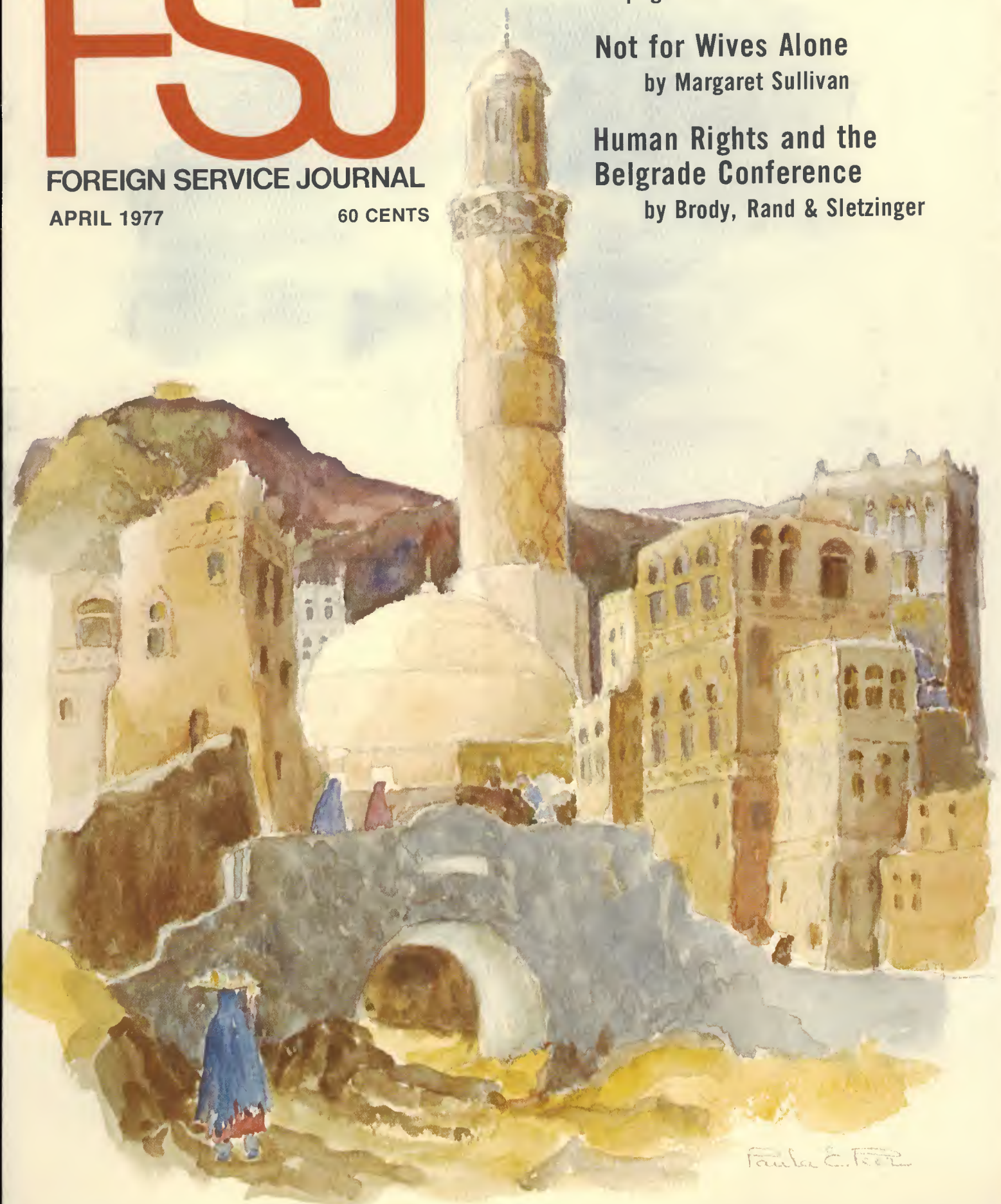
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by Margaret Sullivan

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ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES

One of Candidate Carter's campaign themes which struck a responsive chord in many employees of the Department of State, AID, and USIA was his call for reform leading to increased effectiveness in government. As members of bureaucracies where individuals have difficulties in fulfilling their potential and who are concerned that their collective performance falls far short of what it should be, we welcome the challenge of self-renewal.

AFSA has informed the Administration that it will support constructive efforts at reorganization and reform, and has made it clear that if real change is to occur, it must come from within the organization as well as from the political managers; it must involve from the start the people who have to carry it out; it must deal with the real problems of organization life and not be a superficial reshuffling of organizational charts; and it must have commitment and follow-through at all levels.

We offer our hand for an open, collaborative, joint effort to resolve long-standing institutional issues such as the status of AID, the relationship of USIA to State, the effectiveness of personnel structure and procedures within and among the three agencies, the way in which management policies affecting the life and work in our profession are made, and the machinery that develops and implements our national foreign policy.

We have learned from mistakes of the past and have accumulated considerable experience in AFSA which should enable us to play a constructive role in organizational renewal. We represent our profession as a whole and do not have bureaucratic vested interests in pet plans

and quick fixes that become a feather in someone's cap.

Secretary of State Vance, in his February 23 meeting with AFSA Officers, indicated an interest in working with us in a joint reform effort. President Carter during his February 24 visit to the Department pledged to involve employees in any reorganization in the foreign affairs area. When asked by an AFSA Governing Board Member how he proposed "to engage the career service in the process of reorganization and reform," the President said, among other things:

"You may be surprised to know that the last three reorganization proposals for the State Department I have studied myself. And I agree with your analysis of them. There were some excellent ideas in some of those reorganization proposals. They were not carried out for several reasons, which you have described very well . . . And any sort of reorganization effort that Cyrus Vance recommends to me I would like for you and him and the other leaders in this department to know that it ought to start with you . . . I think I can assure you that the next reorganization proposal that comes for the State Department will be originated by you, it will be well-advised, and it will also be implemented."

AFSA has now presented the proposal quoted below which provides a mechanism which would ensure an open, joint, and we believe, effective procedure for initiating reform.

We are now waiting to see if our offer is accepted; we look forward to the fulfillment of the promises of the new Administration and the opportunity to work closely in the implementation of reform.

AFSA PROPOSED TASK FORCE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM

Submitted to Secretary Vance March 8, 1977

In a resolution reaffirming its views on the function and organization of information and cultural programs presented in testimony before the Murphy Commission, the AFSA Governing Board approved on March 8 the submission to the Secretary of State the following proposal:

In recent years the need for basic reform and restructuring of the foreign policy apparatus of the United States government has become self-evident. The US role in the world has undergone significant changes, calling into question many of the fundamental assumptions about policy which helped shape the existing structures and functions of our foreign affairs agencies. At the same time the public at large has begun to demand a more meaningful role in policy formulation and execution. The Carter Administration has pledged to respond to these demands.

Most past reform efforts have not been effective because of several deficiencies:

- lack of a broadly based consensus on the need for the proposed

changes;

- lack of a sound understanding of how the status quo actually works;
- lack of involvement in the design phase of the people who have implementation responsibility;
- lack of a clear commitment by the Administration to carry out the recommended reforms.

We believe there now exists sufficient motivation, not only with the advent of a new Administration, but within the foreign affairs community itself, to make a new reform effort worthwhile. This is especially true of the State Department, AID and USIA. The institutional relations of these three agencies have been analyzed at length. A number of conflicting proposals have been made as to how their respective contributions to the formulation and execution of foreign policy can be improved; but for years, no action has been taken to actually undertake reform. Continued failure to resolve these conflicts and clarify the roles and relationships of the agencies is detrimental to their efficiency and effectiveness, and harmful to the professional

role, career prospects, and morale of their employees. AFSA believes that a concrete effort to implement meaningful reform is urgently needed.

To avoid the mistakes of the past, it is important that this new effort be organized in a way that will fully involve the three main elements crucial to its success: (1) the Administration, (2) career employees in foreign affairs, (3) concerned sectors of public opinion. To this end we propose that the President establish a Task Force on Foreign Affairs Organizational Reform including a balanced representation of the three sectors, with a high-ranking member of the Administration designated as Chairman. One possibility might be a Task Force comprised of the Vice President as Chairman and fifteen members drawn equally from the Administration, the representatives of career professionals, and the public sector.

There is no need for another study commission since we already have on the record reports of the Murphy Commission, Stanton Panel, and Hamilton Subcommittee studies.

Continued on page 61

The American Foreign Service Protective Association

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE INSURANCE YEAR ENDED FEBRUARY 28, 1977

OPERATIONS

	As of March 1	
	1976	1977
Members carrying Group Life	2870	2815
Group Life in Force (exclusive of Reversionary)	\$53,810,000	\$52,401,100
Enrolled in Foreign Service Benefit Plan	10,361	10,628
Claims paid during year:		
Group Life, Number	22	30
Amount	\$ 333,500	\$ 442,500
Family Coverage, Number	14	14
Amount	\$ 39,000	\$ 40,000
Accidental Death, Number	—	3
Amount	—	\$ 60,000
Foreign Service Benefit Plan	\$ 4,633,255	\$ 7,452,000

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Increased the maximum for mental & nervous consultations from \$30 to \$40 per visit.

Provides benefits for initial examination new-born babies.

Extends the period for accidental dental benefits from one year to two.

Impacted teeth will now be a surgical benefit rather than a limited dental benefit.

* * * * *

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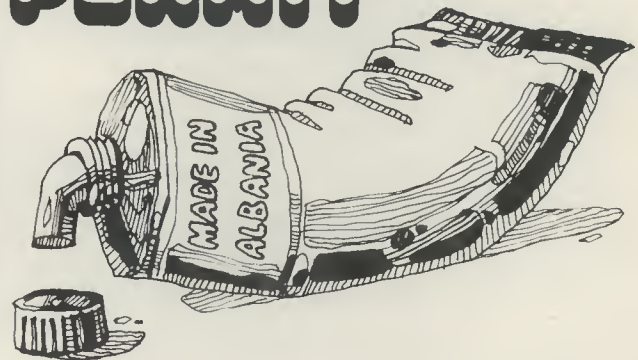
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THE TOOTHPASTE PERMIT



JANE BECKMAN

The invitation, one of those stiff white cards engraved in ornate script, announced that Mr. and Mrs. James Burke Douglas requested the pleasure of the company of Gregory Stevenson at cocktails at seven-thirty. The invitation now lay where it had been tossed—on Greg's sleeping mat, the white card liberally saturated with guava juice because that was what Greg had been drinking when he opened his mail—and knocked over his glass.

Now Greg was drinking duty-free Commissary scotch. Nice, he was thinking, nice of this Embassy official to invite a Peace Corps Volunteer to a reception like this. Scotch was expensive on the local economy.

Brown-skinned servants in white uniforms passed trays of limp raw vegetables and tepid canapes. Most of the guests were standing, talking, drinking—except Greg and the lady seated on the sofa opposite him. Greg thought she looked like the sort who would be happier home waxing floors. Not that she looked like a cleaning lady. Her powder blue permanent press dress was neat, and not a hair of her short, tightly curled hairdo out of place. And what was that in her glass? Orange soda?

Mrs. Wright sipped her Fanta and looked around. So nice, she thought, so nice to get together with other Americans when you were so far from home. Over ten thousand miles from this spot in Asia. And nice of the Douglases to include that young Peace Corps person—though it would have been nicer, Mrs. Wright thought, if he had worn socks with his sandals.

Mrs. Wright had not met a Peace Corps Volunteer

Jane Beckman is a freelance writer. A former Peace Corps Volunteer in Togo, she currently lives in Tunisia where her husband, Robert, is USAID Program Officer.

before, though there were over fifty in the country. The Volunteers' paths did not frequently cross those of the diplomatic community, but the Douglasses were known for mixing in unorthodox types at their gatherings.

Greg sipped scotch and watched Mrs. Wright watch him. She was going to speak to him. He could tell by the way she took in air and tensed as if she were about to plunge into cold water. She proceeded through the standard cocktail party ritual: introductions followed by how long in country, followed by how each liked country, followed by comment on climate. Then Mrs. Wright said, "Do you mind if I ask you a personal question? I mean, you young people lead such dedicated lives. But, I'm wondering. . ."

Greg sipped scotch and waited.

"I mean, without the Commissary. . ."

"Yes?" Greg asked.

"Since you can't use the Commissary, how do you get toothpaste?"

Greg thought of the market in his village where four different brands of toothpaste were available. But he said, "It's difficult."

"I suppose you had to take up a lot of weight in your suitcase to bring over a supply," said Mrs. Wright.

"So much space, I only had room for two changes of underwear," Greg said. "But even that ran out."

"Ran out!" said Mrs. Wright. "My goodness, what did you do?"

"I had to get a permit."

"A permit?" asked Mrs. Wright.

"A toothpaste permit," said Greg.

Mrs. Wright fought tears. Even her brother who had gone through horrible combat in World War II had had access to toothpaste. "Is it hard to get your permit?" Mrs. Wright asked.

Greg considered a moment. "It's like the way the

"The toothpaste shipment arrived. Mrs. Wright and her driver drove to the Peace Corps office to deliver it. The office was located in a modest building, once a private residence.

As her car stopped before the gate, it surprised Mrs. Wright to see there was no Marine Guard on duty."

British in India got their whiskey in colonial days. Alcohol isn't allowed by the Hindu religion, so they had to go to a doctor and get a certificate saying the whiskey was for medical purposes."

"And that's what you must do for a toothpaste permit?"

"Well, first we have to go to a dentist and get a certificate saying we have to have toothpaste or our teeth will rot out."

"And after that?" asked Mrs. Wright.

"To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and be certified bona fide aliens."

"Does that take long?"

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DOUBLEDAY

"A couple of months—if you're lucky."

"Then do you get your toothpaste?"

"If the Ministry of Health hasn't given it all out. Sometimes you have to wait for the next shipment. Not many boats from Albania."

"Albania?" Mrs. Wright was puzzled.

"Government here has a contract with Albania for all the toothpaste ration for foreigners."

Communist toothpaste. Mrs. Wright touched her carefully folded Kleenex to the corners of her eyes. American young people forced to clean their teeth with Communist toothpaste.

Later that night Greg, on his motorscooter, light-headed with scotch, sailed along the dark, rut-filled road the twelve kilometers from the capital to his village. Occasionally he would punctuate his laughter with shouts: "Toothpaste permit. Albania. Dentist's certificate."

Just like one of those Embassy wives, he thought, not to know they sold toothpaste on the local market.

Back in her own air-conditioned bedroom Mrs. Wright lay awake a long time thinking about the Peace Corps Volunteers' teeth. And before she fell asleep, she had a plan.

The next morning Greg went down to the village market to the stall which sold four brands of toothpaste and bought two brands of pain reliever for the hangover he had cultivated by partaking too generously of the reception's duty-free scotch.

The same morning Mrs. Wright rose early. She called the officer at the American Embassy in charge of the Commissary. The smooth voice said, "Yes, Mrs.

Wright, what may I do for you?"

"I want to ask a question," said Mrs. Wright. "I know we are not allowed to sell things to people without commissary privileges, but we are allowed to make gifts, aren't we?"

"Well, yes, within reason," said the official, "but if it's liquor or cigarettes. . ."

"Oh, nothing like that," Mrs. Wright hastened to explain. "Just toothpaste."

"Oh well, Mrs. Wright, if it's just a few tubes of toothpaste, I can't see any problem."

In her air-conditioned car with her uniformed driver, Mrs. Wright went directly to the commissary building. There she told the local employee in charge she wanted to buy 200 tubes of toothpaste.

The man was courteous, business-like, but firm. "That will not be possible, Madam, we would be having to place a special order for more than ten of the same item."

Lunchtime came before the paperwork for the special order was complete.

Two months passed before the order arrived. These were hard months of waiting for Mrs. Wright. One afternoon she was so nervous she called the Peace Corps doctor. "I know you are so busy trying to save our Volunteers from all those dreadful diseases they catch out there in those villages, but I absolutely must ask about their teeth."

"Their teeth?" asked the Peace Corps doctor.

"Have there been a large number of problems with the Volunteers' teeth recently—in the past two months?"

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teer taking a survey for the World Health Organization, the doctor decided, and did not take time to find out which—if either. “Let’s see,” he said, “I think we had one extraction, and one impacted wisdom tooth.”

Mrs. Wright thanked the doctor and hung up. All did not seem to be lost, after all.

While Mrs. Wright fretted over the delay in the toothpaste arrival, Greg had little to fret about. His village agricultural project was going well. Through the Douglasses he had made other friends in the diplomatic community. He was averaging one invitation a week where there was a good supply of scotch.

Finally the day came. The toothpaste shipment arrived. Mrs. Wright and her driver drove to the Peace Corps office to deliver it. The office was located in a modest building, once a private residence. As her car stopped before the gate, it surprised Mrs. Wright to see there was no Marine Guard on duty. How frightening for these poor people to work in an unguarded building. What would they do in case of attack?

Mrs. Wright, seated in a chair in the Peace Corps director’s office, said, “I’ve come to make a donation to the Peace Corps.”

“That’s very nice of you,” said the Peace Corps director. “Our Volunteers are always happy to get old clothes or dishes to distribute in their villages.”

“But this donation is not for the villagers. It’s for the Volunteers themselves.” Mrs. Wright hastened to make her point clear. “It’s toothpaste.”

“Toothpaste?” said the director.

“Yes,” said Mrs. Wright, “because they have such a

horrible time getting their toothpaste permits and their clearances from the Foreign Ministry, and then having to use all that Communist toothpaste from Albania.”

The director leaned back in his chair and folded his fingers across the front of his bush shirt. “There are numerous difficulties for our Volunteers,” he said. “Tell me, how did you become aware of this. . .uh, toothpaste problem?”

Mrs. Wright told the director about meeting a young male volunteer at the Douglasses’ reception.

“Greg Stevenson,” said the director without hesitation.

“Yes, I believe that was his name,” said Mrs. Wright.

The Peace Corps director was a man of tact, and when Mrs. Wright left his office, she did so with his assurance the toothpaste would be well used.

The next morning, Greg, riding his motorscooter toward the capital, wondered why the Peace Corps director was calling him for a special discussion. He’d gained status with the villagers when a Peace Corps driver arrived the afternoon before with the message for Greg to come to see the director. Maybe, Greg thought, a magazine wants to do a story on a successful Peace Corps project and they’ve chosen mine.

Maybe, he thought, as he waited in the chair in front of the director’s desk, they want me to set up a special training project for a new group of PCVs.

Across the desk the director demanded, “Did you tell some lady from the Embassy some damn cock-and-bull story about a toothpaste permit?”

Greg groaned.

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The director pointed to a corner where the cartons of toothpaste were stacked. "Two hundred tubes of toothpaste—and you're going to need them. Go back to the village and pack."

"You're sending me back to the States?" asked Greg.

"No, I'm transferring you to Doobangkush."

"Doobangkush? Where's that?"

"North," said the director. "In the hills, The name in the local dialect means: high place where nothing grows but beans. You're going to run a dental health project—with all that toothpaste."

Doobangkush was a long way from the capital city. Greg made most of the trip by bus, an exaggerated title for the rickety conveyance that bumped along the rutted road jolting its cargo of villagers, fussing children, and chickens. It took Greg and three burros to transport his belongings—and the two hundred tubes of toothpaste—the last fifteen miles up the steep hillside to Doobangkush.

Life was not as happy for Greg there as it had been in the village near the capital. No more invitations to receptions with generous supplies of scotch. The dental project did not go well. With a diet consisting wholly of beans (because nothing else grew in Doobangkush) there was no sugar in the diet to cause cavities. With little need, it was difficult to convince the villagers to rub the funny tasting goo around in their mouths each day. Then the Young Communists spread a rumor the toothpaste was a contraceptive device and Greg's project an American imperialist plot to sterilize the whole village. The headman ordered Greg to bury the whole toothpaste supply in a field.

A chilly, rainy fall turned to a cold, dry winter. Christmas Day Greg and some of the village children decorated a little evergreen with a garland of beans they'd strung on twine. The tree grew on the edge of the field where Greg had buried all Mrs. Wright's toothpaste.

Greg stood that Christmas Day and looked at the frosted, barren field and thought of Mrs. Wright. He'd heard the Wrights had gone back to the States in October. Just as well. Mrs. Wright would never know what had happened to all that toothpaste she'd paid for. Just as well. With her departure the shipments of toothpaste the Peace Corps director forwarded to Doobangkush had ceased. Greg could stop planting toothpaste and plant vegetables. He hoped he could succeed in growing vegetables there. With the dental project folded, he had to do something.

Spring came and the planting. Summer came and the harvest. And the harvest was more than Greg had hoped.

Once again Greg was in the capital city, once again he held a glass of duty-free commissary scotch in his hand—the American Ambassador had just made certain he had a refill. A correspondent from UPI was asking, "Greg, when you added all that toothpaste to that plot of ground, did you have any reasonable expectation it would revolutionize agriculture in the region?"

Greg sipped scotch, then spoke with the self-assuredness of a man who had succeeded. "Not entirely. It was, of course, an experiment—a gamble. I knew conventional fertilizers had failed in the area. Soil analyses had failed to show exactly what elements or combinations of elements were lacking."

"Then it was fluoride that the soil needed?" the correspondent asked.

"Fluoride, trace elements in the mint flavoring, possibly a reaction of the metal in the tube with a particular element in the soil at Doobangkush." Greg shrugged. "There will be further tests, of course."


"What's important," said the beaming American Ambassador as he placed a hand on Greg's shoulder, "what's truly important is that this young American succeeded in finding a method for growing high yields of all major garden vegetables on land never before able to produce anything but a large, flat, colorless, tasteless bean. That, my friends, is yet another demonstration of American concern for peoples of our neighbor nations of the world."

The country's entire Peace Corps contingent had been invited to the Ambassador's reception for Greg. After the reporters cleared away to file their stories, a group of the agriculture volunteers with whom Greg had trained crowded around.

"Hey, man, that was really something," said one Volunteer as he clapped Greg on the back.

The others chimed agreement.

"Only thing," said a Volunteer named Jim, "did you know that because of your big agricultural revolution in Doobangkush, the government's diverting eighty percent of the toothpaste imports to agriculture?"

"Yeah," said another Volunteer, "thanks to you, Greg, starting next week, the government's rationing toothpaste. And just to clean our teeth, we're all going to have to go down to the Ministry of Health and stand in line for a toothpaste permit." 



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TOWARD UNSNARLING THE FOREIGN SERVICE "WIFE PROBLEM"

MARGARET W. SULLIVAN

One of the recurrent themes of the Foreign Service is "the wife problem." This dilemma is neither as simple nor as dismissible as the shorthand implies. To begin with, it is not merely a wife (or even dependent spouse) problem. Although the focus may frequently be on wives, the problem is one of families, both individual members and the family unit. Further, it does not lend itself to easy generalities or snap solutions. It is a complex cluster of questions, issues, irritations, emotions, tensions, perceptions and attitudes which have within them terrible disintegrative force if allowed to fester and explode. Faced squarely and honestly, however, the finding of creative solutions to these dilemmas can have great integrative power with ramifications far beyond the immediate questions.

At its crux, "the wife problem" seems to be one of relationships between the Service and the family members of its employees, what these presently are and what they should or could be. In addition,

Margaret Sullivan writes, "My husband has been in the Service for nearly 21 years. We have shared five posts. He was the first third secretary one post had ever seen and most recently was DCM at a small African post until we came home last summer. I have done whatever came along, including mothering four children, and am a writer and a painter. I am working on a book that is an outgrowth of our most recent tour (an anthropological study of crafts)."

there is a corollary, the interactions between wives. These relationships urgently need to be looked at by spouses and the Foreign Service alike. In order to do this, it is necessary to untangle a cat's cradle of variables which cross and re-cross, seemingly strung on wheels within wheels.

The central threads are:

- marriages;
 - the "needs of the Service" both explicit and implicit, the ways these are communicated and the ability of the Service to respond to changing circumstances;
 - wives, the ways they see themselves in the scheme of things, the effects they see the Service having on themselves, their families, their marriages and their relations with each other;
 - husbands, their place within the Service, the demands this makes on the wife and the effects wives' relationships with the Service have on husbands;
 - the varied demands stemming from the differing nature of posts;
 - host-country perceptions of the role of "Embassy Wife."
- These are all interwoven in the broader frame of rapid, convulsive change in the roles of men, women and children within American society and throughout the world. They sit on the fine line between what constitutes individual self-determined privacy and institutional responsibility. Entwining everything is the fact that the interculturally

migrant life—which the Foreign Service is—places unremitting demands on all who live it. The main problems this tangle creates can be expressed in specific terms—"representation," "jobs," "schools," "support systems," "communications," "community"—which need consideration literally and in terms of the issues implicit in them.

Finally, one comes to the central knot. Where do the obligations lie? Who has which responsibilities in solving the problem—if indeed, it is to be solved? What can realistically be done? How can this best be achieved to meet and respect the needs of all parties?

For simplicity's sake, I speak primarily of wives. Let it be clearly understood: this is not to exclude dependent male spouses; everything revolves around equally complex problems of husbands, children, marriages—families. The "wife problem" is merely a convenient handle. This analysis grows out of many conversations and from my experience as a participant observer over 20 years, at five posts with four children.

To untangle the many strands, a good starting point is to remember the obvious: wives are married women with some sort of an existence in connection with their husbands. The present problem stems at least in part from the ambiguous and changing roles of wives in the

larger society and consequently in the Foreign Service. Within the specific context, a wife is *of* but not *in* the Foreign Service. Willy-nilly, the two are related by marriage. Each is, therefore, joined to the other in derivative ways which neither has perhaps chosen nor can control, but which have profound, far-reaching effects. What are these?

Marriage Foreign Service Style

A woman who marries a member of the Foreign Service, if she is to be married in meaningful proximity, goes where he goes. Because the Service is specifically charged with carrying out the foreign relations of the United States, a Foreign Service employee accepts the obligation of being an official, public person with "worldwide availability." When she accompanies her husband abroad, the State Department extends to the wife her husband's diplomatic, consular or official status. She is, like him, a recipient of diplomatic courtesy, exempt from arrest and taxation. Legally, then, she too is an official American.

Beyond this, however, the Service and the nature of her husband's job inexorably impose on her (and the whole family)—no matter what role she sees or seeks for herself—a demanding nomadic existence from fishbowl to fishbowl as well as culture to culture. She finds herself playing often unsought for, derivative, time-consuming roles larger than herself. The round of settling, unsettling, settling again, at the convenience of the Service, means that life is one of continual discontinuity. About the time the curtains are hung, the children established, friends made, an interesting project well dug into, a language learned, she is suddenly moving again and must measure new windows, make new friends, find new projects, learn a new language and reestablish children. To her fall the details of "halfway round the world" logistics—shopping, packing, renting the house, shipping the dog. She, more than any member of the family unit, is called on to provide continuity and stability for her husband and children. If she has her own career aspirations, then unless she has a portable job, she is often faced with

unwanted choices between career and husband.

These are among the realities the Foreign Service wife faces. They are both limitations on her options and amplifiers of her scope. For some—in spite of its inherent frustrations—the challenge and the opportunities to travel, to know interesting, important, different people and cultures, to occasionally be in on exciting world events all offer the possibility for deep joys, creative contributions and ever-expanding horizons. For others, the frustrations and the sense of being dominated by too many outside uncontrollable forces outweigh the opportunities.

But the wife, no matter how affected by it, and in spite of her legally diplomatic status, is not really a part of the formal structure of the Service. She goes where she goes only because the Service is sending her husband. Whatever responsibility the Department has for her is an extension of obligations to him. Nonetheless, the Service relies on the stability the ballast of good wifing provides and pays a high cost both directly and indirectly if too many wives are too unhappy. Distressed wives mean distressed families which in turn mean distressed employees. This can mean time lost from work. It can mean early, precipitous, costly transfer. It can mean good men leaving the Service. It also means uncounted emotional costs to women, men and children. Ruth Useem has pointed out in her study of American women in India that organizations and corporations working in other cultures ignore to their peril their need for the coping skills of wives. Another phrasing of the fundamental question, then, is who owes what to whom or does either owe the other anything?

In the "old days," the Service—as did society—defined a role for the wife and through it her relationship to the Service. "Two for the price of one." "Stuff bean bags. Do what the Ambassador's wife tells you and, if you help your husband properly, you in your turn will be the Ambassador's wife." "You will not work. Whatever skills or interests you may possess, even your role as mother, must be subordinated to your role as Foreign Service wife." Abhorrent

as this is by today's standards, it established a relationship which recognized the need for what was being done by wives; embodied some clearly understood reciprocal obligations; created a sense of community and *esprit de corps*; gave continuity to women's lives (an Embassy tea is an Embassy tea in Paris or Ouagadougou, only the trimmings differ) and provided some of them a standard for a sense of personal worth. It did not, however, respect the wife as an individual or recognize her right or need for self-determination. It was a code of behavior imposed on its members by its members, articulated not by a faceless or impersonal "Management" but rather by a clearly visible, sometimes feared, Ambassador's wife.

Times, however, changed. More and more women expected to be recognized as individuals. They wanted to make their own choices, set their own priorities, use their own educations and exert a considerable measure of independence. The authoritarian, hierarchical view held by the old Foreign Service was perceived by many as intolerably demeaning. There was tension, dissension and revolt in the ranks. But there was no clear consensus of expectations, roles or relationships among wives or with the Foreign Service. There still is not and perhaps there cannot be.

In 1972, the first official statement on wives—ever—was issued by a faceless and impersonal "Management." It defined wives as private persons and was for many, therefore, a much needed initial step in changing the role of wives in the Foreign Service. The fact that they are private persons and that this is acknowledged is important to most wives. The directive was clearly made in good faith as an attempt to get wives out from under oppressive custom and to "solve the problem." However, in quite rightly stating that wives, as private persons, were no longer to be mentioned in their husband's efficiency reports, could not be expected to do anything and did not have an obligation to help one another, the directive inadvertently helped create or illuminate as many problems as were solved. Perhaps this was because it addressed only a fraction of the total dilemma.

What is the whole relationship?
Where are the limits of privacy?

Non-persons

One of the results of the 1972 statement is a growing sense among many wives that in relation to the Foreign Service, they are now non-persons. This sense and the elements which produce it are fundamental factors in the problem and may be a key to the basic dilemma. Non-personhood comes, I think, from a "reality gap." Or from a split message. Explicitly, the Service says that wives are private persons, therefore it requires nothing of them. Its requirements are leveled only on employees—the husbands. Implicitly, or by extension however, it continues to make demands on wives—beyond those of moving and living—because it continues to need the work that wives do. The system within which she is to be a private person has not substantially altered from one in which wives were in every way an extension of the husband and could be expected to meet the needs of the Service. Nothing has yet been designed by the Service to replace wives' voluntary contributions to its functioning. Still implicit in the system is the expectation of their participation in institutionalized forms of social obligation and interaction. While technically no longer required of wives—they do not *have* to go to or give parties or play tourist guide for Congressmen's wives—in practice such things are difficult for many wives to avoid. It is also true that many do not want to avoid these obligations. In any case, the system as presently designed is dependent on wife-power.

This is especially true in the realm of entertaining. Representational entertaining is considered important enough by the Department (and the Congress) that allowances have been made available for it. At post, the institutional assumption is that entertaining is necessary and that the employee will entertain. He is graded on how well he does it. But his wife, in most cases, does the work. Except in the most cosmopolitan of cities which offer complete commercial catering services, the work of entertaining demands of the wife a professional range of catering and managerial skills and lots of time.

Even where catering facilities or restaurants are available as alternatives, representation allowances spent that way generally can not be spread far enough to make the means cover the need. Furthermore, the American pattern is home entertainment. Supposing he has the requisite skills, the employee, often more than fully occupied in the office, does not always have the additional time required to organize the parties that can be expected of him. Many single officers—even women—have been heard to bemoan the lack of a wife to carry these responsibilities! And if a wife carries them, she does it for love—of her husband, of her country, of the Service, of her status—or because of subtle forms of intimidation or from a "sense of duty." She does not do it for money, the symbol of professional recognition in our culture. Yet often she renders professional service. And the Foreign Service accepts it.

Organizing entertaining is not the only area in which the Service uses wives' work as part of its official functioning. Embassies still serve as tourist agencies for visiting VIPs. More often than not, the guides for the sight-seeing and shopping expeditions are wives. Wives make significant additions to post reports, post differential reports, cost of living surveys, status of schools reports and the like where their particular knowledge and viewpoint are most necessary. Sometimes these contributions are attributed so that the wife can at least use them as part of a work portfolio. More often, they are not.

Other than a brief appreciative nod in the 1972 directive, however, the Service does not officially recognize these contributions made to it by wives. So built into the system—and the society—is the assumption that wives will make the kinds of contributions they do that it is rare even to have someone say "thank you": one wife will thank another, but the instigating husband rarely does. Wives receive from the Service a split message. Their help is not required but is implicitly demanded. They are called "private persons" but the institutional assumption remains that they are "participating persons." Their contribution to the Service's

work is accepted but neither the work nor they are acknowledged. The message this effectively sends to wives is that they are neither "private persons" nor "participating persons" but non-persons. Some women are beginning to call themselves "suckers."

Lack of recognition for services rendered is not the only way in which wives feel that they are treated by the Foreign Service as non-persons. Some wives speak of hassles in getting necessary information in order to make personal decisions wisely or of being condescended to when they, rather than their husbands, have to deal with administrative sections either at home or abroad. Administrative officers, conversely, have stories of demanding, overbearing wives which would last for hours and curl the hair. So it goes. Wives' complaints about the lack of building passes or easy access to husbands' Embassy offices without Marine guard or secretarial escort may sound like nit-picking. In practical terms merely nuisances, these are, really, symbols through which the State Department, no doubt unintentionally, communicates to wives that the Department does not consider them to have the special relationship with it or an Embassy that many wives feel they do or should have. The effect is to say to wives "you are not even *of* the Foreign Service—except of course when we need you." Further, feelings that families are not considered when personnel-policy decisions are made and that there is no way, effective or not, that wives can influence a system which so profoundly affects their lives compounds the frustration, hurt and anger at being a non-person—and a dependent non-person at that. (Blowing off steam to a patient husband who has heard it all thousands of times before, who feels his own frustrations at the system, may vent the spleen. It rarely has long range benefit.)

7,420 Individual Relationships

Before talking more about wives and their relationship to the Foreign Service, however, it is important to remember that this is not a monolithic group of women. There is very little about which it is possible to make a categorical "all

wives. . .” statement. While, like their husbands, these women are a highly select, particularly well educated, unusually competent group, they represent much the same variations as the rest of the population. They are tall, fat, thin, young, *d'un certain age*, old, plain, attractive, happily married, unhappily married, good mothers, bad mothers, not mothers at all, content with themselves, vastly discontented with themselves, muddling along. Some want to be private persons, others want the public role. What is really being talked of, then, which makes it so difficult to discuss, is about 7,420 individual relationships.*

While each wife is a unique person, wives do, however, seem to fall in a number of general types. To describe these types and their inter-relationships, it is perhaps useful to think of a triangle.

At one vertex is the traditional Foreign Service Wife. I suspect that in its purest form this is a dying breed or an endangered species, depending on one's point of view. These women are committed to helping their husbands and the Foreign Service. They speak with pride of having “served.” At their best, they are warm-hearted women with a strong sense of responsibility to the Service and therefore an urge to train younger women coming up, a gift for languages and cultures, a generosity of spirit which somehow helps them keep in touch with their children, be wives to their husbands, meet the needs of the community around them and still manage to turn up cheerfully at the bazaar or cocktail party well-coifed and unruffled even if the plumbing has overflowed and the children have measles. They are professional logistics experts, caterers, hostesses, social secretaries, hotel managers (skills they share with many of the other wives) and avid players of the diplomatic and Foreign Service games. At their worst, they are the imperious dragons which are a part of the myth upon which some of the

general discontent rests. For many of these women, the new regulations are very threatening, undercutting as they do the old verities. These wives are often increasingly puzzled by and resentful of the “young women who don't do anything but complain. After all, this is the life you expect in the Foreign Service.”

At another vertex are the totally independent women who are determined to “do their own thing,”

“Within the triangle defined by these three “pure” types is a large group of women trying to find their own blends of meeting the demands of the Foreign Service, fulfilling their own personal ambitions and being ‘good wives and mothers.’ ”

often a career which is a primary self-identification. They chose marriage—actively—but do not intend that this personal relationship shall define them as persons. They are angered by the infringements upon “self” that the diplomatic life involves and feel little obligation to the Service. A few are strident. Many are deeply committed women. They are involved in forms of marriage that recognize their career independence and incorporate active “co-parenting.” The kinds of careers they wish to pursue require a continuity which Foreign Service mobility almost precludes. It is vitally important to them that they retain their independence, have the responsibility to make their own choices and order their own priorities. Many are looking for ways to co-exist with the Foreign Service because of their relationships with their Foreign Service spouses. However, if these ways can not be found soon, they are also prepared to quit, either taking husbands with them or leaving them behind. These women, interestingly enough, are not all just young ones. There seems to be an

increasing number of older women re-evaluating their views of “self” and therefore taking the private person's part of the Foreign Service directive on wives totally and literally. This is perhaps the wave of the future if recent surveys indicating that over 90 percent of the present generation of high school girls expect to have careers are accurate.

At the third vertex are wives who want to fill traditional wife, mother, homemaker roles and reject as much as they can the outside demands of Foreign Service life—parties, public appearances, charities and the like—and resent what they find they cannot reject. Some have set aside careers; others never intended to have them. These women often have outside interests but they are frequently directly related to being mother/wife, such as cooking, sewing, gardening, Girl Scouting, teaching Sunday School or working for the PTA. If they have more far-flung personal interests, these are, for the time at least, definitely subordinate to the demands of home and family. For some of these women, an active, personal, non-Embassy-related experience with the country in which they find themselves and making it real to their children is important. For others, the host country is irrelevant and the most important thing is to function within as much of a “little America” as possible. While, in its most extreme form, this type of woman can be wholly dependent on husband and children for identification and self-worth, others are strong, warm, loving and family centered. They are often deeply distressed by the negative effects they see Foreign Service life having on children who are neglected, subjected to discontinuity and/or forced separation from families. This life angers them because it demands of them and their husbands time which they think should be more properly allocated to family pursuits and uses this time for things they feel are of doubtful value.

Within the triangle defined by these three “pure” types is a large group of women trying to find their own blends of meeting the demands of the Foreign Service, fulfilling their own personal ambitions and being “good wives and mothers.” They often enjoy the chances the

* *The State Department does not keep statistics about dependents that are readily accessible. The figure used comes from AAFSW which recently struggled to pull together a mailing list for wives from State, AID and USIA. Does the Department know exactly how many dependent “spice” are of but not in it? How many children they have?*

Foreign Service offers for travel and living in another culture. Many also value the chance for family team work that the life can offer. Some manage to carry careers from place to place, others carry interests which they use in different ways at different posts. Others relish the opportunity to play lots of bridge. They pride themselves on their "professionalism" and their coping skills—and occasionally on their saving sense of humor. Such wives have chosen to juggle getting children to the Health Unit for shots with the necessity of bargaining stall-to-stall in order to put together a dinner for eighteen in spite of the fact that the cook's brother has just died "up-line"; with carrying on an intelligent conversation with the Minister of Health about the problems of family planning based on years of involvement in a number of countries; with a monosyllabic conversation about children and cooking with the Minister's wife; with a comradely wink at her husband across the crowd at a reception; with making costumes for the Little Theatre's musical; with chasing a snake from the bathroom; with finding time to write a weekly letter to a non-corresponding son halfway round the world. And they like it. But the verbal ones are an increasingly disillusioned and frustrated group of women as they come to feel that much of what they have invested themselves in is pointless. While they may take personal satisfaction in the private knowledge of a good job well done, they often feel that the ultimate beneficiary of their hard work is not themselves—or even their husbands—but the Foreign Service. They have the satisfaction neither of recognition nor of a marketed or marketable skill to show for invested years. Discontinuity becomes more and more difficult to handle. They, like others who speak out, feel that they go unheard.

There is a final small but growing group of wives who have taken this dilemma to one of its logical extensions. They have decided that if they are to continue to do what the Foreign Service seems to demand, they will do it professionally by joining the Service. Some of these are young women with young children who are joining after having served abroad before in the

"merely wife" capacity. Others are joining as their husbands join. Still others are joining as their officer husbands are near or at retirement and some are returning to the Service which was the career they left for marriage. This solution to the problem offers both its own satisfactions and its own hazards.

Senior Wives, Hierarchy and Community Lost

While the varying identities of wives and the demands of the Foreign Service, both explicit and implicit, are major strands in the cats' cradle, there are a number of other strands which alter the tension of the web.

First among these is not so much the husband's rank as the position he holds at a particular post. Even though the Service now nominally gives them alternatives, wives of Ambassadors, their Deputies, Principal Officers, their Deputies, and to a somewhat lesser extent, the wives of Heads of Sections find themselves enmeshed in a round of virtually unavoidable entertaining, being entertained, appearing at a variety of ceremonial functions and participating in any number of civic activities in the diplomatic, host-country and resident-American communities that consume large portions of their time and energy. The work load of entertaining falls mainly to them. Even though they are no longer required to do it, the dynamics of many Embassies forces on them an in-house social service agency function. For many of these women, this syndrome of official functions occupies anywhere from half to all their time. The burden is heavier because there are fewer women carrying it than before. Younger, more junior wives who might previously have been co-opted are opting out. As the present regulations and atmospherics stand, "senior wives" cannot ask for help, often not even "friend to friend." Increasingly, wives at all levels are asking "What if I just don't do it?" Being a purely private person is a much more viable option for the wives of men whose responsibilities are less representational in all meanings of the word. The success shoe is now on the other foot. Where the attainment of seniority and status by the husband used to have concomi-

tant rewards for the wife, it now frequently only increases her work load and decreases her personal options.

Hierarchy and feelings about it affect not only work loads, however. The increasing democratization of the larger social structure and the residual, slow dying, institutionalized derivative social stratifications within the Service create many tensions. The old order is not yet sufficiently dead for young women no longer to be confronted by situations in which they do the grunt work—now by choice, some still do—only to have the benefits, when they come along, be handed out to women who may not have helped but whose *husbands* are in more senior positions. So widely known are old horror stories about domineering dragons and the pecking order among wives that no matter what atmosphere up-and-coming "senior wives" hope to help achieve, they must first more than overcome the myths and the predispositions of other wives to see everything in those bristly terms.

In articulating the wife's private status, the 1972 directive both addressed itself to the relationship of wives to the Foreign Service and defined the institutionalized relationship of wives to each other. Consequently, earlier customary reciprocal obligations based on relationships deriving from husbands' relative positions technically no longer apply. Just as younger women cannot be co-opted to help out, so the Ambassador's wife can no longer be held responsible for the well-being of the younger wives at post. Women's participation in each others' lives is requirable neither by the system nor by members of it. What effects does this have on wives? On posts? On the Service? The old system is going but who makes the new one?

In practical terms, wives cannot, for instance, be required to attend Embassy coffees or meet and greet newcomers. In spite of this, Embassy wives' organizations still function voluntarily in some places. They are non-existent in others. Senior wives often must tread lightly if they wish to encourage them for fear of generating negative reactions. Calling and ob-

servations of in-house protocol also can no longer be required of private persons and at some posts are not even carried on optionally. Phony as calling may have seemed to many, based on a dying standard of hierarchical values, it did serve to get people acquainted. This happens automatically in very small posts where a more natural sense of neighborliness can exist. It does not happen without some sort of organization at large posts. These institutions and organizations often provide much-needed focuses for women who might otherwise find time hanging very heavy on their hands. They can help break down the sense of loneliness and isolation of being a stranger in a strange place. Ironically, it is often the woman sitting unhappily at home alone, who could therefore profit most from belonging to such an organization, who sometimes seems to resent most encouragement along this line. Part of what wives' clubs depended on to exist effectively, however, was obligatory participation. As more people follow their personal bents, this sustaining fellowship ceases to be.

There are many mixed feelings floating around in the whole realm of "in-house" social relations. Women resent being imposed on or even being asked to participate by other women or by the impersonal Service. But they can be equally resentful if they are ignored. The wife who complains about being invited to the Ambassador's for "in-house" Christmas Eve cocktails ("What an inconsiderate time!") is just as apt to be critical if these kinds of things are not done ("They never do anything for the Embassy children"). Domestic relations within an Embassy are extremely important to the Foreign Service, yet the wives who creatively concern themselves in it are often damned if they do, damned if they don't. Nor does the institution help the principal officer out with the costs of in-house entertaining which, in moderation, can be oil on troubled waters. Unless this obligation is shared, both financially and psychologically, it becomes a very heavy burden. "Private person" is a status which both the organization and the individuals seem to apply selectively with the wives of senior officers repeatedly getting

caught in the middle.

Another effect of these changing roles and relationships is the dissolution of the old network for passing along the "skills of the trade"—how to cope. It exists tenuously and with trepidation where individual women are still bound by custom or caring and take it upon themselves. In passing on social coping skills, however, unless she is the soul of tact, a woman may risk either an explosion in her

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Oreos and sour
cream mix are readily
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electricity works or if
the housing is
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these are."**

face or complaints behind her back. There is a fine line, of course, between sharing coping skills and imposing standards of behavior. Nonetheless, some of these subjects seem to have become taboo across "generational" lines. This is no doubt necessary if personal choices and priorities of values and life styles are to be respected. But one of the results for the Foreign Service will be a generation of wives ill-prepared for what they may be called upon to do, even if the system changes radically in the meantime.

This is not to say that all the networks are dismantled or all the bonds severed. Shared-post networks are very strong indeed. When they have returned to Washington, groups of women who may not have been close friends but who have a post in common will meet at more or less regular intervals over a long period of time. "Oh you were in—did you know—?" is a prime Foreign Service game which establishes links and continuity where otherwise there might be none. Many wives are by nature neighborly and caring. But the customary structure which reinforced these patterns is

suspect and dwindling. More depends on the random confluence of compatible individuals for harmonious posts than ever before.

The effect, then, of articulating these changes in relationship has been to illuminate and accelerate a breakdown in a sense of community within the Foreign Service. The breakdown had already begun long before the 1972 directive as women's resentment of Embassy teas and having their lives organized for them grew. In the "old" Foreign Service, community, like many other things, was imposed. Now, quite rightly, it can no longer be. *Perhaps* at the root of the loss of community—a problem which is infinitely complex—there are two things: an increased number of women who do not identify with the Foreign Service and therefore do not participate in that common experience or identity and *esprit*; and a desire on the part of many for the benefits but an unwillingness to assume the responsibilities which make community possible. The latter is by no means confined to the Foreign Service. For some wives, the very strong ones whose private sense of self is clearly enough defined, the breakdown of community is *perhaps* not a loss. But loss of community for some heightens a sense of being a non-person. For others, community can mean the difference between adjusting to a difficult post and being medically evacuated. To the Foreign Service, community is a necessary ingredient for its successful functioning; another area in which it is at least partially dependent upon wives. Changes in attitudes by women and changes of expectation by the Service both share the responsibility for this breakdown. Can it, should it, be re-established? By whom?

Posts—Hard? Easy? Large? Small?

The nature of a post is also a part of the dynamic. Some posts are much easier to live in than others and therefore do not make as many unavoidable demands on wives whose husbands are assigned there. It is not just a matter of whether or not lettuce, apples, fresh meat, Oreos and sour cream mix are readily available or if the

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"After all there is but one race—humanity."

— George Moore

Human Rights and the Belgrade Conference: A Challenge for American Diplomacy

CLIFFORD BRODY, ROBERT RAND AND MARTIN SLETZINGER

President Carter's strong inaugural statement on human rights has rekindled debate on how the United States can resolve specific problems with other governments while reaching an international consensus for assuring individual freedoms. The President's own sentiments are clear, unmistakably genuine, and welcome. But coming months will show whether attempts to commingle human rights questions with traditional foreign policy priorities will survive the challenge of advocates professing an overriding need for pragmatism in foreign affairs.

Our European allies have always counseled restraint in matters of human rights, reminding us in a friendly way that our adversaries are even more reluctant to include such discussion on diplomatic agendas. They will point to the prevailing opinion in both Eastern and Western Europe on the latest multilateral expression of human freedoms, the Helsinki Final Act, as eminent proof that compliance with any such formulation must remain a matter of unilateral enforcement, regardless of the legal nature of the document. That is the

way of sovereign states.

Not so long ago, diplomatic corridors here and abroad were filled with murmurs of how strangely naive it was for Americans to be so upset over the Watergate scandal, or how "counterproductive" it was for matters of trade to be linked to emigration in the 1974 Trade Bill. Similar noises can be heard now, along with the facile assumption that the new President's interest in human rights will succumb to devoted inattention.

Foreign skepticism is but one of many obstacles to overcome. The Administration has to determine whether its own foreign policy machinery can effectively include questions of human dignity and freedom on the standing list of US foreign policy priorities. Penciling in that item will depend as much on the judgment and advice of our own experienced diplomats as anything else. They are the front-line troops pressed many times into the service of sounding out foreign governments on joint efforts to assure human freedoms. Invariably, our emissaries have had to cable back to Washington that their diplomatic counterparts at the foreign ministry believe that human rights is too lofty a topic for meaningful bilateral concern.

Significant for the future, too, is that US diplomats have faced disincentives to devoting much time and effort to human rights issues. These disincentives derive from a legitimate, essential prerequisite of diplomacy itself: *presenting the right image.*

Image cannot be ignored. It is compromised if a diplomat goes beyond the limits his foreign hosts

set for discussing any issue of mutual concern.

Whether US emissaries have a sufficiently raised human rights consciousness plays no part in this. They are in the business of seeking a convergence of governments' views, on matters big and small, bargaining for compromise, not ideals. Their counterparts are paid to keep the discussion as narrow as possible. The more limited the scope, the better chance there is for accord.

Notwithstanding facts of political oppression—of which there are a mind-boggling number—most governments with which the United States enjoys diplomatic relations are able to point in international dialogues to specific written commitments they have made to respect human freedoms. What else, they say, is left to discuss? Paid to keep communications with his foreign counterparts open and in good order, an American diplomat is clearly hardpressed to reply. Least effective would be to repeat strong entreaties to an uninterested human rights audience likely to reiterate that all that can be done has been done.

If a US diplomatic representative nevertheless is instructed to make a formal presentation on individual freedoms, he will. But in the back of his mind will be the knowledge that the next set of instructions from Washington is likely to deal with more conventional issues—a trade agreement, visa fees, commercial activities. To keep the Foreign Ministry door open to resolving these problems, our US diplomat treads softly with a human rights discussion his lis-

Mr. Brody is an FSO assigned to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe as a State Department Consultant. He has served in Paris and Prague. Messrs. Rand and Sletzinger serve on the Commission staff as Staff Assistants responsible for substantive research in CSCE matters. Robert Rand holds his master's in Russian history from Indiana University and a Russian area certificate from the Russian Institute there. He studied at Leningrad University in 1973. Martin Sletzinger just received his Ph.D. from Harvard in Soviet and East European politics and spent a year in Yugoslavia on a Fulbright grant.

tener does not want to hear.

Preserving the right image carries over to perceptions US diplomatic officers have of one another. Not one of them would argue the inappropriateness of American concern for the plight of oppressed peoples. But few of them beset with sorting out bilateral issues would forcefully insist to State Department colleagues that the United States can afford a strong human rights stance at any price. Instead, they accept the caution that some of our stronger adversaries will hold out progress in key bilateral disputes as the price for a soft US voice on individual freedoms. Disputing this contention would be perceived, for better or worse, as professional foolishness by those responsible for guiding our Foreign Service system of promotions and assignments. That may well be the way things ought to be.

But in the meantime, devotees of a strong United States position on human rights will misdirect their criticism by singling out the State Department. Insistent voices should and will be heard that the United States must assert moral leadership in this troubled world, but they will add that State Department resistance to this represents a vested interest in the status quo: not rocking the international political boat.

Well, there is no vested interest. The illusion of apathy on our diplomats' part is in fact the reality of other governments' attitudes. To overlook this, or to discount it, is an error. Piles of paper exist verifying foreign perceptions of US policy priorities. A sufficient number of them deal directly with foreign *disinterest* with our interest in human affairs. We have to acknowledge that if our own diplomats show signs of skepticism, they may be faithfully reflecting foreign official evaluations of the chance today that foreign governments will receive or support efforts to get human rights on diplomatic agendas. In the absence of a new, innovative, United States approach, our diplomats will meet the same resistance as before, or perhaps be treated to the stinging rejoinder: clean up your own house first!

A Formidable Challenge

Thirty-five signatory states

whose leaders solemnly put their names to the Helsinki Final Act two years ago will send emissaries to Belgrade in just three months. Their mission will be to map out how to begin the first formal evaluation of compliance to the Helsinki Accords. Thus, the Belgrade follow-up meeting scheduled for the fall of 1977 will have begun several months earlier.

How we discuss compliance to the Final Act, and whether the West can get its words in edgewise, has become a question of paramount importance right now. If the United States is serious about pressing for further compliance, it must move beyond the previous Administration's argument that the Helsinki Final Act has no legal standing. Instead, it should assert that while we cannot legally force compliance in any court, every signatory has been given the explicit political authority to insist openly that the Helsinki accords be put into effect.

The USSR has already begun to wield this authority. Helsinki watchers here and abroad have detected a basic Soviet approach to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Belgrade meetings which challenges the fundamental Western understanding of what the Final Act was meant politically to accomplish. Moscow's delegates will come to Belgrade this June lobbying for a fall agenda of mere discussion by each country of what it has done to comply with the Helsinki accords. There would be no room in this scenario for exchanges over what other countries have done or must do. Soviet signals appeared in earnest when the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee last November released a document calling for Belgrade to be "an exchange of opinion on the positive experience of cooperation among states." It is not clear that opponents to the idea have an effective alternative to propose.

The Soviet Union has proclaimed the CSCE process as a great contribution to European security and détente. It continually accuses the West of distorting the Final Act by concentrating too much on Basket III (the third section of the Helsinki Final Act, dealing with questions of human rights and the free flow of information),

labeling concern for humanitarian issues as a hollow pretext for interfering in Warsaw Pact country internal affairs. Contrary to Western invocations of Eastern non-compliance to Basket III, the Soviets feel that facts at their disposal prove Communist countries have done more to meet the basic intent of the Final Act's ten principles, and that Communist governments have taken more initiatives to promote and encourage the freer flow of information, cultural and educational exchanges—a range of Basket III provisions. Moscow hopes to cloud any debate over emigration with a barrage of self-serving statistics on Western books or films available in the USSR. The intent is clear: to beg any question the West may raise on Eastern non-implementation of Basket III's provisions on free movement of peoples.

The Soviets are presently advancing the notion that the political détente "achieved" at Helsinki must be complemented by military détente. Last November the Warsaw Pact nations adopted a draft treaty calling on CSCE signatories to renounce first-use of nuclear weapons. It is of little consequence that NATO formally rejected the notion a month later. The treaty proposal is likely to reemerge at Belgrade.

Experts have detected a Kremlin inclination to "escape forward" from the Helsinki provisions. The USSR would relegate the Final Act to the past, put aside any questions of compliance to Basket III, and finesse any attempt to review the Final Act by stressing "new" CSCE initiatives.

A few of these initiatives have already appeared. They include a COMECON approach to conclude an agreement with the Common Market calling for mutual, formal diplomatic recognition. The Soviets have also tried to expand the CSCE role expressly given to the UN Economic Commission for Europe by proposing all-European conferences on energy, transport and the environment. More initiatives are likely.

Western Europe generally has been opposed to these moves. If successful, these Moscow CSCE offensives would tend to enhance and institutionalize Soviet influ-

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"No one can build his security upon the nobleness of another person."

— Willa Cather

SECURITY FILES FROM INSIDE OUT

THOMAS A. DONOVAN

People who work in the Office of Personnel and in the Office of Security are seldom very communicative about their work. Now and then, to be sure, one meets up with an odd fellow from one of these offices who enjoys gossiping about his work. I used to lunch with one of these fellows from SY every few weeks at the Governor Shepherd Hotel some years back, and so I could naturally not fail to pick up an interesting story here and there. But by and large, specialists in the more sensitive branches of administration have never been very satisfactory companions in after-duty encounters. For most of us, then, our occasional meetings with these privileged possessors of so much interesting information are only depressing reminders of how little, in the real world, any of us can ever know about so many important matters bearing directly on our personal and our professional lives.

But this was a while ago. For the Congress, exercising its constitutional power to alter by statute even the most ancient common law privileges of administrative and personnel officers, has lately changed all of this. It has decreed that, with some exceptions, the bulk of the material about you and me and the man down the street on file in a government office must

now be shown, after completion of some formalities, to the individual concerned. The laws which worked this wonder are the Freedom of Information Act with 1974 amendments and the Federal Privacy Act. Copies may be obtained from your friendly neighborhood bookstore of the Government Printing Office.

How well these Acts are working is a matter of some dispute. The newspapers report that the affected agencies are almost unanimously unhappy at being put to the trouble of going through their files for the material which idle and curious outsiders like myself (a retired FSO on the sidelines these last seven years) stir themselves to request. It is not only too much trouble to search out these documents, the agencies complain, but it will also be harmful in the long run to the proper fulfillment by personnel and security officers of their essential tasks.

As might be expected, however, the private citizen who finally gets a glimpse at records about himself which in earlier days were the most closely kept secrets of our great departments of government sees the matter rather differently. And why not? What taxpayer ever protested at finding himself on the receiving end of an entirely unexpected government handout? So it is that, though there have naturally been objections here and there that the agencies are holding back on the material they release, by and large the Acts seem to be working reasonably well. And if this appraisal of their operation seems overly

optimistic, put it down to my own surprise at how agreeably entertained and enlightened I have been in seeing, at long last, a fair slice of the hitherto unseeable mass of material on myself in the files of the Office of Personnel and the Office of Security.

This is not to say that my intellectual curiosity about these matters has been completely satisfied. How could it be when only 66 of 119 documents declared to have been found in my security file were released in their entirety? Of the remainder, two were withheld completely: one because "the Bureau of European Affairs has determined that it does not pertain to you and is not covered by the provisions of the Privacy Act" and another because, as an explanatory letter from a Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security puts it, "EUR has determined that it is not relevant to your request." This is puzzling. If it is not relevant and doesn't pertain to me, why has it been retained in my security files all these years? I suppose I'll never know, unless I can find a sympathetic federal judge to see for himself. This is not very difficult to do, incidentally, for the Freedom of Information Act provides that "proceedings before the district court . . . take precedence on the docket over all cases . . . and shall be expedited in every way." And if you win, the government pays for your lawyer!

Generalizations in this field are no doubt risky, for no two files can ever be exactly comparable. My own files, I would think, were

Thomas A. Donovan, FSO-retired, served at Prague, The Hague, Frankfurt, Warsaw, Berlin, Khorramshahr and in the Department. Since then he has been active in politics, conservation groups and the education field.

probably considerably larger than the average. The paper from the Office of Personnel, totalling some 467 pages, was perhaps not unduly bulky, considering that it included efficiency reports from 1947 through 1968. But my security file, at least the portion of it made available to me, amounted to 649 pages, and this must be above average even for SY. And this is so even allowing for some padding. Over 65 pages, for example, were routine SY buckslips asking the FBI and CIA to run name checks on friends and associates of mine (names deleted, of course). These were not the only duplications. Several internal SY memoranda were substantially identical in content, though written at long intervals apart. Superior officers in Personnel and in SY evidently do not mind having their subordinates repeat themselves in this fashion, if it saves readers from having to go back through a file and sort things out for themselves.

Of the 53 mostly multi-paged documents released to me with deletions, 31 were ones from which names and identifying data were blotted out to protect confidential sources. This precaution, which is carefully provided for in the enabling Acts, seems to be working as well as could be expected. What it has done, I think, is to provide a decent margin of security for the names of casual informants of our file-keepers, while still making it possible for interested outside readers to make fairly accurate guesses as to the identity of SY's more helpful friends. In reading my own files, at any rate, I usually found that the deleted names were either of no interest at all to me, because the information the informants had provided was entirely inconsequential, or, when the items were more interesting, the information had evidently been obtained from people whom I had already long known to be eager peddlers of tales to security.

Twelve of the documents released to me also contained deletions which had been made to protect security information. The earliest dated from 1961 and the latest from 1971. I wondered, when I read the covering letter from the helpful Deputy Assistant Secretary explaining that these cuts had been made to protect national security

information, whether this meant that some of the things said about me or that I had done in those remote times were still national secrets. But I was reading too much into the deletions. In actual fact, when the documents were looked at carefully, it became clear that these flattering deletions for the most part only amounted to a routine cutting out of the letters "CIA" when they appeared in a sentence or in a subject heading. And this is all right. Why should SY take their brainier people off of whatever they are doing at the moment and put them to work trying to decide what in my file is "national security information" and what is not? It is much easier, really, for SY's investigators to go ahead and rub out the offending letters whenever they appear, like clerks in a Russian editorial office removing names of the ambiguously deceased from a new edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia.

But these, after all, are purely technical objections to the quality of SY's end products. A more reasoned objection, if I were to argue the case, is that, given the premises the Office appears to base its work upon, there is rather too little paper in the files than too much.

Consider, for example, this matter of references to the Central Intelligence Agency. Some of these have to do with an effort by someone in SY Washington to determine whether, unbeknownst to SY and anyone in authority in the Department, the Agency might have put me on its payroll. How this came about I am not sure. Perhaps SY had had reasons for thinking CIA had done such a disloyal thing on other occasions. Perhaps it was only because the East Germans had listed my name in a "Who's Who in CIA" published around then in East Berlin—a natural enough mistake for the East Germans to make, for my work as Chief of the Eastern Affairs Section of the Department's Mission in West Berlin and an earlier Foreign Service job I had had in Frankfurt had involved a certain amount of liaison with CIA functionaries. Or it might have been only because an ill-willed subordinate set SY's hounds a-baying with self-serving hints that, among other things, my relations with the Agency would repay

investigation.

This was something, one might suppose, that could easily enough be cleared up. Agencies maintain liaison officers with each other to process inquiries back and forth on matters like this. But there is nothing in the documents in the file to show that the question was ever put to CIA. Nor is there any indication that SY had ever heard of the East German booklet—a document, when you come down to it, which one would think it the business of an Office of Security to learn about. In the event, SY eventually satisfied itself that all was reasonably well with me, but its files as I read them are a deplorably inadequate record of how it arrived at its happily affirmative judgment of me (for I always kept all of my clearances).

The personnel and security files seem sadly incomplete in another respect as well. One knows, from other sources, that upper level officials of the Department have from time to time acted on the basis of information contained in the files. Three of my own overseas assignments at different points in my Foreign Service career happened, for a variety of reasons, to have been decided upon by Deputy Undersecretaries of State for Administration. This is a quite uncommon circumstance, but there is nothing of this in either the personnel or the security files. This shows, I think, not only how indifferent even the most responsible officials are to the importance of the written record. It also shows—and this should be a continuing lesson—how little weight should be given to the so haphazardly assembled pieces of paper that make up the average personnel or security file.

And the same must be said even when the record shows that a particular high official *has* decided one way or another on a question. At one point in my SY file, there is a reference by a lower-level SY memo-writer to the fact that the Director of the Office of Security had told him to drop the investigation of me. A reasonable enough position, naturally, for it must have been evident to the Director, as it was to a great many other people who knew something of the world besides the inside of an SY file room, that the Office had other

more urgent things to do. But there is no memo in the file to show when the Director arrived at this sound conclusion, or to whom he might have talked in arriving at it. Nor is there anything in the record as to when this particular Director's directive was rescinded, as it presumably was, since from what I could see at the time the investigation, once launched, became a kind of permanent inquest. And the cheerless conclusion I draw from this is that, in SY as in so many other parts of the government nowadays, most offices really run themselves: in SY's case are run by a self-perpetuating cadre of nervous and uneasy security careerists processing their paper in time-honored ways, without much regard either to changing directives from above or to the mischief their routine works on the overall calibre of government personnel.

To some extent, of course, the very inadequacies of the files, as biographic records, are to the credit of the Department. For if the files contained well-rounded portraits of their subjects, they could only have been compiled with inordinate effort, and with an improper amount of prying into the private lives of the people described in them. It is clear from an examination of a file, therefore, that, although it may be vastly over-detailed in some respects, by and large it is still only an operational file. It is something put together in the course of a routine effort to establish whether a particular person on the payroll can continue to be trusted with so-called national security information. And this is why the security file contains so little of the kind of background detail (who does he play cards with, where does he go on his holidays, how is he getting along with his wife, and so on) which are routinely recorded in the "cadre cards" maintained on such an enormous scale by the Eastern European security services. I had expected, for example, that my SY file would contain some comments on my private comings and goings in Prague in the late 1940s. I had married a Czech girl in 1948, and it could have been assumed that I had a pretty wide circle of Czechoslovak friends of both sexes. Yet I saw nothing in my file from all of those early years to indicate that SY was in the slightest

bit interested in my private affairs in Czechoslovakia. And if I had had any doubt about this, it disappeared completely when, rather to my surprise, I was picked to be desk officer for Czechoslovakia in 1955.

This is cold comfort to anyone who has been the object of what I take to have been a fairly full treatment from SY, but it shows

"Still, as a taxpayer,
as an alumnus
of the career
diplomatic service,
and as an amateur
analyst of political
institutions, it is hard
to feel charitable
about the general
foolishness of the
compilers of these
thick files."

that the normal office routine of the Department's security investigators is not quite the menace to civil liberties that some critics of the intelligence establishment suppose. And this is confirmed by the fact that SY stopped collecting information on me as soon as I retired. It would have been natural, I thought, for the Office to keep my file open, if only because I turned up now and then in the Department Library and because I occasionally appeared in print as a critic of the way the Department is managed. But of all the articles I have written on foreign affairs topics since my retirement in January 1969, the only one which had been copied and put in my file was a long piece on the Soviet diplomatic service published in the Outlook section of the Sunday *Washington Post* on October 17, 1971. And probably the only reason this was on file was because my by-then-underemployed SY "case officer" got the idea from CIA. For the file contains a copy of a secret SY memo, dated October 20, evidently written in response to an inquiry from the Agency, forwarding to the Deputy Chief of the CI staff at CIA a copy

of a 1963 SY report on me. Or could this mean that, unlike the State Department's Office of Security, the counter-intelligence experts at Langley routinely run name checks on anyone who writes a *Washington Post* article on an intelligence or foreign affairs topic, as I had just done?

There is no end, then, to the interesting insights which can be gained from a careful examination of files like these. Even the printed forms and the rubber stamps they use are not without their unintended messages. I notice this, for example, from a mimeographed form entitled "Notification of Security Clearance under E. O. 10450," dated February 1955: *It has been determined that the employment or retention in employment of subject is clearly consistent with national security.*

This is fine, but nothing new. What I hadn't realized before was that the clearance, the usual Top Secret one, would remain in effect until further notice "except that prior approval must be requested from the Office of Security" in the event of a variety of contingent circumstances, the key one to my mind being that SY must give its approval all over again if the Office of Personnel might wish to assign to the Office of Security someone so cleared. A reasonable enough precaution, perhaps, for every office will prefer to have veto power over who is assigned to it. Still, the wording of the warning is vaguely disturbing. It reminds one overly of the not entirely dissimilar precautions which less reputable security offices, in other less happy countries, take to ensure that they alone are the judges as to who will share their secrets. And is this why, one wonders, apart from the natural disinclination of people interested in conventional diplomatic careers to volunteer for work in the security field, is this why one so seldom meets someone from SY who ever held a job in the Department outside of SY and the few slots in the Office of Personnel which involve regular communication with SY and some access to material in its files?

But I would not leave the reader with the notion that SY always comes out last in the security sweepstakes. That booby prize be-

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SPECIAL AFSA ELECTIONS SECTION

AFSA ELECTIONS COMMITTEE 1977
P.O. BOX 40602, WASHINGTON, D.C., 20016

The Elections Committee announces that in accordance with AFSA Bylaws, and pursuant to the terms of the 1977 AFSA Election Call, the following members have been duly nominated and have accepted their candidacies for the positions indicated below in the 1977 AFSA election of Officers and Constituency Representatives on the AFSA Governing Board.

The order in which the names appear on this list and the candidates' campaign statements appear in the pages which follow were determined by the drawing of lots at a meeting of candidates on March 16, 1977. At the same meeting separate drawings were conducted to determine the order in which the candidates' names and campaign statements will appear in the May issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* and on the election ballot.

The candidates' statements which follow are presented verbatim as submitted. Each candidate bears the responsibility for the content of his or her statement.

PRESIDENT

- 1 Michael A. G. Michaud (Fresh Start)
- 2 David Noack
- 3 Ellis O. (Ollie) Jones
- 4 Lars H. Hydle (Alliance)
- 5 John D. Hemenway

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

- 1 John N. Gunning (Fresh Start)
- 2 Paul Von Ward (Alliance)
- 3 John J. Harter

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

- 1 Thomas L. O'Connor (Alliance)
- 2 M. James Wilkinson (Fresh Start)
- 3 Barnabas Mosley

SECRETARY

- 1 Frank Cummins (Alliance)
- 2 John F. Scott (Fresh Start)

TREASURER

- 1 Michael E. C. Ely (Alliance)
- 2 JulieAnn McGrath (Fresh Start)

STATE REPRESENTATIVES

- 1 Kenneth N. Rogers (Alliance)
- 2 James R. Vandivier (Fresh Start)
- 3 George G. B. Griffin (Fresh Start)
- 4 William S. Tilney (Fresh Start)
- 5 Joseph N. McBride (Alliance)
- 6 Alta F. Fowler (Alliance)

AID REPRESENTATIVE

- 1 Nancy J. Fox (Alliance)
- 2 James R. Meenan

USIA REPRESENTATIVE

- 1 Janet E. Ruben (Fresh Start)
- 2 Peter C. Wolcott (Alliance)

RETIRED REPRESENTATIVES

- 1 C. Arnold Freshman
- 2 Eugene M. Braderman
- 3 Robert G. Cleveland

ORGANIZATION

- State PM/ISP
State OC/PE
State NEA/P
State S/P
Retired

ORGANIZATION

- AID TA/PPU
State CU/OPP
State USIA

- AID ASIA/DP
State EUR/SOV
AID SER/ENG R

- USIA IBS/PN
State PM/ISO

- State S/P
State IO/IEC

- S/IG/IS
OC/P
INR/RNA/SOA
SCA/EX
FSI/Econ.
SCA/SCS

- FFP
AFR/DR

- ARA/USOAS
ICS/DP

It is each AFSA member's responsibility to see to it that his or her proper address and constituency (STATE, AID, USIA, or RETIRED) are on record with AFSA. Ballots will be mailed on or about May 16, 1977, and marked Ballots must be returned by 1:00 P.M. July 11, 1977. If you have

not received your Ballot by June 10, 1977, notify the Chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee IMMEDIATELY in writing at P.O. Box 40602, Washington, D.C., 20016.

FRESH START SLATE—Michael A. G. Michaud, Candidate for President

AFSA has come a long way since I served on the Board in 1967. While retaining its role as a professional association it also has become the exclusive bargaining agent for the Foreign Service personnel of State and AID, and represents the staff corps as well as officers.

But AFSA has gone astray during the past two years. Divided by internal conflict within the Board, it has lost some of its effectiveness in its dealings with management. Its problems as an employee organization also have hampered its work as a professional organization. Its image and credibility have suffered, as reflected in the decline of AFSA's membership during the past two years. Only three members of the present Board were elected to office; all the others are appointees. A number of these appointed Board members are candidates on the other slate in this election.

Many of us think it is time for a fresh start in AFSA. It is time to put the past behind us and restore confidence in the organization. It is time to bring in a new leadership unscarred by the events of the past two years. And it is

time for a new dedication to professionalism and the active representation of AFSA's constituencies.

The Fresh Start slate offers you that opportunity. None of us are connected with the AFSA Board of the past two years. We are a balanced slate, representing a wide variety of backgrounds and constituencies. And we are united in wanting to revive AFSA and make it an organization you can support and respect.

I am running for the office of President. My background includes service in the Political, Economic, Consular and Information functions in NEA, EA, INR, PM and USIS, in three overseas posts and in the Department. After serving on the AFSA Board in 1967, I headed the Tehran chapter of AFSA during 1968-69. I am a strong believer in openness and participation; my background includes working on the Open Forum Panel Steering Group for two years and being the founding editor of Open Forum Magazine.

I am pleased to be running with a fine group of candidates on the Fresh Start slate. Here they are:



Michaud—President



Gunning—Vice President



Wilkinson—Second Vice President



Scott—Secretary



McGrath—Treasurer



Griffin—State Representative



Tilney—State Representative

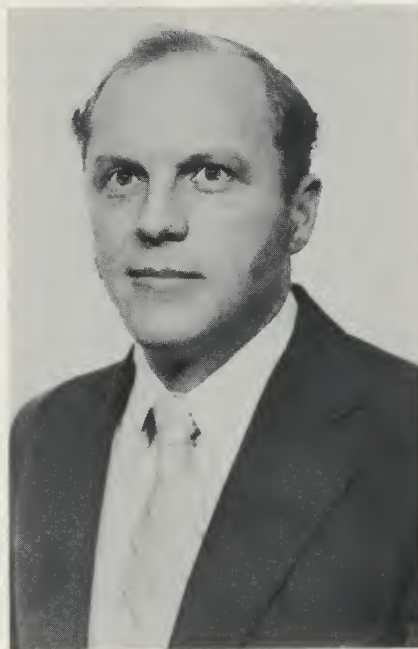


Vandivier—State Representative



Ruben—USIA Representative

DAVID NOACK—CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



Before preparing this statement for the *FSJ*, I decided to do some research into the 1975 AFSA election, in which I was a candidate. Most candidates used the same format, i.e., a bio, an outline of the important issues as they saw them, and some discussion of the qualities of themselves, their slate, or the opposition. The candidates seemed to be seeking the most significant issues. This year, as in 1975, there are many issues, for example, Presidential appointments, upgrading the status of secretaries and communicators, career status for AID employees, reorganization and, of special concern, how it affects USIA.

Current issues, as in the 1975 election, are important. However, I believe the *main* issue in this election is the same as it should have been in 1975. **MAKE AFSA AN EFFECTIVE PROFESSIONAL BARGAINING AGENT!**

I know from first hand that five years after being elected as the exclusive bargaining agent for the Foreign Service, AFSA is little more than a professional association. It has not been able to bargain effectively with management and therefore has been unable to effectively fulfill its mandate to protect the employment interests of *all* of its constituents. The reasons are many: employee-management relations within the Federal government are still in the embryo stage and are extremely complex. EO 11636, which established employee-management relations in the Foreign Service, has been found wanting. AFSA is short on funds, labor, labor relations expertise, legislative knowhow and contacts on Capital Hill. More importantly, AFSA does not evidence a true desire to be other than a professional association.

Initially, it was recognized by most that AFSA would need time to move from a purely professional

association to the full fledged professional association and capable bargaining agent. This was a big step and we have been patient, but I think five years of patience is enough. So long as AFSA runs on volunteer energy, it will remain unable to effectively serve its electors. I believe AFSA should recognize and accept its responsibilities, and its limitations, and seek professional guidance. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is an organization that can provide this needed guidance through a contractual relationship (affiliation).

AFSCME is a large well-financed organization. It recognizes the weaknesses of employee-management relations in the Federal government and is effectively establishing itself in this fertile area. Drawing on its strength in numbers, length and breadth of experience in labor relations in the public area, and its legislative knowhow, it has offered invaluable guidance on a contractual basis to other professional associations. Unlike the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), AFSCME has no desire to take over as exclusive representative. Under terms of affiliation, AFSA would remain autonomous and be better able to protect our unique Foreign Service interests.

The time for AFSA action is now. A challenge for exclusive representation rights by the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) is very real. If AFSA procrastinates and loses, under the regulations, it would be two years before AFSA could rechallenge. I fear if AFGE wins this right, the Foreign Service will lose its identity in the Federal Government.

There are several advantages to affiliation with AFSCME over having AFGE as exclusive representative. AFSA would remain autonomous while having access to AFSCME's resources, which would be similar to those of AFGE. The affiliation could be established by referendum, and, if for any reason it should later be deemed unsatisfactory, it could be dissolved in the same manner.

While I see AFSCME affiliation as the most significant step in developing AFSA as a professional bargaining agent, there are other areas that need improvements:

1. Better communication with the membership.
2. Increased use of volunteers which should include special interest groups, i.e., COA, Sept. 17, Thursday luncheon group, 2000+, WAO, etc.
3. More effective use of overseas chapters.
4. Administrative improvements in office procedures.

These improvements will benefit AFSA as a bargaining agent as well as our professional association.

My next statement in the May *Foreign Service Journal* will go into more detail about the advantages of an affiliation with AFSCME or like organizations.

Vote for a better AFSA and the issues will take care of themselves. Vote for David (Dave) Noack, Independent and a concerned candidate for President of AFSA.

JOIN AFSA AND VOTE—FOR THE NEW INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE

TO: MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS OF AFSA

FROM: OLLIE JONES, THE NEW INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF AFSA

1. The only source of votes, of course, is the membership of AFSA—on or before May 1, 1977. *But*, AFSA, wearing its labor union hat, represents all State and AID foreign service personnel and could eventually also represent USIA—whether they are members or not. Nevertheless, there are many who do not belong—and who see no reason to join. Consequently, our financial situation is precarious, a situation which erodes our effectiveness in both of our two primary roles. So—first things first—persuade a friend—or two or three—to join before May 1—then vote for the candidates of your choice. Dues are:

FSO 8/7	\$13.00	FSO 5	\$32.50	FSO 3	\$45.50
FSS 10/6	13.00	FSS 3	32.50	FSS 1	45.50

FSO 6	\$26.00	FSO 4	\$39.00	FSO 2/1	\$52.00
FSS 5/4	26.00	FSS 2	39.00	FSS	—

Enclose your check made out to AFSA with your remarks on what you want most from AFSA with this page, tear it out and send to me:

Ellis O. (Ollie) Jones
5306 Reno Road, NW
Washington, D.C. 20015

2. When you and your friends vote, you will want to elect, if you feel as I do, independent, experienced, aggressive candidates who will rebuild AFSA into a genuine association of professionals founded on sympathetic attention to and espousal of the concerns of individuals and of special interest groups (women, 2000+, September 17th, Junior Officers, Retired employees, etc). And we are all professionals now. The day of elitism and caste in the US diplomatic service, if it ever existed, is gone. But not forgotten. We can only be effective in our task as a team. Effective teamwork arises from a foundation of mutual respect, sustained cooperative effort, comfortable and optimistic attitudes towards ourselves, our futures, our living conditions and our colleagues, whatever their roles and salaries.

3. These attitudes can exist only in an atmosphere of mutual respect in which previously rival agencies, personnel bureaus and unions, supervisors and the super-

vised, “specialists” and “generalists,” members of competing “cones” are working from the same premises and working toward the same goals. This has not been the case in the past and is not uniformly the case today. But the foundation is there. Many years of hard work lie ahead. The tools include careful analysis of individual issues, hard lobbying in Congress and within the Executive branches, careful representation of individual views, and independent and experienced leadership. Confrontational politics is a tool also—but this sledge-hammer is destructive, as we have seen, and must be used only sparingly.

4. We need to start putting one foot in front of the other, now. First, we need the broad mandate of an expanded membership. We need to persuade the many disaffected former members to join. We need to expand membership participation in the work of the organization. We need the largest possible number of ideas about where to go and how to get there.

5. Let's start now. Jot down your ideas, in the blank space below, tear out the page, send it with the dues check(s) of a friend or friends and the addresses to me. Whatever happens, I'll respond. All responses will also be turned over to the winning President. We guarantee a response! We want to know what both members and non-members expect for their money. Help me build our platform!

6. Finally, and incidentally, who am I? 22 years in Foreign Service, FSO-3, 14 years abroad in 7 Foreign Service posts. Economic Officer with extensive political, administrative, program direction, public affairs, military, and AID experience. Two years' service in legislative and executive agencies of local and state government on detail. Finally, I am eligible for retirement in January 1978, removing a potential bar to vigorous, disinterested representation of member interests.

7. Those of you in Washington and the United States, *call or drop in!* State extension 20313, Room 5246. Home telephone (202) 966-4339.

Comments:

Name _____
Address _____

LARS HYDLE
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

I was born in Indiana in 1940. I graduated from Occidental College in 1960, and attended Columbia University on a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, finally receiving a Ph.D. in 1972. I was married in 1973, to a former AID FSR Public Health Adviser, and have a two-year-old son.

After working for the Voice of America as a writer and announcer (1962-1965), I joined the Foreign Service. I have served in South Vietnam and on the Vietnam Working Group, in Northern Ireland, on TDY in Vietnam (for which I received a Meritorious Honor Award), and in the US Marine Corps Plans Division. I am now an FSO-4 political officer and member of the Policy Planning Staff (unit Distinguished Honor Award, January 1977).

I first joined AFSA in 1970. In 1970-72 I was active in the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club, as Secretary, Vice President, and President. With others, we pushed strongly, and ultimately successfully, for AFSA to support the right of foreign service people to elect an exclusive employee representative, and for management to concede that right. This was done in Executive Order 11636.

In 1972 I helped draft the revised AFSA Bylaws. I emphasized the importance of electing Representatives from the Association's various constituencies, which guaranteed representation of and for the AID and USIA Memberships.

When the Governing Board appointed me to the AFSA Vice Presidency in September 1975, the Association was in disarray. The Governing Board majority and the President were at loggerheads. Several elected Board Members were resigning. Some committees were not functioning, and the keyperson network in Washington had atrophied. I had no illusions about the difficulties that lay ahead, or the prospect of working constructively with the President. I determined that I would treat him with the respect due his office, but would at the same time stand for the Bylaws and for the interests of the Association and the Foreign Service—with his cooperation if possible; without it, and even despite his obstruction, when necessary. I realized that nothing could be achieved without close collaboration among Board Members, regardless of constituency or cone.

We took a crash course in parliamentary procedure so that the Board could meet, deliberate, and act when necessary. At the same time, we delegated primary responsibility in employee relations issues away from the sound and fury of Board meetings, to Standing Committees of Members of the three agencies.

In late 1975 I took on the chairmanship of the Grievance Committee. AFSA negotiated an agreement with management on grievance legislation which was enacted in November 1975, achieving a long-time AFSA goal.

The Grievance Committee subsequently negotiated implementing regulations and the appointment of distinguished professional arbitrators and retired Foreign Service people to the Grievance Board.

As Chairman of the State Standing Committee, I have had no grand design on the future shape of the Foreign Service; rather, I have encouraged all Members and groups to participate in determining that future for themselves:

- We appointed to the Committee representatives of all cones, senior and junior FSOs, and the secretaries and communicators;
- We delegated primary responsibility for negotiations with management to senior, mid-career, junior, and specialist subcommittees;
- We restored relations with the Consular Officers' Association and Two Thousand Plus;
- We restored the keyperson network in the Department in Washington, and consulted with it on personnel issues as well as on internal AFSA business;
- We increased our consultation with overseas chapters on personnel issues such as the zone merit promotion system and length of overseas tours of duty;
- More recently, we have made a special effort to be responsive to the concerns of secretaries and communicators, and to the September 17 Association which represents so many of them.

The expansion of participation has paid off in an expansion of AFSA State Memberships, especially among secretaries and communicators, but in other ranks and pay plans as well.

As AFSA Vice President, I have not neglected more traditional professional issues. Back in 1975, during the confrontation between the Administration and the Pike Committee, I wrote on AFSA's behalf to Secretary Kissinger and to Congressman Pike, urging that career officers who had given candid and confidential policy advice be protected from career damage in any such constitutional confrontation. More recently, I pushed for the establishment of the AFSA Presidential Appointments Committee, which has persuasively advocated the career and merit principles in Ambassadorial appointments.

Now I am seeking your support for election to the AFSA Presidency. I believe I have earned your vote through service and accomplishment, much of it under trying conditions, and I urge you to vote also for my Alliance colleagues. They, too, have already devoted hundreds of hours to the Association and the Foreign Service. Despite our strong personalities and diverse backgrounds, we all recognize that the Association is, and must be, governed by majority Board rule and be responsive to the membership.

JOHN DAVID HEMENWAY FOR PRESIDENT

March 18, 1977

Dear AFSA Colleagues,

I run for re-election as an AFSA President who was unjustly and unlawfully removed from office. Although disguised as an action to recall me from office for alleged acts of misconduct, I was really being punished for my vigorous advocacy of reforms in the grievance legislation and for my opposition to management domination of AFSA. The persons who were instrumental in causing my removal acted for management to serve their self-interest and not the interest of the membership.

Not only was the recall action instituted to retaliate against me for the exercise of my legal rights as an AFSA member and public-spirited citizen, but the recall procedure itself was manipulated as to prejudice *my* legal rights, the legal rights of AFSA members generally, and to cast aspersions on my good name.

Having been wrongfully removed from office, I joined with other persons who supported my views on fostering democracy and legality within AFSA and filed a lawsuit in the highest federal court.

AFSA, its Board members and other persons instrumental in causing my removal from office have, in court papers, claimed that my case has no legal merit. Judge Barrington D. Parker of the United States District Court of the District of Columbia has considered the defendants' views and my attorney's detailed presentation of the well-established legal principles and refused to dismiss the case as the defendants have requested. In the near future, but probably after the next AFSA election, this matter will go to trial before an unprejudiced and disinterested jury of citizens. I am confident that I will be fully vindicated. Even if I am, however, just winning my battle in court will not make AFSA Board more democratic, nor will it alone insure that the will of the mem-

bership be carried out. Even more importantly, it will not result in improvement in the grievance mechanism for FS employees or insure that their interests as employees of FS agencies be vigorously defended and promoted. Only the members can do this, with the proper leadership I am prepared to give.

For all these reasons I feel compelled to run for re-election, even though my personal interests dictate exactly the contrary. I firmly believe that the platform of reform upon which I ran successfully two years ago is as valid today as it was then.

The action to dismiss me was taken just as I had made important proposals to improve the structure of AFSA to guarantee proper democratic and legal functioning—in accordance with my election promises. The proposals had the requisite number of AFSA signatures but were not submitted by the AFSA Board to the entire membership as required by the by-laws because they did not want the membership to participate. The AFSA Board, as on previous occasions with referenda suggested by the President, and as was the case during the so-called "recall" action, controlled completely the information you—the members—were able to receive.

The illegalities involved in these matters will be fully brought out in court. Meanwhile, my deepest appreciation to my friends in the Foreign Service who are supporting this struggle with contributions to the legal fund. On future occasions, I hope to be able to present further details which will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

/s/John D. Hemenway

JOHN N. GUNNING
CANDIDATE FOR AFSA VICE PRESIDENT

The foreign affairs community and AFSA need a FRESH START. The foreign service employees of State, USIA, and AID want to improve the environment in which they work, and will contribute more effectively to the implementation of US foreign policy when they have an effective voice in improving that environment. Unfortunately, such a voice has too often been lacking the past few years, especially in my own organization, AID.

Our slate intends to work closely with management to develop a creative and collaborative atmosphere. AFSA must articulate the concerns and feelings of *all* foreign service employees regardless of cone or of rank. Management in turn must accept its obligations to be open about its plans and proposals, and to listen to and carefully consider the proposals and reactions of its employee representatives before—not after—making its real decisions.

I discuss below issues which are fairly AID-specific, yet have implications for the entire service. My FRESH START colleagues similarly discuss in their statements both general and specific concerns of the various parts which together make up our Foreign Service. We all are concerned with terms and conditions of employment, financial benefits, fairness and equality of treatment within and among agencies. We will learn from each other and plan that all of us will represent all of you.

Many topics are both general and specific. An obvious imperative for the Association will be the new Administration's forthcoming proposals for reorganization of the foreign affairs community and the ways in which it will affect each Agency. We trust that the Administration will want to obtain the views and recommendations of its employee organizations.

As Vice President, I will be concerned and dedicated to the interest of the entire Foreign Service in representing our Association. As an AID Foreign Service Officer I look forward to working with whichever AID Representative is elected, and a reinvigorated, representative AID Standing Committee which can deal with these and the other priorities for AFSA action as seen by the AID constituency.

The AID Foreign Service shares the problems of its colleagues in the other agencies, and has some unique ones of its own. AID has shifted in recent years from an organization deeply involved in implementing a program of technical assistance to one which manages a program largely carried out by contractors and grantees. This change, together with the loss of Indochina programs, led to a large scale RIF of AID Foreign Service employees which cut the size, but only partially solved the structural problems, of the Service.

The results of these experiences present AID management and employees with a challenge and, hopefully, an opportunity to create a truly professional AID career Foreign Service with an articulated purpose and role. AID has hundreds of professional, dedicated foreign ser-

vice employees, but the concept of a professional foreign "development corps" has emerged slowly and fitfully, jerrybuilt for a perpetually temporary agency. It is time to define the role of the career Foreign Service within AID as well as to continue AFSA's initiative with Congress to give it a legislative base.

Specific problems of the AID Foreign Service are legion. Some of the most critical which AFSA should address to the new Administration are:

- AID Foreign Service employees should not have their professional status and opportunities for advancement defined by the "occupational skills code" assigned to their current position description. This procedure is not only injurious to the individual employee, but does violence to the rank-in-person concept of the Foreign Service and to the flexibility it offers to the Agency.

- The imperatives of structural change and reduction-in-force have done further violence to an already weak concept of career development in AID. A strong commitment must be made to have an effective career development program for the Agency with specific plans for each and every Foreign Service employee, emphatically including staff personnel.

- A rational promotion program must be reinstated which will satisfy the AID Foreign Service that fair and equitable standards are used. A suitable number of senior officer and senior staff positions in Washington must be included when determining the numbers of employees required by the Agency, and therefore the promotion zone.

AFSA during the past few years has been unable to articulate the views, beliefs and frustrations of the AID Foreign Service, nor has it been able to provide a leadership role for AID employees. Both AID and AFSA need an interested, articulate "citizenry" capable of carrying out the Agency's mandate. Recently the AID Standing Committee has taken on new life. One of the first jobs of the new Board must be to encourage this development and to see it increased tenfold.

I expect AID's problems will sound familiar to our State and USIA colleagues, although the details vary. The FRESH START slate is concerned with the problems of the entire Foreign Service and the specific issues of each group in the diversity of our nonetheless unified Foreign Service.

John Gunning, an FSR-3, is Chief of the Program and Project Analysis Division in the Program Office of the Technical Assistance Bureau, AID's research and development arm. He is a career officer in the program/economic field who has served in Thailand (1967-71) and Kenya (1972-74). He joined AID in 1962 and has been in the Foreign Service since 1967 after serving as a Junior Management Intern, an administrative assistant and on a country desk in the Far East Bureau. His academic training was in political science (Antioch and Yale) with a leavening of international economics gained in a training assignment at Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies during 1971-72.

PAUL VON WARD
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Who I Am

I am an FSO-3 currently serving in State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs as Deputy Director of the Office of Policy and Plans. My last two overseas assignments were as Admin Officer in Santo Domingo and Freetown. My first two tours in the service involved political, economic/commercial, and consular work in Paris and Martinique. Before moving to CU I held two different management and policy jobs in PER.

I am AFSA's Treasurer and Chairman of the Organization and Management Committee. I am a member of the State Standing Committee and Chairman of the Association's Finance Committee. I have always been active in AFSA when not assigned to "management" positions. I served as Vice Chairman of the *Open Forum* for the 1975-76 year. I was one of the founders of Two Thousand Plus.

My Action Record

AFSA members should examine the record of all candidates to determine what they have been doing, both within and outside AFSA, and not simply what they are now saying. My record has been one of active involvement in efforts to improve the lot of employees, and the Department's effectiveness, regardless of where I was assigned in the organization. In fact, I had been so active (not always successfully) in PER that when I joined AFSA's Board, "Management" wanted to keep me from working on all personnel questions. They were so afraid I would reveal the skeletons in the closet that they risked an unfair practice charge. But AFSA stood its ground and Management dropped its protests. So much for the theory of openness which pervades much official rhetoric. (I have, of course, avoided any breaches of confidentiality or conflicts of interest.)

Since taking up duty on the Governing Board last June, in addition to my duties as Treasurer I have put most of my attention and interest into issues of institutional reform in the Foreign Service. Too often during the former period, I had felt the Association has been reacting only to outside stimuli. Since November's change at AFSA and the US election, we have been able to put forward a number of suggestions on the management of the Foreign Service personnel system at a time when the Administration may be receptive to them. With the help of others on the Board, I have set up a new and broadly based committee to work on putting forward a cohesive set of ideas from all parts of the Foreign Service. Demonstrating this, our "Organization and Management Committee" encompasses people from AID, USIA, and State, secretaries, communicators, and junior and senior officers alike. We have published our doings in the *FSJ* and sought advice from all quarters of the membership.

The Alliance's Record

All during the leadership crisis members of what is today the Alliance worked without fanfare, but with a

clear view of the absolute necessity of broadening AFSA's base. We sought liaison with WAO, 2000 Plus, Consular Officers' Association, Diplomatic Couriers' Association, and Thursday Luncheon Group. We expanded outsider participation in committees, to four times that of the previous Board. We have recently welcomed into AFSA the new members recruited by the September 17 Organization and with their members at Committee and Board Level have sought to meet their expressed needs.

I believe that concerns formerly viewed as "parochial" are now increasingly seen as integral parts of a broader spectrum affecting the future well-being of all of us in the foreign affairs agencies. The Alliance supports this broader perspective and hopes to continue to represent it. Simply put, most of us now realize that the only way to exert some control over our individual destinies in the bureaucracy in which we live and work is to stand united. This communality of interests includes those of other groups having particular concern for women's, minorities', and dependents' issues. I would like to take some credit with the other people of the Alliance for the increased attention to the broader issues of professional concern that has come from AFSA. In addition, the Alliance leadership has developed stronger ties with Congress.

Some of My Priorities

- I am concerned lest we be caught up in another simplistic political or bureaucratically motivated attempt at reorganization or paper reform. I believe that we Foreign Service people should have a voice in developing any changes the new Administration decides to make in our service. I and my colleagues have proposed a joint AFSA-Management task force to act swiftly but reasonably on organizational questions. President Carter has pledged to include us, and we are doing our homework early to assure that AFSA's participation will be constructive.

- I am tired of waiting for Management to come up with its promised solution to the Staff Corps career immobility problem. We need immediate action to make the system work as it was intended.

- Watching the fumbling process of expulsion of political appointees from the previous Administration and the soaking up of the new ones, we in the Alliance realize that Management is unable to deal with these issues effectively. We need a system of standard and review, including AFSA participation, for appointing "temporary FSR" and "Schedule C" GS-ers.

- And I think we have listened too long to vague plans to resolve the problems of job classification and pay levels which affect all of us, but particularly the secretaries, junior officers, and communicators. We must take matters into our own hands and work directly with Congress, or if necessary, with the CSC and the OMB, on these issues.

John J. Harter for First Vice President



Mollenhoff: The stage is set for effective foreign service reform.

Clark Mollenhoff, Pulitzer prize-winning dean of Washington's investigative journalists, suggests the Carter Administration could significantly improve its performance in foreign affairs by correcting Nixon Administration mistakes in the personnel area. Mr. Mollenhoff says he became aware of serious abuses in State personnel practices as Special Assistant to President Nixon in 1969 and 1970.

"The integrity of the government personnel system is the single most important factor in making the government function in an honest and efficient manner," Clark Mollenhoff said in a major public statement in Washington on March 4.

And State personnel administration is conspicuously dishonest, Mr. Mollenhoff told about one hundred guests at a luncheon sponsored by the Committee to Strengthen Professional Diplomacy. Conclusive evidence has come to his attention that State's "bureaucracy has made arbitrary decisions, falsified records, and misrepresented the facts to make improper personnel decisions stand," he said.

To prevent such abuses -- and to protect career diplomats seeking to do their duty -- Lawrence Speiser said, in introducing Mr. Mollenhoff, State's personnel managers should be held accountable for their decisions and recommendations. Procedural safeguards are necessary to ensure that Foreign Service promotions and assignments are based on merit, he suggested -- and that premature retirement or failure to win career advancement does not reflect reprisal for conscientious work, honestly carried out. Mr. Speiser is a prominent Washington attorney and former Director of the Washington Office of the A.C.L.U., and he has represented several Foreign Service employees in court cases that resulted from mismanagement of State Department personnel operations.

Mr. Mollenhoff and Mr. Speiser agreed that the advent of new leadership at State and in the Congress can open the door to meaningful Foreign Service reform. Their audience included active and retired employees of the foreign affairs community -- including senior personnel officials -- and staff aides of key Congressional committees responsible for oversight, legislation, and appropriations affecting the Foreign Service.



Harter and Phil Lindsay (left), former President of the Thomas Fund, discuss inequities of Foreign Service Personnel System

The Charles W. Thomas Legal Defense Fund finances legal costs incurred by some employees of the foreign affairs agencies seeking redress of grievances resulting from inequitable personnel policies. Reform would reduce the need for such a fund.

The Mollenhoff and Speiser addresses were obviously important to career diplomats, and should have been reported in the Journal. But such news has been systematically excluded from AFSA's official publication throughout the 1970's.

During these years, many promising Foreign Service careers were cut short in their prime, to make way in some cases for undeserved promotions. This extraordinary waste of mature and experienced officers has seriously reduced the quality of our diplomatic service, and it has created an uncertain environment in which many Foreign Service Officers now in sensitive positions exercise extreme caution in their official and personal relationships.

Each year from 1971 to 1976, the Senate tried to help, by passing the Bayh Bill, which would have provided the legal protections urged by Mollenhoff and Speiser. But defenders of State's status quo, in league with the now retired House leadership and the AFSA Board of Directors, attacked, misrepresented, and scuttled the proposed reforms.

For the period ahead, we need AFSA leaders who will fight for the welfare of all our members -- not just for their own promotions. We need an AFSA Board that will represent the diversity of our membership -- and break the grip of the small clique that has vigorously opposed constructive change in our system. And we must open the Journal to signed articles and editorials that will reflect the varied and challenging insights of our membership.

We need an AFSA Committee to Strengthen Professional Diplomacy -- comprising our most distinguished members -- to elicit public and Congressional support for honest reform of our inequitable and anachronistic ways of identifying and advancing those who are most competent to represent the United States in its changing relationships with other countries.

John J. Harter for First Vice President

REJECT PREFABRICATED SLATES: VOTE ONLY for Individual CANDIDATES WHO WILL REPRESENT Your PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS.

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1977

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Should Ambassadorships Be Political?

Mr. Finn aims at the right target-- ("Ambassadorships: Are Properly Political," Op-Ed, Feb. 20) the importance of sharpening our perspectives on American relationships with other countries. But his aim is flawed by the mistaken view that the role of the American ambassador has steadily and inevitably declined from an exalted position in the 1890's to that of an office manager in the Nixon-Kissinger period.

To hit the bull's eye, one should see that U.S. diplomats are much more important in today's interdependent and changing world than ever before. Our official perceptions of other countries can affect the lives, prosperity, and ideas of millions of people, here and abroad. Many influential individuals in Washington have distorted judgments about critical situations in other countries--and about what the United States can and should do about them. The challenge to the ambassador and his staff is to report the truth, assess its implications, point out the errors of inherited policy, and carry forward the President's intentions.

This is why the ambassadorial sales in the early 1970's were tragic as well as unskilful. They downgraded the quality of U.S. representation and the accuracy of our understanding of the real world. But only Robert S. McNamara, a peripheral figure, was indicted, and the true dimensions of this major Watergate crime remain concealed from the American people.

Under the circumstances, the new Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments might indeed provide an effective means of searching out those career and non-career Americans whose dedicated service qualifies them to help President Carter and Secretary of State Vance build a new foreign policy in the American tradition.

JOHN J. HARTER,
Executive Secretary,
Committee to Strengthen Professional Dip., 1000 Mt. Vernon St.,
Boston

TOM O'CONNOR
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE FOR SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

Born in Pennsylvania 46 years ago, I served four years in the Navy before graduating from Gannon College. I entered the Foreign Service in 1959 as a specialist in labor affairs for AID, serving in Athens, Ankara, Nicosia, New Delhi, and the Africa Bureau. A return to Ankara in Program Evaluation was followed by what must pass for our Service's shortest Vietnam tour of duty—a scant 32 days ending abruptly on April 29, 1975. Since then I have worked as a program analyst in the Department Planning Office of the Asia Bureau.

Since my appointment to the Governing Board last July, I've been active in the Members' Interests and *AFSA News* Committees, and on the AID Standing Committee and as Co-Chairperson of the AID Negotiations Committee. And for many years I have been sensitive to and concerned for the problems of retirees, communicators, and secretaries. My father-in-law was a communicator with 35 years of overseas service, and my wife has served as a Foreign Service secretary. I am currently a member of WAO and the September 17 Association.

In short, my interest in the objectives of Foreign Service people and my active work for our common interests is a matter of record and was not recently stimulated only by the arrival of spring and our current election. If elected Second Vice President, I will attach high priority to the following areas:

- legislated employee-management relations for the Foreign Service
- enhanced dialogue with the Congress on matters of importance to the Foreign Service
- enactment of AFSA's Career Foreign Service legislation for AID employees and permanent agency status for AID
- vigorous opposition to political appointments which block assignment and promotion opportunities for the career Service
- post differential for Ambassadors and Chargés,

enabling other senior personnel at hardship posts to receive the full post differential

- participation in the Department's personnel structure study, which also has implications for AID and USIA people
- acceleration of the implementation of affirmative action programs in all foreign affairs agencies
- improvement of personnel rating systems for Junior FSOs in State and for AID International Development Interns.
- support for the objectives of the September 17 Association
- equitable placement policies for Foreign Service secretaries on rotation assignments
- career counseling for AID employees and vastly improved assignment procedures for all foreign affairs agencies
- equal and reciprocal overseas immunities and privileges for Foreign Service people not on the diplomatic list
- AID compliance with the assignment board and tour of duty precepts.

I believe that my more than fifteen years experience with labor affairs, in a variety of complex management/employee relations situations, provides me with unique qualifications for the office I seek. I believe that my record demonstrates the sincerity of my concern for our common interests.

No one Board Member can accomplish all the objectives we seek, but with the help of others—many of them now my colleagues in the Alliance—we have accomplished much. If elected I fully intend to continue to work vigorously to improve our careers, to solicit your views and call on you to help, and to build an effective and respected Association. I ask for your support for me as Second Vice President, and for my Alliance colleagues, for the positions they seek.

M. JAMES WILKINSON
FRESH START SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

AFSA has thus far failed to establish itself as a credible representative of all its membership, or as an effective promoter of professionalism in the Foreign Service. Special efforts are required to respond to the aspirations—both professional and personal—of those of us bound up in the unusual circumstances of careers in foreign affairs.

If AFSA does not soon measure up, it is almost certain to be replaced by a domestic-based union, which will pursue issues on the basis of lowest common denominators with inadequate consideration of foreign affairs expertise, overseas work requirements and the hidden costs of our nomadic life-style. If replaced, the power inherent in an exclusive bargaining position will not only exclude AFSA from bread-and-butter matters, but also seriously circumscribe any remaining potential for AFSA to function as a professional organization. It seems to me, therefore, high time to put AFSA back on the track with serious, responsible and balanced leadership.

In bidding to participate in a restoration of AFSA's dignity and effectiveness, I am pleased to be associated with Mike Michaud and the rest of the Fresh Start slate. It is a group committed to work together in a spirit of openness and fair hearings for all. It has the breadth of background and the seriousness of purpose necessary to address and follow through on the complex of problems generated by the diverse interests of AFSA's membership. I am confident that my Fresh Start colleagues can put an end to the procedural bickering and parochial approaches of AFSA's recent past.

AFSA must move quickly to regain the confidence of its constituencies. Falling membership in some areas and the growth of ad hoc employee groups over the last few years clearly demonstrate that AFSA is perceived as being unresponsive. Strong efforts should be made to assure hearing of the grievances that gave rise to such groups and, where possible, to combine these energies into collective pressures for action.

Professionalism at all levels and in all aspects of foreign service work is key. Perceptions of "second class citizenship" persist—between agencies, between bureaus, between cones and between ranks. We should not continue to sweep allegations of "dumping ground" approaches to assignments under the rug. We should not accept budget problems or delaying tactics as final answers when inequity is demonstrable in training opportunities, assignment procedures, foreign customs discrimination and so forth.

More openness on the part of management warrants priority attention. Foreign service personnel should not be dependent on corridor rumors to know where reorganization and personnel policies or plans stand. Nor can we react effectively when senior officials have already made up their minds on the basis of management recommendations alone.

In the same vein management must be pressed to accept without qualifications its obligations to keep employees informed on matters pertinent to their welfare regardless of side issues. The Moscow microwave affair

has been an unfortunate example of management hiding behind "sensitivities" to make decisions for employees without consulting them. Vigorous efforts elicited key facts on the specific situation, but it is still not evident to me that a general principle of trust in employee responsibility has been established.

Beyond the confines of the Department, AFSA has to learn to work within the federal personnel system to keep members' interests in the forefront through participation and lobbying at all stages. There appears, for example, to have been a failure in pursuing the matter of linkages between the foreign and civil services with a resultant lack of progress on either the classification levels for secretaries and communicators or the salary imbalances at lower officer ranks. This kind of issue cannot be allowed to percolate below the surface until either management pronounces a *fait accompli* or an individual AFSA member takes up the cudgels.

Similarly, a Civil Service Commission proposal that the Department develop a mechanism for feedback of employee views languished for many months. Only now is State management proceeding to establish a Personnel Management Evaluation System which will include a survey of employee opinions on management policies and procedures. An alert AFSA would have quickly recognized the importance of the CSC move and pushed for responsive action by the Department.

Relations with Congress must also be put on a more systematic, concentrated footing. AFSA has made progress, but more than occasional testimony is needed if AFSA is to influence Congressional staff work and take advantage of the several Representatives and Senators familiar with our concerns.

AFSA can't do everything at once. But it can articulate all the interests of its members, set priorities and pursue realistic solutions in a vigorous and responsible manner. Against the background of AFSA's recent history, a FRESH START is needed to earn the respect of adversaries and the support of the people who count.

Biographic Information

Jim Wilkinson, an FSO-3, is currently Deputy Director for Exchanges in the Office of Soviet Union Affairs of the European Bureau. He is a career political officer with a varied background in functional assignments, including service as Administrative Officer at Embassy Moscow (1974-76), Special Assistant for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs at the Bangkok Regional Office (1971/2) and Branch Public Affairs Officer, USIS, Songkhla, Thailand (1967-69).

Since entering the Foreign Service in 1962, he has also served as Visa Officer in Munich, Political Officer in Bangkok, Central Complement in Canberra and on the Thai Desk in the Department.

In Moscow, he was Chairman of the Anglo-American School Board for a year. During his Bangkok tour he reorganized and led an active AFSA Chapter. He is married and has two children.

BARNABAS MOSLEY—INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR 2ND VICE PRESIDENT

On Thursday, February 24, 1977 in the Dean Acheson Auditorium at the Department of State, President Jimmy Carter, in response to a question by the writer regarding the Department of State's insensitivity to its "Affirmative Action" programs, made the following commitment:

"I think to be perfectly frank, that the State Department is probably the Department that needs progress more than any other. And I am determined that this will be done."

Following the tone set by the President, on March 15, 1977, Secretary of State Vance issued a memorandum to all members of the Department in which he states: "I shall exercise personal leadership in prohibiting discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age or handicap. I shall also exercise personal leadership in carrying out a continuing affirmative action program designed to promote equal opportunity for all applicants and all employees. . . We of the Department of State, working at home and abroad are obligated to set an example of equality and human dignity for all people."

Given this refreshing commitment by the President and the Secretary, I believe the time has come for AFSA to take a more meaningful role in developing and designing plans and programs to achieve these long desired objectives. I believe, with concerned leadership and complete support and participation at all levels of its membership, AFSA can serve as the needed catalyst. It is for these reasons that I ask for your support and vote to permit me to serve as the second vice-president, or as more commonly termed the USAID Officer, and permit me to give voice and direction to your concerns.

I do not profess to know the weaknesses nor strengths of the State Department; but I do know AID's and that is where I believe I can be of greater service. As a mid-career FS officer with practically fifteen (15) years of experience, I believe I am well qualified to give leadership in formulating AFSA's programs for the coming year. What I would like to do is to address the most apparent and far reaching shortcomings of the Department. For this limited presentation I will only discuss and present my observations concerning those areas where I believe AFSA should and could concentrate its efforts at this time. With the new and seemingly concerned administration, I repeat now is the time for AFSA to attempt to correct some of the basic problems that the previous administration ignored.

While there are many areas in which I believe AFSA should direct its attention, if afforded the opportunity to serve as an officer of this professional organization, I would do all within my power to bring to the attention of Secretary Vance and Governor Gilligan what I believe to be the fundamental required changes within the Department of State and its Agencies. In simple terms, you know as well as I, that over the past eight years under the Kissinger regime the Department has not shown the slightest concern about human rights, Affirmative Action, Equal Employment Opportunities, or meaningful career development program for the Department's dedicated professionals.

Grievance Procedures: In the March edition of the *FSJ* William Blue, a former chairman of the Board of the Foreign Service Association, submitted a letter concerning a discrimination case involving the Department and the late Betty Kirby, who passed away in January of this year. Mr. Blue states, "From what I know of this case, it represents a glaring example of sex discrimination and

even an element of bigotry is involved on the part of many in the personnel system in State."

Betty Kirby attempted to fight for what she believed to be her right within the system but she was unsuccessful. As a result, she instituted a suit in District Court which she can now do nothing about. My point is that it should not be necessary for a Foreign Service member to have to go to the courts to settle and obtain relief from an obvious grievance. It is time for AFSA to take a close, hard look at the existing grievance procedures and make meaningful recommendations to management as to how the procedure should be changed to insure the Foreign Service employee a fair and just resolution of his or her grievance.

Gum Shoe Files: Without exception, the most deplorable infringement of individual rights that exist with AID is the so-called security files maintained by the Office of Security (AG/SEC). The regulations are quite clear as to what information is to be a part of an individual's files as well as how that information is to be obtained. Yet, AG/SEC have within their files inaccurate gossip, rumors and unsubstantial hearsay that have proven to be detrimental to many unsuspecting Foreign Service Officers. In accordance with 5 CRF part 293 as amended in 1976 Section 293108, "Any information used in whole or in part making a determination about an individual's rights, benefits, or privileges under Federal personnel programs should, to the extent practical, be collected directly from the subject individual." In addition, it states that with information collected from a third party, "there is no risk that information collected from third parties, if inaccurate, could result in adverse determination to the individual concerned; the information supplied by an individual must be verified by a third party, or provisions are made to verify with the subject individual information collected from a third party."

Fellow officers, I have recently reviewed one such file, and, believe me, it was shocking to discover the unsubstantiated gossip and rumors that were a part of the file. This practice is an affront to the self respect and dignity of any Foreign Service officer and AFSA should make every effort to see to it that it is discontinued. With the present administration's commitment to human rights, I believe discontinuing AG/SEC's existing procedures should be one of AFSA's highest priorities. Given the high grade levels and the known level of education in AG/SEC, one begins to speculate that AID has allowed a J. Edgar Hoover security by intimidation situation to develop. That would be a basic infringement of Human Rights.

Affirmative Action: Secretary Vance has now created an executive level Task Force to assist him to carry through an affirmative action program for equal employment. This, I'm sure we all welcome.

However, I believe it is the role of AFSA to see to it that this Task Force does not suffer the fate of so many similarly charged groups. In next month's edition of the *Foreign Service Journal* I will present some of my views as to some of the inherent pitfalls that AFSA should make every effort to see that the Task Force avoids. In addition, I will present a plan of action that I believe AFSA should adopt that will change the entire look of the Department of State within six months. If Secretary Vance wants to change the image of the Department of State and maintain the excellence of performance, I believe next month's article will show how it can be done.

FRANK CUMMINS
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE FOR SECRETARY



FRANK CUMMINS
FSRU-3

University of Chicago, Allegheny College, Gannon College (BA 1952) and Columbia University ... communications and gunnery officer US Navy 1954-58 ... newsman, commercial radio/television 1958-63.

Joined VOA as editor in 1963; Director VOA Beirut office 1966-69; Information Officer (USAID) USIS Rawalpindi 1969-71; Branch Public Affairs Officer, Kaduna, Nigeria 1971-72.

Currently, Deputy Chief, Near East and South Asia Division of the Voice of America.

Married to former Lilian Banat of Istanbul. Son, Alex, a senior at Fort Hunt High School, Alexandria, Virginia.

Amateur Egyptologist ... occasional actor at Little Theater of Alexandria ... President Fort Hunt PTA 1975-77.

Appointed AFSA Secretary October 28, 1975 by Governing Board.

After weathering the worst crisis in its history, AFSA is back "on course," working to advance the professional and employee interests of the men and women of the Foreign Service. AFSA survived because the overwhelming majority of members had faith in the Association and continued their support. AFSA also drew on the strength and dedication of scores of keymen, committee people, board members, and officers. That is why I am proud to run with Lars Hvdle, Paul Ward, Tom O'Connor, Ken Rogers, and Peter Wolcott. They and the other Alliance candidates are people of sound, independent judgement who can reason and work together.

With your support, the Alliance will continue to work for your interests, including: Presidential appointments based on merit; AFSA participation in decisions regarding reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies; improved promotion procedures; career status for USAID personnel; equitable treatment for communicators, secretaries and all FAS personnel; and improvement of the Foreign Affairs Grievance system.

FORGED IN ADVERSITY, THE ALLIANCE IS DEDICATED TO PROGRESS
GIVE US YOUR SUPPORT

Those of us running on the Fresh Start Slate hope to provide just that—a fresh start for AFSA. While we each have individual issues of concern to us, we all share a common position and desire to see AFSA revitalized and working efficiently once again. We believe that AFSA must leave the last two years behind it and get back to the current issues facing it.

There are several issues which AFSA must address fairly early on after the upcoming elections. Chief among these is the negotiation of promotion precepts for the 1977 promotion boards. These negotiations will be a major factor in the 1977 promotion process and AFSA must insure that the precepts which are negotiated are conducive to the best possible promotion outcome for the eligible officers.

A related issue which will require continuing AFSA attention is the new three-tiered promotion system. While the system received approval in principle last year, a good deal of detailed negotiation remains to insure that the system will result in the sort of fair and equitable promotion system it is designed to create.

In addition, AFSA must work to reverse the current trend on staff corps promotions. Continuing the present low rates is simply not in the best interests of the Department and the Foreign Service. It is damaging to morale in the staff corps, and will ultimately lead to increasing numbers leaving the service for more financially rewarding endeavors, thus denying to the Department their skills.

Over the longer term, there are several other issues about which AFSA must be concerned. One example is salary levels. They continue to lag behind the GS equivalents in the lower grades. AFSA must continue to work toward bringing salary levels into line.

AFSA must pay attention to the various professional

issues. Obviously, from time to time it is necessary to bring special skills into the Service to deal with particular problems. However, AFSA must insure that persons already in the Service, both officers and staff, are not disadvantaged. Clearly, if the needed skill exists in the Service, it should be supplied from the Service. This is only good management. I put officers and staff together in the earlier sentence for a reason. The reason is, simply, that AFSA must do its part to erase the "second class citizen" dichotomy which has existed for so long. All of us, officers and staff, are professionals in a professional field. It's about time we began to perceive ourselves that way.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, AFSA must begin the task of repairing its own image. The last two years have left a mark on the Association that will take care, dedication, and, most of all, hard work to erase. The new board will be the spearhead in this effort, and the pace they set will determine in large measure what the future reputation of AFSA will be. The Fresh Start slate is dedicated to restoring the image of AFSA to that of a united, effective and active organization in tune with its members' interests. I believe that we can accomplish this goal if elected. We solicit your support.

Biography

John Scott, an FSO 5, entered the Foreign Service in January 1974. He has served one tour overseas, in South Vietnam, and has been assigned to the Bureau of Political/Military Affairs since the evacuation of Saigon. A political officer, he has also done some consular work in Vietnam and in Manila after leaving South Vietnam. He also served as a member of the United States negotiating team during the base negotiations in the Philippines. He is a member of JFSOC and recently participated in JFSOC negotiations with management on junior officer issues.

MICHAEL E. C. ELY—ALLIANCE CANDIDATE FOR TREASURER

I have been a member of AFSA since joining the Service in 1955 (with the exception of a two-year period in the '60s when I quit in annoyance over its passivity). I have served as S/P Keyman over the last year, and more recently on the new Organization and Management Committee.

After having moved beyond its traditional professional role in the '60s, AFSA coalesced and in the early '70s organized itself as an employees' organization. We then went through a difficult period of nearly two years under controversial leadership that tested the resilience and ingenuity of the AFSA Board.

I view the coming years as critical to the future of the Association and I believe the Alliance offers the balance, ability and experience we need to make AFSA an effective instrument. We need to make the organization more useful and more responsive to its members; to set priorities and, from these, concrete objectives; and to pursue these goals intelligently and deliberately. A certain degree of measured confrontation with the new management will no doubt be necessary, if only to sensitize its leaders to its relationship with AFSA. The period ahead will require creativity mixed with sober thinking, tactical skill, and a sense of longer-term purpose.

There are a number of areas which warrant priority attention:

- first, to strengthen AFSA's position by widening and deepening its contacts outside of the State-AID-USIA complex, in particular with the Congress;
- to put this strength to work in relations with management, stressing at the same time the unique contribu-

tion AFSA can make to building a more effective foreign affairs community;

- and, to work to make the Foreign Service more attractive and equitable for those who presently benefit least from it: the secretaries, communicators, and other support personnel;

- and finally, to correct the obvious inequities of the AID personnel system.

As Treasurer I offer a background as an FSO-I Economic Officer. I have served as Trustee of a debt-ridden private school, was Treasurer of the Fulbright Commission at my last post and I know a bit about accounting and balance sheets. On the Policy Planning Staff, I deal with economic questions at a sometimes distressing level of generality. As your Treasurer, I will try to be useful both as regards the nuts and bolts of financial management, and on AFSA policy issues, combining—I trust—a judicious and prudent sense of financial restraint with the need to find resources and to apply them skillfully in order to accomplish the objectives of the organization.

Difficult and promising times lie ahead. It is this perception that overcame my natural tendency not to get involved.

I actively solicit you to vote for me as Treasurer, and all the same time I urge all of you to vote the straight Alliance ticket. Taken together, the Alliance candidates can provide the united leadership able to pull AFSA together and to move effectively on the issues. I am convinced that you will be serving best your own interests by returning a single Alliance slate.

AFSA's financial condition is not good. It must improve if AFSA is to be fully responsive to its members and their goals for the organization.

Investments, accumulated over so many years, are being drawn down to cover normal operating expenses. This is not good management practice. AFSA, however, has been forced to follow that route because expenditures have exceeded income.

The best way to correct the situation is to increase income. I am opposed to increasing dues because many members would drop out and income probably would decrease. However, only a fraction of the potential membership pays dues. If membership can be increased AFSA's financial condition would not only improve but might permit expansion of its programs. In my opinion, the total package of interests and goals stated by the FRESH START candidates is responsive, flexible and yet cohesive. We believe our platform will be attractive and helpful in expanding membership.

The most obvious area for reducing expenditures is the Club. In the year ending June 30, 1976, it cost substantially more to operate the Club than it earned; the deficit was covered by AFSA resources. Indications are that the Club is doing better recently, but it is unclear whether it can pay its own way. Unless it can regularly break even, I believe the Board must determine where the Club ranks in AFSA's priorities. It is used by only a limited number of the membership and perhaps the needs of the total membership can be better served in other ways. I personally would like to see the Club continue and would hope it may be possible to expand its business. The Board must make a hard decision about a ceiling on the amount of AFSA resources the Club can use, give the Club a deadline in which to achieve that level, and then stick to the decision.

AFSA's building is also a significant element in the financial picture. Payments for mortgage and upkeep are sizable. Judgments must be reached about whether the

building is being used as effectively as possible. The building is, of course, particularly related to the question of the Club.

Financial matters should be supportive to AFSA, in my view, and the Board should be distracted from more substantive matters as little as possible. If elected Treasurer, I would hope that I would be able to minimize the time the Board must spend on financial matters.

As a member of the Board, I would not be limited to Treasurer's concerns. I would hope to participate in all matters coming before the Board and would do my best for all of AFSA's members. However, because of my particular situation, I can be counted on to involve myself in representing the "second-class citizens" of the Foreign Service. As a woman and as someone typed as B&F, I am fully aware of the inequities of the highly stratified class structure in which we work. I feel that people are the greatest resource of State, AID and USIA, but the perception of that resource is badly distorted by stereotypes, status and the like. I believe that an unbiased perception of the contributions of all employees is necessary for a rational utilization of people resources that will benefit everyone.

My qualifications for Treasurer are: I have an MBA (earned at night, primarily for financial reasons, but also because at that time women were not accepted in the University's daytime MBA program). I have worked as Estate Administrator for the largest bank in the Midwest, managing estates ranging up to million dollar valuations. I have been the Treasurer of many organizations and clubs, both in the US and overseas.

I entered the Foreign Service in 1964 and have served as Consular Officer, Public Affairs Officer, Budget and Management Officer, and even acting Principal Officer. I have been assigned to Bogota, Paramaribo, Budapest, Quito and twice to the Department. My present assignment in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs involves UN administrative matters.

**KENNETH ROGERS
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE
FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Kenneth Rogers was born in Troy, New York, in 1931. He received a B.S. in Social Administration in 1953 from Ohio State University. After service in the Navy (gunnery officer on the aircraft carrier *F.D. Roosevelt* during the final months of the Korean War), he went to George Washington University Law School, where he received his Juris Doctor degree in 1958. He is a member of several bars, including the US District Court for the District of Columbia, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, the US Court of Military Appeals, the US Court of Claims, the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia, and the United States Supreme Court.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1957 and has served as a cultural affairs officer in Washington and New York, as an immigration fraud investigator and consular officer in Hong Kong, as a consular officer and staff aide in Saigon, as assistant POLAD to CINCLANT and Deputy Director of Politico-Military Affairs to SACLANT, as Deputy and Acting Principal Officer in Luanda, as Political Section Chief in Kingston (where he received the Superior Honor Award in 1972), as desk officer and acting deputy officer director in ARA, in ACDA's International Relations Bureau, and on TDY in Luanda, Angola, from September to November 1975 (for which he received the Department's Award for Valor). He is currently an FSO-3 Political Officer and a Foreign Service Inspector.

Ken's active AFSA involvement began with the Precepts Committee, which he chaired in 1975 during negotiations on the promotion precepts and on the establishment of due process in selection out for substandard performance. He was appointed as State Representative to the Governing Board in September 1975, and has served as Chairman of the Referendum Committee and as a member of the Legal and State Standing Committees. He was often able to defuse tense situations at Governing Board Meetings with a ready quip and a smile.

Ken's decision to seek election to the State Representative position he now holds, and to join with his Alliance colleagues in doing so, lends weight—the weight of experience and talent—to the Alliance and to the election. As this is being written he is overseas; he will tell you more about his views for the future in the campaign meetings and in the next *FSJ*.

**FRESH START CANDIDATE
FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE
JAMES R. VANDIVIER**

As outgoing Chairperson of 2000+, an informal association of Foreign Service Administrative and other concerned employees, I have had the opportunity to focus on many of the AFSA concerns this past year. It was not a pleasant scene to watch. Readers of the *Gored Ox*, the 2000+ publication, will already know where I stand on most of the major issues. Suffice it to say that AFSA simply can't go on as it has in the past and expect to survive as either a professional or an employee organization. Some will argue that it may already be too late. I personally believe that we must give it another try, but with new people and fresh ideas. It is for this reason that I have joined with the FRESH START candidates, who have no important link to AFSA's past.

AFSA's last hope, it seems to me, rests in the need for Board harmony, Membership confidence, Management respect, innovative programs, deeper Staff expertise, and prudent, intelligent use of the limited resources available to AFSA. Admittedly, these sound like love of country and motherhood kinds of campaign lyrics, but the last AFSA Board posted extraordinarily low marks on all of the above. Clearly one of the fundamental problems was the continuing confrontation and uncompromising relationship between the President and the rest of the Board. While this was a devastating problem, it doesn't explain all of AFSA's shortcomings during the recent past. The purpose of Executive Order 11636, through which AFSA bid for and gained exclusive employee representation for all Foreign Service employees, is to involve every man and woman in the formulation of personnel policies and procedures. There is recognition that the public interest requires modern, constructive, and cooperative relationships between management and organizations representing Foreign Service employees. The effectiveness of the foreign affairs agencies depends largely on an essential unity of purpose. It would seem to follow that AFSA's role as a professional organization need not necessarily be in conflict with its activities as an employee representative. It seems to me that the FRESH START ticket has the one advantage of distance and perspective, which should prove highly useful in bringing AFSA to full maturity as an Employee Representative organization.

My special concern, in seeking election to the AFSA Board, is for the communicators, secretaries, large segments of the Staff Corps, and certain categories of officer personnel who I am convinced have been severely and unjustly penalized by frequent and poorly conceived personnel program changes. Staff Corps personnel, in particular, perceive themselves as second class citizens, swallowed up by the system. I find no difficulty identifying with this group, having been in grade during the past nine years, assigned to positions 1 to 3 grades higher than my personal grade in 19 of 26 years, and told year after year that there are no promotional opportunities in my skill cone. I am currently Chief of Diplomatic Couriers and have served overseas as a Diplomatic Courier, Courier Supervisor, and General Services Officer at Oslo and Moscow. My outside interests include member of the AFSA Education (Scholarship) Committee; past President of Civic Association; outgoing President of 2000+ and officer in my church and manager/pitcher of a softball team.

GEORGE G. B. GRIFFIN
CANDIDATE FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE

I am a candidate for State Representative on the FRESH START slate because I believe it is vital to help AFSA back on its feet to do its assigned job—representing all our interests. If I am elected I will work to attract people back to AFSA, the sole bargaining agent for all of us in State. In the past year, thanks to interneccine warfare in AFSA, over 200 members have dropped out. It is crucial that AFSA attract more members so that it can better represent all Foreign Service interests.

The FRESH START slate is uniquely qualified to represent the broadest interests of the AFSA membership. It has drawn together candidates from all walks of Foreign Service life in an effort to reflect your concerns.

AFSA must work to rid the Foreign Service of stigmas that make some of us "second class citizens." It must encourage recognition of professionalism in every facet of Foreign Service life. If it fails, it will be replaced by a union which has no experience in the problems of living abroad and which would subordinate Foreign Service interests to those of a larger union constituency. In my view, this would not meet the special needs we have in our service.

A loose affiliation with another professional federation of government employees with bargaining expertise may be the best way to keep our identity while acquiring knowhow we need to better cope with management. AFSA might also hire a full-time labor relations expert, preferably with Foreign Service experience, to provide the daily impetus needed to achieve our aims.

To attract the increasing numbers of members we need for a viable organization, especially from USIA, we should explore a number of possible incentives, such as a dual dues structure which would allow USIA members' participation at lower rates until AFSA can represent them at the bargaining table. AFSA is already a dual organization in fact—it is both professional and employee-oriented—and there is no reason why it cannot satisfy both needs.

What are my qualifications? I am a mid-career political officer serving as a division chief in INR—but my previous assignments have encompassed much more. I have been my own communicator and secretary during crises in small posts, and I was a Navy communicator before joining the Foreign Service. I have served mostly in South Asia, and have had tours in Europe and in the Department working on southern Africa and the UN. I have variously been the juniormost officer, the *chargé* and a full-time consular officer. I have often been part-time administrative officer, economic officer and commercial officer. I have been involved in economic aid, arms transfers, nuclear non-proliferation, human rights, law of the sea, trade, and sensitive negotiations. I have worked in war zones, insurgencies and disaster areas, and have dealt with millions of war refugees, bands of terrorists, hundreds of journalists and thousands of flood victims. For some of these efforts, I have been given two individual and one group Meritorious Honor awards and a suggestion award.

FRESH START STATE REPRESENTATIVE
WILLIAM S. TILNEY

AFSA has been in a state of crisis for the past two years. Internal bickering and discord have drained AFSA of its vitality as an effective and viable representative of its membership. There is a need to restore the confidence of the membership in AFSA. This can only be done by electing officers and representatives that truly represent the membership and are responsive, flexible and genuinely interested in working for the betterment of AFSA. We must re-establish AFSA as a credible representative of its membership.

I believe that our Fresh Start slate offers the best opportunity for bringing AFSA back from the brink. We are concerned with professionalism throughout the Foreign Service community. We also realize that, as an employee organization, we must represent diverse interests within that community.

As a candidate for State Representative, I want to be open and responsive to the interests and concerns of all groups. No group should be considered as "second class citizens." If elected, I will make every effort possible to ensure that all groups are equally represented, especially when it comes to career opportunities, working conditions, and promotions.

William S. Tilney, an FSO-4, is the management analysis officer for the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. He returned to the Department in June 1976 after a year of university training at the Maxwell School, University of Syracuse. Mr. Tilney has previously served in Nice as Consular/Principal Officer (1973-75), Chief of the NIV section and fraud unit in Santo Domingo (1971-73), and Consular Officer in Guadalajara (1969-71). Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Tilney served as GSO for the AID Mission in Eastern Nigeria, was the Administrative Officer/Director of an AID language contractor in Kinshasa, Zaire, and was a Peace Corps Volunteer with the first Peace Corps contingent to Ethiopia. He was also employed by the United States Post Office in Santa Fe Springs, California for three years.

While overseas, Mr. Tilney worked actively with local service organizations and athletic associations. He also served on several school and hospital boards. He is a member of 2000 Plus and the Consular Officers Association. Mr. Tilney obtained his BA in 1961 from California State University at Long Beach where he was student body president. He also did graduate work at UCLA. In 1976, he received a Masters in Public Administration from the Maxwell School, Syracuse University.

Mr. Tilney is married and has three children.

**JOSEPH N. MCBRIDE
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE
FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

AFSA must be an effective and militant bargaining agent for employee interests and Service professionalism. My experience as PM keyperson, JFSOC President, and State Standing Committee member has rammed home one lesson—management won't give us anything unless we force them. I'm running with the Alliance because they know how to use the Executive Order to push management to the wall, and are not afraid to do it.

Biography: I am an FSO-5 Political Officer. I have a B.A. (Brandeis, 1967) and M.A. (SAIS, 1969). After five years in AID with CORDS and in Bangkok, reaching FSR-5, I became an FSO-7 through the regular process in 1974. My first State assignment ended on a helicopter from the roof of the Embassy in Saigon. I was Special Assistant in PM, am presently punishing myself in the FSI Economics Course, and am scheduled for the Israeli Desk in July.

Stronger Bargaining Agent: At the 1976 annual AFSA Meeting, I sponsored from the floor a resolution, passed unanimously, demanding higher priority for AFSA's role as exclusive employee representative. The resolution was later endorsed by the Governing Board, which then hired a Counselor, who has strengthened AFSA's negotiating teams. At the same time, we must expand our network of volunteers, tapping groups such as September 17, COA, 2000 Plus and others to staff the Association's negotiating team.

Junior Officers: As JFSOC President I am outraged that the past two Junior Threshold Selection Boards have allowed almost half the available promotion opportunities to go unused. This has left some 80 FSO-6s, many of them fine officers, staring at their own career tombstones this year, while the Department is short 200 O-5s. The State Standing Committee's Junior Subcommittee which I chaired last year improved the precepts from previous years, but we have now found we have to go beyond the precepts themselves to solve the problem. We need improved and more timely evaluation material, still better precepts, reinstated traveling review panels, and information to the Threshold Board (as to the Intermediate Boards) on promotion numbers. Meanwhile we in JFSOC are holding Department meetings and sending detailed reports to junior officers overseas advising on how they can protect themselves in the evaluation process.

Length of Overseas Tours of Duty: I chaired a special subcommittee, including a secretary and communicator active in September 17, negotiating with management on guidelines for length of overseas tours of duty. We requested and got the views of more than 60 overseas chapters, which formed the basis of our position. We reached agreement on all points but one—elimination of discrimination against secretaries in tours of duty at non-hardship posts. Management then claimed they had no obligation to consult with us on this issue, and we have appealed to the Employee-Management Relations Commission to establish this area as subject to the Executive Order's equivalent of binding arbitration. We insist on the right to co-determine policy on length of tours of duty, and are determined to abolish any discrimination against secretaries. We won't tolerate second-class citizenship in the professional Foreign Service.

**ALTA FOWLER
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE
FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Alta Fowler has been in US Government service for 28 years, beginning in the American Embassy in London as a file clerk in 1946, then secretary and staff aide. Her Foreign Service experience also includes assignments as political assistant (NEA/NE and Tunis), disbursing officer (Dacca), administrative officer (Valletta), and all phases of consular field—immigrant visas in Dublin, general factotum in Valletta, section chief in Brussels and Sydney. She is now a division chief in SCA:SCS ("practicing law without a license").

This wide variety of experience has provided Alta with a sensitivity to the problems faced by the majority of members of the Foreign Service. As a woman, she knows the problems that women face in the Foreign Service; as a single employee, she has fought the battles of settling into a post without that helpful "other half"; as a file clerk and secretary, she understands the feelings of the staff personnel; as second officer in a two-officer-one-staffer post, she knows the 168-hour week of the always-on-duty personnel (if the CG is away, you're Miss US Government, if the secretary's away, you're the pouch clerk). As a supervisor of staff, she knows the problems, pitfalls and priorities required to keep people working effectively and (hopefully) happily; as a consular officer, she has had to fight for recognition of the value of the contribution that consular work can make to the mission of the Embassy as a whole.

All right, you say, so she sympathizes, empathizes, and so forth—but what does she DO about it? Small things, like the regular plan for entertaining the couriers coming through Valletta so that they would not have to sit in the hotel alone. Being a member of the organizing committee of the English Language Mental Health Association which evolved in Brussels to coordinate and provide help to the many American and other English-speaking residents who found living in the alien Franco-Flemish environment too much for them. And founding and presiding for three years over the Brussels International Women's Club, whose aim was to provide mutual support and fun for single women (and men) in the Embassies and international organizations.

And since returning to Washington in 1975, Alta has been a member of the Board of the Consular Officers' Association, secretary '75-'76 and Chairman 1976-77. In this activity she has pressed for resolution of matters of interest not only to consular officers, but also to the service as a whole. Such matters include speedy resolution of malfeasance allegations, upgrading of training for consular officers in particular but (other) staff members also, and trying to force out into the open the proposals on worldwide staff corps which have been lurking in the backrooms of PER for almost two years. In January 1977, she was co-opted to the AFSA Board to fill Pat Woodring's place as one of the State Reps.

"Professional in the Foreign Service" is Alta Fowler's battle cry (although at times it drops to a low moan), regardless of the cone, the status of the employee or the post. AFSA is the forum for pursuing that goal, and Alta and the others of the Alliance have joined together to keep it open and active in your behalf. She wants YOUR vote to allow her and the Alliance to represent your (State) interests there.

NANCY FOX
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE FOR AID REPRESENTATIVE

Nancy Fox joined AID in May 1967 and served as a secretary for 29 months in the Program Office in Ankara, then two tours in Bangkok in the Program Office and for the Mission Deputy Director and Director. Rotated back to Washington, she was assigned to the Asia Bureau, where she worked in the Social Development Division, the Executive Secretariat, and the Program Office. She is currently a Food for Peace Officer trainee in the 1977 Career Development Program.

Because she felt that many foreign service management and personnel policies need change and improvement, and is convinced that the union offers the best instrument to achieve change, Nancy became active in AFSA affairs. She joined the AID Standing Committee and helped to negotiate the new framework agreement, which improved AFSA's ability to function as the exclusive employee representative. She also took part in negotiations on the second FSS Career Development Program, and the newly agreed guidelines for the conversion of FSRL employees, thus resolving a long-standing AID personnel policy issue.

Nancy has also served as a member of the Secretarial Task Force Report Review Committee and the Affirmative Action Plan Committee. As a member of the AFSA AID Membership Committee, she revised, updated, and recruited for the roster of keypersons, and helped to set up what may be the first in a series of regularly scheduled keyperson and bureau member meetings to improve communication between the AFSA AID leadership and membership. She was also instrumental in organizing a recently formed FSS Career Committee which will work for the specific goals of the staff corps.

As a former secretary, and new officer, in the AID Foreign Service, and one who has already taken part in actions on behalf of the AID Foreign Service constituency, Nancy is aware of its goals and problems. In standing as an Alliance candidate, she is joining with other professional foreign service people who have already demonstrated their support for and sympathy with the special problems of the AID AFSA Membership, and their ability to make AFSA an effective and responsive employee union.

JAMES R. MEENAN—AID REPRESENTATIVE

Statement: AID has undertaken to completely revamp its operating management systems through the establishment of the Planning, Budgeting, Accounting and Reporting (PBAR) Task Force. While AID currently labors to install the new management systems, major deficiencies persist in AID operations because key areas of Personnel Management and Operation Support Functions of various offices have been explicitly omitted from a comprehensive review.

Issue No. 1-AID's Inefficient Foreign Service Personnel System: An efficient Personnel Management operation should have, as its objective, the assignment of the right personnel at the right time to the right positions.

*A. The Right Personnel-*Entails the recruitment, training and development of a highly motivated corps of Foreign Service professionals.

AID is presently undertaking projects without the essential staff being assigned to effectively supervise or implement the activities.

Key to resolving the shortcomings in Personnel Management is the early identification of staffing requirements and the availability of trained staff. This entails the establishment of a closer working relationship between Personnel Management and AID operations, including the application of advanced personnel planning. From these efforts, Foreign Service employees should be provided broader opportunities to advance and develop their skills in multiple areas to meet identifiable future Agency requirements.

*B. The Right Time-*Inherent in the timely assignment of personnel is the collection and utilization of basic data on the demand (program requirements) for and availability of AID Foreign Service personnel. The present personnel operations could be significantly enhanced if Management would integrate the identification of staffing requirements with AID's programing operations and commence utilizing the automated personnel data system (RAMPS) in planning advanced assignments. Foreign Service personnel should be brought into the process by being provided basic data on future vacancies upon which a reasonable Completion of Assignment Report (COAR) could be prepared. Management in turn, should take action on the COAR well in advance of the expiration of the employee's tour of duty.

*C. The Right Position-*The assignment of Foreign Service personnel should be looked upon not only as a means of filling a job vacancy but as an opportunity to develop the staff by continually providing more demanding/challenging assignments in their fields of expertise or related areas. By expanding the employees' job assignments in related fields the Agency will gain a broader based and motivated staff that would be able to advance within the Agency and minimize the imbalance existing in various skill areas.

Conclusion: I believe that the Agency's current Personnel Management operations serve neither the best interest of Foreign Service personnel or AID's own management. With the new Administration looking for ways to improve Government efficiency, it appears that now is the ideal time to rectify this untenable personnel situation in AID.

If provided the opportunity to serve as AID Representative for AFSA, I would endeavor to aggressively pursue, through the most constructive channels, the shortcomings in the Personnel Management system.

**FRESH START CANDIDATE
FOR USIA REPRESENTATIVE—JANET E. RUBEN**

Apathy toward AFSA has pervaded USIA for the last year. Frankly, I've shared it. But as a USIA professional, I believe that AFSA can and should represent the professional interests of USIA employees. Especially now, at a time of transition and almost certain change for USIA, we need all the help we can get. Like AFSA, we need a fresh start. I would like to represent USIA on the AFSA Board.

I believe that my career experience, particularly my two and a half years as Area Personnel Officer for Latin America, gives me an excellent understanding of the problems and issues which face USIA and insights into the ways AFSA can serve its members in the Agency.

AFSA needs to be responsive to the concerns of USIA members. It has not been and, largely as a result, our membership in AFSA has decreased by half in the last year. In many ways, our concerns are the same ones our State and AID colleagues have: the promotion and assignment systems, tolerance for dissent, high-level political appointments, and the abuses arising in these areas.

But in other respects, our situation is different. AFSA is not the exclusive bargaining agent in USIA at present. AFGE is. But if AFSA could monitor AFGE's activities on the bread-and-butter issues that intimately affect us all, it would make a contribution to everyone in USIA. And we certainly look toward the possibility of challenging AFGE at some point in the future.

USIA's situation is very different because it faces uncertainty in its status as an independent agency. Whatever form a reorganization may take, AFSA must consider the opinions of USIA employees and represent them with the people making the decisions. The Fresh Start Slate is committed to do this clearly and forcefully.

To ensure that you are being represented accurately on this and other issues, I would restore the two-way communications system that has been allowed to lapse. I would reestablish a core of AFSA representatives from the area and media elements and would meet frequently with them and anyone else interested in the organization. I would also reinstitute a regular report to all USIA members in Washington and overseas.

It is time for AFSA to revise its bylaws. Some are outdated or inappropriate; others ignore current circumstances. For example, a dual structure of dues, for both professional and union activities, might encourage USIA employees to rejoin AFSA, even if on a limited basis.

AFSA is an established, recognized, even venerable organization, but is suffering from tired blood. USIA needs to take advantage of AFSA's experience, expertise, clout, and contacts to the fullest. But AFSA needs to help itself. Only energetic, interested representation by people who understand the issues can bring AFSA back and USIA back to AFSA. If elected, I would keep abreast of your views and maintain constant dialogue between USIA and AFSA. I would commit myself to developing dynamic policies in AFSA that serve the interests of its USIA membership.

My agency experience overseas has consisted of tours in Mexico (JOT); Quito (ACAO); and Rio de Janeiro (Press Officer). While in Personnel, I served temporarily on an inspection team to Africa. Since last August I have been on loan to the State Department, assigned to the US Permanent Mission to the OAS. In this job I handle educational, scientific and cultural affairs.

**PETER C. WOLCOTT
ALLIANCE CANDIDATE
FOR USIA REPRESENTATIVE**

Concern for the professional interests of USIA personnel and demonstrated willingness to support them is why I am running for AFSA USIA Representative. My 14-year USIA career and AFSA activism supply the requisites to best represent USIA professionals in an era of reorganization.

My varied career has exposed me to the problems we face. I served overseas in Malaysia and Indonesia from 1963 to 1970, mostly as a BPAO, and recently as Program Officer in Helsinki. My Washington experience includes a year in the White House as a Staff Member with the President's Council on Environmental Quality and Chairmanship of the Oral Examining Panel for USIA Junior Officers. I am now a Program Officer in ICS responsible for domestic political subjects.

My varied AFSA background provides continuity and familiarity with the working of employee-management relations. My initial participation in AFSA grew out of YOPP activities. In the AFSA USIA Standing Committee from 1973 to 1974 I helped develop the first of many Agency professional positions on USIA reorganization. In Helsinki I was the Embassy AFSA Representative.

Back in Washington, the traditional labor-management issues—e.g. allowances, working conditions, taxes—evoked my membership on the AFSA Members' Interest Committee. After AFSA lost its exclusive representation status to AFGE, my interest turned to the broader professional issues. On the recommendation of the AFSA USIA Standing Committee, I was appointed in June 1976 to fill the vacant USIA Representative position on the AFSA Board. During the last year I have been active with the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center where I now serve as Co-Chairman. I helped reorganize the Center to better serve the needs of Foreign Service families and instilled interest in making the State Department Medical Division more responsive to our needs. Since October 1976 I have been Chairman of the *AFSA News* Committee where I took the position of supporting the right of all AFSA members to be heard.

Reorganization of USIA is vital to all of us. I have led an AFSA/USIA initiative to expose those who determine the new direction public diplomacy will take to the opinions of USIA professionals. As a Member of the AFSA Organization and Management Committee, I have worked to develop a mechanism for direct representation of your views in reorganization. I pledge to promote the AFSA/USIA consensus view of reorganization, and seek the support of the AFSA Board for this view.

Change is a fact for USIA and the Foreign Service. As a constructive critic of the system, I intend to work for the depoliticization of the Foreign Service, the right for spouses to work overseas and respect for dissent. I believe that the Alliance will best represent this philosophy.

**C. ARNOLD FRESHMAN,
CANDIDATE FOR RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE**

I have no particular program to offer AFSA voters, nor axes to grind. I would simply hope to contribute as best I can toward the early stabilization of AFSA generally—following the turbulence of the past two years—and toward the advancement of the legitimate interests of AFSA's membership, including in particular the 28 percent now constituting the retired membership.

**EUGENE M. BRADERMAN,
CANDIDATE FOR RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE**

EUGENE M. BRADERMAN retired in 1974 as Consul General in Amsterdam (FSO-1) after a distinguished career in State and Commerce. Received Gold Medal Award for distinguished achievement in the Federal Service. Served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Director of the Bureau of International Commerce, Chairman of many US delegations and negotiating teams, attended the Senior Seminar and was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Department's Bureau of Economic Affairs.

ROBERT G. CLEVELAND retired in 1970 as Director of the State Department's Office of Public Services (FSO-1) after an outstanding career in private business, the United States Navy and the Foreign Service. He had duty in Bucharest, Paris, Sydney, Bangkok, and Belgrade as well as in the Bureaus of European and East Asian Affairs in the Department. He received the Department's Superior Service Award.

Our principal objective in seeking election to the Board is to help restore AFSA to a position of professional leadership in the foreign affairs community. While not losing sight of the crucial importance of AFSA's position as the official representative of State-Aid employees, active and retired, on bread and butter issues, we believe the time has come for AFSA to assume a broader role. We espouse the following specific objectives:

1. Continuing concern and active work for the welfare of retired personnel. This should always be a primary AFSA objective, as it is obvious that all AFSA members will eventually become retirees.

2. To encourage and support legislation of benefit to retired as well as to active personnel.

3. More tapping by the foreign affairs agencies of the existing large resources of experience and ability among retired officers. These resources are far less utilized in the United States than in many other countries.

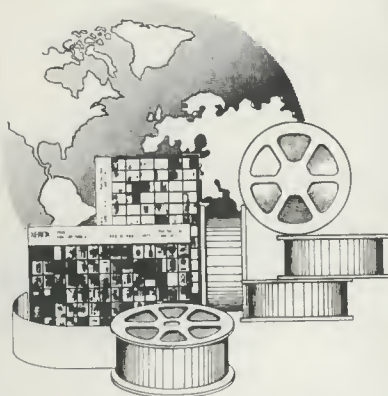
4. Expansion of AFSA-sponsored professional activities and programs, e.g. symposia, conferences, etc. on professional subjects among experts in government, business, academia and retired personnel. Publication of accounts of such activities in the *Journal* or elsewhere.

5. Improved communication between AFSA and management. While some adversary relationships are intrinsic in employee-management situations, AFSA membership is totally different from the traditional labor force. Thus the style of AFSA-management discussions should reflect the character of AFSA members—diplomatic but firm.

6. A thorough review of the AFSA by-laws, including the electoral provisions. The present system permits the election of less than majority candidates and is clumsy, time-consuming, and very expensive. We believe there are better ways for the AFSA membership to elect its leadership.

We are the candidates endorsed by DACOR.

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ROBERT G. CLEVELAND, CANDIDATE FOR RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE

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If the natives are restless, it may be
that the powwow goes on too long. — Old Indian Proverb

How to Avoid Disaster and Make Friends on the Overland Speaking Tour

WILLIAM C. ROGERS

In recent years the Great White Father has been asking his emissaries to go out on the Frontier and speak to "THE PEOPLE." The State Department is no longer to be cut off from its children in the West. The Illinois, the Kansas, the Dakotas, and the Missouri are hearing the words about lands beyond the waters in foreign policy forums. The Great HAK himself led the way and spoke to conclaves of the loyal tribes.

While he, himself, emerged unscathed from these adventures, dangers and even disasters await lesser representatives from C Street N.W. Some words of advice from a "friendly" from the interior may therefore be helpful. The author has been trapping State Department officials for over twenty-five years in the area around Fort Snelling. He knows how the natives use and misuse State Department officials as speakers.

A common remark heard by those arranging foreign policy powwows is "Why should we have a State Department official speak? They never say anything." An ex-

perienced trapper should respond "There's nobody like a State Department official to give the official statement of what United States foreign policy really *is*." Such information may be discomfoting to a group that is intent on attacking what they *think* is our foreign policy. As a point of reference, a State Department spokesman is central, especially when there are several other speakers on a program. It is quite proper, indeed essential, for Washington to make such a statement to doubtful tribesmen.

They should also be informed *why* most diplomats "can't say anything" about what's going to happen next week. Very high officials can do some speculating, and at times high State Department officials may publicly enunciate a new direction in foreign policy to an audience out of Washington. Such events make the natives very happy, but they must be told not to expect coups like this very often. Top officials feel less diffidence about answering questions and making admissions because after all they are the bosses. Lower officials reel off official statements by the President or the Secretary of State, but often this is more interesting than it sounds. A listener can visualize the possibility that the speaker was a ghost writer for these texts. A certain tone of voice and repressed enthusiasm can indicate the official made such a con-

tribution.

There is safety in numbers on the Frontier. Work in company with other speakers. In the give and take of a panel, officials often perform better than when they have to give a straight speech to a group of hostiles. Diplomats can also be valuable in giving a technical treatment to a subject. Often you are authorities on the history, economy or geography of countries in which you have served and can make a contribution without getting into touchy political questions. The world wasn't created yesterday and the history of a country or area can be more useful than hearing about the personality quirks of members of a current reigning government. To carry this point a bit further, officials often have highly specialized knowledge in a particular substantive field which is relatively non-controversial. Some may be skilled demographers, public health specialists, economists, or even agricultural specialists.

Another way to be useful is to tap knowledge gained in a long career in a place in the world where you are no longer serving. The earlier background may be most useful. An officer may be currently assigned to Scandinavia but has spent ten years in the Middle East before that. The Arab states are his real specialty and while he may wish to avoid current events, his background knowledge should be of-

William C. Rogers, Director of the World Affairs Center at the University of Minnesota, is the author of 70 articles and several books and pamphlets. He has contributed to the Journal in the past. Mr. Rogers also has a complete basement printing shop, the Funky Butt Press and is a jazz lover (plays washboard).

ferred to the public.

Try to get engagements in your own home area. Tell the speaking arrangements people to send you out to the Columbus area where you came from. It helps a lot in relating to your audiences and you might even have time to see Aunt Jane. This qualifies you as a local boy who made good rather than someone who lives with foreigners most of the time. While you may not make any earth-shaking remarks, at least you know the local language and can relate naturally to "the people."

State Department officials can be good listeners and good questioners. It has been said that our diplomatic reporting service is one of the best in the world. If that's true, you can go out and listen to what the locals have to say and take it back to Foggy Bottom in a relatively accurate form. This is a considerable art, and is no longer highly developed among newspaper reporters. It may serve some usefulness in getting pieces of public opinion into the Washington foreign policy decision-making process.

Of course you know a lot more than you can say, and you can display this knowledge by asking excellent questions. Your presence in a group which is discussing foreign policy can be most revealing and even sometimes unsettling for local experts. Cultivate an illuminating way of pointing out contradictions in discussion and question periods. It keeps possible opponents slightly off balance. Usually be excessively polite in doing this, however.

While you have the job of telling citizens about their foreign policy, civic minded Americans have a responsibility to help inform and educate *you*. State Department officials, on returning from various world affairs council meetings, often say something to the effect that "I certainly learned a lot being out there with the people." Actually, they probably learned little or nothing about foreign policy alternatives, although occasionally they might have picked up an original idea. What they *have* learned is something about the nature of public opinion which can supplement and translate the vibrations coming from Congress. The experience also helps them weigh the words of

the pundits of the press who pose as reflectors of *vox populi*.

So far we have been fairly positive about your usefulness as a communicator and educator about foreign affairs. Now to turn to the *misuse* of State Department officials, and the dangers which you may face. Some of these may be your own fault, but just as often it's the fault of the group who invited you out to perform. These include a myriad of women's clubs, civic

**"It's not fair to
expect a new man
in the China
job to speak
brilliantly. He may have
just spent three years
in Brussels and is just
now transferring to
Hong Kong. Your
speech on China
may have a
Flemish accent."**

luncheon groups, churches and schools and colleges, and world affairs councils.

One misuse (and sometimes non-use) of diplomats comes about because the State Department usually charges the local group for travel and hotel costs, which can be quite a burden to a program supported by either membership or conference fees. Most other departments of the government send their people out free. If nothing of note is revealed by the speaker, at least he doesn't put the group in the red financially. This is a built-in danger and the only sure escape is for you to give a dazzlingly brilliant speech.

It is of course ridiculous to expect officials to criticize United States foreign policy. Yet many audiences feel that there must be something wrong with US foreign policy and expect you to tell them what it is, so that they can criticize it more effectively. "We know things aren't going well in the Middle East. Now what is it you should be doing that you aren't?" is the way it might be stated. The other side of this coin is audience expectation that officials can or will

criticize foreign countries. Even though the local newspapers probably aren't covering the meeting, there is always the chance that such an indiscretion will appear in the media or be carried by word of mouth back to the country in question, causing acute embarrassment. Nationals of the country concerned may be in the audience and act as reporters. Try to explain in a nice way that if people want criticisms of foreign countries or American policies, don't expect to get them from the State Department. That's like asking a physician how to sue him for malpractice.

Along the same line, some audiences expect to get choice bits of inside secret information of some sort. Unfortunately for them, a part of public policy information which must remain confidential is the discussion of the various alternatives considered before a given foreign policy has been made, and especially who said what. The audience question may arise like this: "What other possibilities did you consider before you made your ridiculous decision about the situation in country X? Hadn't you thought about sending in the Marines?" (Or conversely, "Had no one mentioned the possibility of using gentle persuasion rather than the threat of force?") If an official says "yes" or "no" to such questions, he immediately condemns himself and the State Department for having considered the "right policy" and then refusing to act upon it. Such an admission can reach the press, resulting in a public demand for some heads to roll.

Public affairs officers are particularly vulnerable to being scalped. They may be regarded as public relations specialists likely to know less about a subject than "regular" diplomats. If you are a PA person, get a subject on which your knowledge is fresh and deep. If you have just returned from a foreign area on which you can speak, your position will be strongest. It's not fair to expect a new man in the China job to speak brilliantly. He may have just spent three years in Brussels and is just now transferring to Hong King. Your speech on China may have a Flemish accent. Try to speak on your latest specialty and if you have to talk on a new subject explain frankly what you know and

Continued on page 51

Détente: A Born-Again Bookshelf

DETENTE AND DEFENSE, edited by Robert J. Pranger. American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, \$4.50.

STRATEGIC POWER: *Military Capabilities and Political Utility*, by Edward N. Luttwak. SAGE Publications, Inc., \$3.00.

THE FUTURE OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER, edited by Lawrence L. Whetten. Crane Russak & Company, \$14.50.

THE CRUISE MISSILE: *Bargaining Clip or Defense Bargain?*, by Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. and Jacquelyn K. Davis. Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc. \$3.00.

DEVELOPING THE ICBM, by Edmund Beard. Columbia University Press.

It may have escaped your notice, but *détente* has recently rejoined our official vocabulary. Twice-born, it has risen—Phoenix-like—from the ashes of the 1976 presidential campaign. But even while *détente* was gone, there were still those who were giving it serious thought. Robert J. Pranger has pulled together what must be one of the best *détente* documentation bargains in town. His \$4.50 paperback entitled *Détente and Defense* costs approximately a penny a page yet gives you the strategic thinking of Nixon, Fulbright, Brzezinski, Laird, Kissinger, Brezhnev, Kennan, Nitze and Iklé—in that order, with some others thrown in for good measure.

It also includes the texts of several important SALT-related agreements, plus the Shanghai Communiqué, the not-easy-to-obtain 1976 Congressional Research Service study of the US-Soviet military balance, and the discussion on strategic stability (mostly between Paul Nitze and Jan Lodal) which ran through several recent issues of *Foreign Affairs*.

Pranger introduces each article and document with a brief explanatory statement set in italics, which makes the book all the more valuable to those who are either new to the subject, or who simply wish to skim. For anyone seriously interested in arms control, it is an essential primer.

Edward N. Luttwak's *Strategic*

Power makes an excellent follow-on to Pranger. It is heavier going, but it has its own rewards. If you can master the silo inventories on page 29, or the strategic vehicle delivery comparisons on page 54, you can probably devastate most any Washington-area cocktail party in the year ahead. And—which is more—you'll become an arms control expert in the process.

In which case, you will certainly want to ponder his (page 6) judgment: "Since the strategic competition is only the symptom of a much deeper and broader political struggle, it cannot be arrested by arms control treaties nor can it even be seriously constrained. The only effect of limitations on any one class of weapons, or any one mode of performance, is to stimulate new efforts to develop strategic power in directions as yet unconstrained."

This will put you in a proper frame of mind for Lawrence L. Whetten's *The Future of Soviet Military Power* which is scary stuff, indeed. It is a collection of "papers" presented at a 1975 international conference in West Germany, sponsored by the University of Southern California where Whetten teaches. The material is amazingly prescient—having anticipated by more than a year the recent argument on US-Soviet military capabilities/intentions. It deals very soberingly with threat perceptions, misperceptions, and guesses that turned out badly. By the time you have reached the end, you may well need a lift of sorts.

The Cruise Missile has it. Pfaltzgraff and Davis reaffirm the notion that there is still something to be said for Yankee ingenuity and technological know-how. "Seldom," they say, "in the history of military technology has a weapons system been developed that is as promising, yet controversial, as the cruise missile." Their subject is deceptively simple. While it is true that cruise missiles are small, relatively inexpensive, pilotless jet aircraft—rather like World War II "Buzz-bombs"—there is much more to them than that. As Pfaltzgraff/Davis establish, in what so far is probably the most definitive account of the whole cruise missile squabble, SLCM and ALCM open the door, however slightly, to the next generation of

weapons technology. Fortunately, it is a field of endeavor in which the United States apparently enjoys a substantial lead over the USSR.

Pfaltzgraff/Davis urge that we build on this lead. "The task confronting the United States," they say, "is to make effective use of its technological assets, existing and potential, in the structuring of a military balance adequate to the needs of the United States and others whose security will be dependent on US capabilities in the 1980s." They see the cruise missile "not as a bargaining chip but rather as a defense bargain available to the United States at a critically important time in its strategic-military relationship with the Soviet Union."

The struggle to get missiles built is the subject of Edmund Beard's *Developing the ICBM*, a book that is interesting on two levels. Firstly, it is a very readable history of an effort by a small group of forward-looking individuals to wean the Air Force away from its excessive devotion to manned bombers. But more than this, the book can be read as a fascinating case-study in bureaucratic politics.

Beard chronicles the organizational opposition to the introduction of a new concept, especially one that is likely to take money away from existing programs. "There is," he says, "a built-in and inevitable resistance to new ideas that will cost money unless additional outside funding appears available. But such funding is unlikely, particularly for a seemingly revolutionary development, until after the item has proven its worth."

If this process—which Beard calls a *circular bind*—seems to have a Catch-22 logic to it, read a little bit further. "If the decision is made that something cannot be developed because of technological impossibility, and then that judgment is used to justify a refusal to provide development funds, the item will not be developed and the judgment will appear true." Beard says that this sort of self-fulfilling prophecy operated fairly consistently at the Pentagon, and succeeded in delaying ICBM development for years.

One hopes that the Soviets may have comparable problems in resource allocation. — SEAN KELLY

To Green the Memory

WINNERS AND LOSERS, by Gloria Emerson. Random House, \$10.95.

Former *New York Times* correspondent Gloria Emerson apparently has spent much of the past few years tracking down people who were in Vietnam and talking to them about their experiences. The resulting book is irritating, pompous, full of plausible but pernicious stereotypes and often more a reflection of what Gloria Emerson thinks people should feel about Vietnam than a careful portrayal of the feelings of others. But for anyone still interested in Vietnam, hers is a disturbing book and difficult to put down.

There is no mistake how the author feels about Vietnam. Our involvement there, she makes clear, even when well-intentioned, produced unmitigated horror, and for us to forget about it when so many people still bear the scars is nothing short of monstrous. This attitude suffuses her book with suppressed rage at what she saw and experienced, and at those who still are unable or refuse to see the war as she sees it. At times she seems to take a kind of perverse pleasure that many of her interviewees do not exhibit the same purity and sensitivity that she sees in herself, and she belittles many of them with cattiness rather than permitting them to reveal themselves more fully without her put-downs.

Some of her statements, meant to be clever, arouse annoyance at her foolish stereotyping, e. g. the army private whose face was "too inquisitive, too alive to be an acceptable private," as though all privates were stupid and brutish; or the officer whose "eyes were a little too large for a correct military face," whatever that is.

Despite these serious and maddening flaws, the book offers enough upsetting recollections and insights that it misses the point to castigate the author for not writing a better book. For her, as for so many others, the agony of Vietnam has become the focal point of her life and what she has set down reflects the agony and the pain of the Vietnam experience. Trying to

pierce people's indifference is not an easy task, but the book, like it or not, inexorably does just that.

Winners and Losers is not a very likable book, but it was not intended to be. As the war fades in our collective memory (to a new generation of students Vietnam is already ancient history), Americans may be tempted to ask, "did it really happen that way, and did Americans really do those things?" Gloria Emerson reminds us that this was really the way it happened, and that Americans did indeed do those things.

—WILLIAM LENDERKING

Man Behind the Myth

MAHATMA GANDHI AND HIS APOSTLES, by Ved Mehta. Viking, \$14.95.

"Gandhi's contemporaries could themselves scarcely believe in the man of flesh and blood, so what hope is there of ever rediscovering him behind the myths, the legends, the apotheoses?" asks Ved Mehta in his biography of the Mahatma and his apostles.

Keenly aware of the fallibility of any one person's interpretation of Gandhi, Mehta made a more than five year odyssey to interview people who had lived and worked with Gandhi and people who now profess to carry out his work. Then, against the current fashion of overwhelming the reader with documentation, Mehta renders a 250-page distillation that reveals the man behind the myth perhaps better than any of the 400-odd biographies already written about Gandhi. It is compelling reading—often startling—but always balanced: neither hagiography nor exposé.

Gandhi lived a completely public life. He never tried to hide his eccentricities or his obsessions with personal hygiene and diets, or his experiments to test his mastery over his sexual appetite. Nor did he minimize his eventual despair at his failure to eradicate the concept and practices of untouchability or prevent the holocaust of partition of India. Yet his canonization by both Easterners and Westerners has already nearly obliterated the man and turned his questing philosophy into dogma. In this stunning biography both the man and the ideals he espouses are rescued from obfuscation.

Ved Mehta knows India well, on

every level. He is an Urdu-speaking Indian of extraordinary talents who was blinded at three years of age. He holds degrees from Pomona, Harvard and Oxford. As in his previous books and articles (primarily for *The New Yorker* magazine) Mehta characterizes the complex Indian personality with a skill reminiscent of the novelist Ruth Pravar Jhabvala. Those who know the Indian subcontinent will especially savor this book. But it is excellent reading for anyone—a carefully researched and beautifully written book which reveals not only the stubborn, saintly, self-absorbed character of Mahatma Gandhi, but much of Indian society and culture, exemplified by Gandhi's amazingly diverse apostles.

—LUREE MILLER

Status of the Marianas

MICRONESIA: *Trust Betrayed*, by Donald F. McHenry. Carnegie Endowment, \$4.95.

Many were surprised to read recently that the CIA tapped the telephones of Micronesians who have been negotiating with an inter-agency team over the future status of their Trust Territory since 1969. Readers of *Trust Betrayed* will not be surprised since this book documents the growing feeling of mistrust between Micronesians and American officialdom. Indeed, the negotiations that culminated in the Marianas Compact appeared to be between hostile countries rather than close associates.

In another sense, the CIA indirectly helped along the feeling of separation on the part of the Marianas since it maintained a base in Saipan from 1951-1962 into which the Trust Territorial Government, which had previously been based in Hawaii and Guam, relocated, thereby increasing the tendencies of the people of the Marianas (population 14,600) to think of themselves as better (and better off) than other Micronesians.

For diplomats, the McHenry book is a case study of the failure of the Department to manage negotiations effectively in an inter-agency group framework. Once again, military considerations hampered imaginative diplomacy. Actually,

no one comes out of this history of Micronesian negotiations looking good; not the Congress, not the Executive, not the United Nations, not the military, not even the Micronesians. McHenry generally supports the minority views of the Foreign Relations Committee, signed by Frank Church and Clairborne Pell, who argue for resolving the political status for all of the Trust Territory rather than annexing the Marianas.

This is an extraordinarily complicated issue for so small a place. The debate over the future status of the Marianas and the rest of Micronesia may again demand attention when the Security Council of the United Nations is presented with the Marianas territorial covenant as part of an umbrella package which would include compacts detailing the future status of the other two major Micronesian archipelagos.

If a UN rejection of the covenants increases public attention on the question of the future status of these islands, then the McHenry book will be a *sine qua non* for any informed debate. In a broader context, the right of the people of Micronesia to decide their own form of government and to govern themselves is a uniquely humanitarian issue which, however, has been subordinated to the political and strategic interests of other countries. And once a new status for Micronesia is created, what will be the implication for areas such as Puerto Rico, Guam, The Virgin Islands, and American Samoa?

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

One Candle, Much Darkness

JAPAN, AMERICA, AND THE FUTURE WORLD ORDER, edited by Morton A. Kaplan and Kinhide Mushakoji. The Free Press, \$12.95.

It is regrettable that anthologies are so difficult to review. When they are done poorly the reviewer loses zest at so many easy targets; when they are done exceptionally well, as is this one, there is not room for the just measure of praise. One of the many virtues of this University of Chicago collection is that Japanese authors were selected by Japanese, American by Americans. The topics were joint Japanese-American choices.

What of the overall effect?

“He never tried to hide . . . his obsessions with personal hygiene and diets, or his experiments to test his mastery over his sexual appetite.” — *Mahatma Gandhi and His Apostles*. “The right of the people of Micronesia to decide their own form of government . . . is a uniquely humanitarian issue.”

—*Micronesia: Trust Betrayed*.

“There is the problem of an assistant secretary who last year managed to defy architecture and grammar by describing Japan as “one of the keystones” of our Asian policy.”

—*Japan, America, and the Future World Order*.

There's the rub. A collection like this cannot combat a secretary of state who announces that political relations between Japan and the United States have never been better in the same month that a Japanese premier falls because of a US bribery scandal. No amount of dispassionate discourse can do much about an undersecretary for economics who seems to apply Connallyesque concepts, if not language, to the problem of trade imbalances. As Henry Rosovsky noted in another excellent collection (*United States-Japan Relations; The Seventies*, reviewed in the *Journal*, April 1975) if any long range planning on Japan's world economic role is being done “it must be one of the best kept secrets in Tokyo and Washington.” And then there is the problem of an assistant secretary who last year managed to defy architecture and grammar by describing Japan as “one of the keystones” of our Asian policy. Finally, reading this collection raises a question of just how effective is the Japanese elitist approach to cultural relations between the two countries. American universities are properly grateful for the large sums they receive from the Japanese government, (which help finance handsome, well-made volumes such as this) but an officially led campaign to teach Japanese school children spoken English might produce greater dividends in the long range.

Thus, failing to review, one ends

up carping at the collection. Perhaps one article of the collection, which should interest all FSOs, deals with the gravamen of the complaint: I. M. Destler's “Country Expertise and United States Foreign Policymaking: The Case of Japan.”

— J. K. HOLLOWAY

The First Civil War

IN DEFENSE OF THE PUBLIC LIBERTY, Britain, America, & the Struggle for Independence—From 1760 to the Surrender at Yorktown in 1781, by Samuel B. Griffith II. Doubleday, \$14.95.

Barbara Tuchman says this book “will prove to be the outstanding historical narrative produced during the Bicentennial.” She may be a bit profligate with praise, but La Tuchman's own great works on wars and their political environment give her sound basis for judgment. America's first Civil War is studied by former US Marine Regular Samuel Griffith in its role as part of a global conflict. It should be read with Dick Hofstadter's sensitive study of *America at 1750* which sets the scene for the crises which exploded into civil and international war. The title shows Griffith's judgment of the main issue in the conflict, and he handles political and economic factors with understanding and readability. And his training as a military professional enhances his campaign descriptions so that the struggles of both Washington and his opponents are strongly felt by the interested reader.

—JOHN HALE STUTESMAN

Life of Chiang

THE MAN WHO LOST CHINA: *The First Full Biography of Chiang Kai-shek*, by Brian Crozier. Scribner's, \$12.95.

In his final assessment of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Crozier opines that, despite courage, energy and leadership qualities, he was not only a deeply flawed leader but also a tragic one. While his tragedy was personal, it transcended the man himself, for he was “a main instrument” in the fall of China to communism. That Chiang, “as the arch-enemy of communism, should have played a role contributing to the end which, above all, he abhorred . . . that is why his failure must be termed tragic.”

In his survey of the circumstances and causes of Chiang's colossal defeat, the author details Chiang's enormous bad luck and his monumental blunders. These made him, simplistically speaking, "the man who lost China." This disaster, Crozier attributes also, in some degree, to his notion that Foreign Service "reporting from China strongly and in the end decisively influenced the United States Government away from Chiang's regime . . . and towards Mao Tse-tung's Communist Party."

This imaginative comment is demonstrably historical nonsense. Foreign Service officers' perceptive reporting was rejected and Old Glory was nailed to the mast of Chiang's sinking ship. The US administration backed Chiang and his defeated and defecting armies to the last—and to the enormous detriment of the US national interest. The United States, with its embassy to China in Taipei, is bound to Kuomintang China in a mutual defense pact . . . in this year of grace, 1977.

Right after Crozier's above-quoted statement comes this one: "The despatches rightly pointed out that Soviet intentions in the Far East were aggressive; that the Chinese Communists had been subservient to the USSR, but that nationalism was modifying their outlook; that the Kuomintang and National Government were disintegrating; that there would probably be a civil war, which the Communists would inevitably win."

This narrative of Chiang's life and works from boyhood to death in exile is well told. It is replete with intimate, personal detail about Chiang and his relations with many other historic figures. This book may be "the first full (*sic*) biography of Chiang Kai-shek." It is clearly an honest, able effort to present all sides of his complex character and to note the various forces that affected his career. Crozier is an accomplished biographer . . . not a hagiographer. Hollington K. Tong in an authorized biography of Chiang wrote in 1938: "Recent events in China have proved Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to be the greatest soldier-statesman of our time on the Continent of Asia."

Those who are interested in China, or who just like to read

biographies, will enjoy this book. It seems "not bloody likely," though, that they will consider it a definitive work on Sino-American relations during the almost half a century of the Generalissimo's rule in Nationalist China.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Praise from Loy Henderson

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, by Thomas S. Estes and E. Allan Lightner, Jr. Praeger, \$10.00.

Loy Henderson says that this book by Tom Estes and Al Lightner is "the clearest description of the role, operations, and history of the old Department [of State] that I have found anywhere. . . . it should make a useful textbook for students who are interested in the field of foreign affairs." The book also contains organization charts, a summary of relevant legislation, and a bibliography.

— DAVID LINEBAUGH

The Sociology of Intelligence Evaluation

THE FATE OF FACTS IN A WORLD OF MEN—FOREIGN POLICY AND INTELLIGENCE-MAKING, by Thomas L. Hughes. The Foreign Policy Association: \$1.40.

Collectors of elegant essays on the foreign policy process will want to add this latest publication by Thomas L. Hughes, the President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to their shelf of artfully constructed literary expositions of the ambiguities of the foreign affairs profession. Its author, who came to diplomacy via service with influential patrons on Capitol Hill, was for two years Deputy Director and then for six years Director of the Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. As chief briefer to Dean Rusk for nearly all of the latter's conduct of our country's foreign affairs and subsequently as DCM in London during the first two years of the Nixon administration, he has had extraordinary opportunities to see at first hand how complex are the factors which determine the way a country's foreign affairs are managed.

Mr. Hughes's approach to his subject is not, however, that of the ex-insider who is now ready to tell us how things are done in the official circles in which he once moved. He is too discreet a man to

want to let us in on anything we aren't entitled to know. So complete is his discretion, indeed, that we look in vain for hints as to what he may presently think about some of our more interesting current foreign affairs controversies. Should CIA's budget be cut or increased? Should the Agency's nominal authority to monitor the activities of the DIA and other intelligence agencies be strengthened or weakened? Should INR be beefed up, left as it is, or be farmed out to some other agency? We are never told.

But if this little essay is marred by an excess of discretion—in itself an admirable quality, I hasten to add, and one not to be disdained, for how else could Mr. Hughes have so happily ended up as head of a wealthy foundation, with his name on almost everybody's list of acceptable candidates for appointment as Secretary of State or Director of Central Intelligence—this weakness is more than offset by Mr. Hughes's gift for putting into elegant English some of the underlying psychological and sociological truths of life in the foreign affairs field.

As a long-time student of his prose (I have a small collection of his literary efforts on these topics, going back to a rare "Off the Record: Not for Publication" copy of a fittingly titled address on "Relativity in Foreign Policy: The Storage and Retrieval of Conviction" delivered at Stanford University Law School in November 1966), I note that his style is now rather less loaded down with marginally appropriate quotations than was the case with his earlier writings. What he has to say now stands on its own merits: full of a learning which never fails to delight.

His present manner of composition might best be characterized, I would judge, as a good example of late Isaiah Berlin. For Mr. Hughes, like the great Oxford stylist, brings to his writings a talent for the apt aphorism which always pleases—even when, as is sometimes also the case when reading Sir Isaiah, one is unsure in the end what it is, of the many things we have been told, that we are chiefly intended to remember.

— THOMAS A. DONOVAN

HOW TO AVOID DISASTER

from page 54
don't know.

As indicated above, high officials such as Secretary Kissinger have used the occasion of a speech in Kansas City or San Francisco to enunciate some new aspect of foreign policy. Explain to your hosts that you are not going to make any earth-shaking new announcements. Big news stories seldom flow out of speeches by the average run of foreign service officers. News reporters know this and are not likely to bother to report State Department speakers, which bothers the host who is as likely to resent the Department as he is the press. Be modest.

The natives will often assume you know a whole lot more than you possibly could about their own part of the United States and the political, economic, and social pressures which exist in their locale. After all, they think they are at the center of the world. While you read the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, you may be

rather vague about pressing agricultural problems in Wyoming. After all, your job is to know what is going on abroad and, until recently at least, you were not encouraged to know much about the flow of public opinion in America. Congress or the President was supposed to take care of such matters. It's best to be filled in by your host and assume you know less than you do. After all, the locals like to tell visitors all about themselves. Let them do it.

State Department officials are not always good on radio and television. You are frequently inhibited enough at meetings, even when no reporters are present. It takes little imagination to realize how you might freeze up on radio or television with the whole world listening, or at least capable of doing so. Actually, everyone may be watching "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman" rather than the news, but who can tell? Find out just what's expected from you beforehand and get some agreement on a format which will make you comfortable.

While America is the most open country in the world, we presumably do have some state secrets. Officials must be able to keep confidences given by representatives of other nations, who generally avoid confiding in information sieves. The public cannot expect to have State Department officials speaking freely and loosely to us at home without the danger of the same words eventually trickling into foreign ears and causing a furor in their country. On the other hand, the State Department is the greatest repository of knowledge about foreign affairs in the world. It can be used to good effect to educate and inform Americans about our foreign policy. Your spokesman must, however, be used wisely and well or the effort can be counter-productive. Knowing what you can do best and helping your host make the most of your appearance is the beginning of wisdom. The land beyond the Potomac can be traversed safely and pleasantly for the State Department speaker who follows some of the basic advice given above.



The Kyrulian Ambassador's wife ignored me until I started reading the Journal. She still ignores me, but I can think of how happy Margaret Sullivan's article made my wife.

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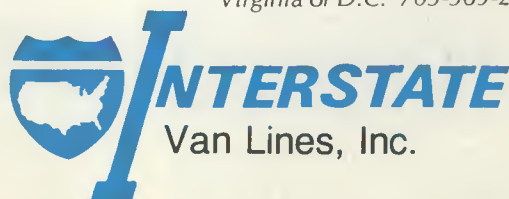
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TOWARD UNSNARLING THE FOREIGN SERVICE WIFE PROBLEM

from page 15

electricity works or if the housing is good, vital as these are. It is also a matter of health hazards. Can you drink the water and eat the local food? What diseases and parasites are you exposed to? Are there doctors and hospital facilities or are they a six-hour flight away? It is a matter of amenities and outlets ranging from adequate schooling to museums and recent movies, to today's paper today and letters from home in less than a week, to a golf course or a road to drive down with some place different at the end of it. It is a matter of big city, small town or overgrown village. It is a matter of work opportunities. Can I use my skills there? Will I be able to get a job? Will they accept my volunteering? Will there be something for me to do? It is a matter of climate, both physical and psychological. Are the natives friendly? Does the sun shine? It is a matter of the surrounding culture and the possibilities it offers for

mutuality as well as the barriers of habit and language which it imposes. It is a matter of how real and daily is the increasing threat of terror and violence. And finally it is a matter of individuals. Paris is not everyone's cup of tea. Not everyone can "make it" in Ouagadougou.

It is also a matter of the size and kind of post. Large posts offer a degree of anonymity and impersonality which make being a private person easier although they also offer hazards of isolation and lostness. The group from which friends can be chosen offers considerable diversity. Some of the big cities that big posts tend to be in offer more opportunities for jobs and education which permit women to follow career fields they have chosen. Large posts may have more within-the-Embassy jobs available.

Small posts have a magnifying effect on the fishbowl which makes being a private person difficult, can complicate personal relationships and increases everyone's official work load. They are often in places

with more limited work and schooling opportunities for families.

Generalities about posts are as treacherous as generalities about wives. There is often an inverse relationship between how hard things are and morale. About all that is certain is that almost every statement about wives or problems must be prefaced with "it depends upon the post" just as it must also include "it depends on your husband's job."

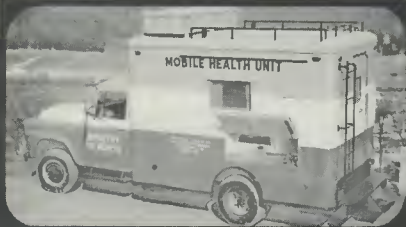
As Others See Us

The role assigned to Embassy wives by host-country nationals is another, less-articulated factor complicating the relationship between wives and the State Department, but nonetheless, a very determining one. The Foreign Service can declare wives to be private persons, the wives can declare themselves to be so, but this does not mean that people in the country where their husbands are assigned and families are living will see them as private individuals. Legally, the host country does not view wives as private since it is bound by in-

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ternational custom or convention to extend to them diplomatic or consular status with all that that implies.

More importantly, however, except in large westernized cities where she can disappear, the local people see her with an Embassy hat on, even when she is in the marketplace haggling. Opting out communicates as much as opting in. A wife who withdraws from local contacts or who seeks out a radical student group is not judged as Mrs. Mary Doe but rather as Mrs. Mary American Embassy. From her as well as her husband, the local community decides whether the Embassy or Consulate is friendly, genuine, haughty, rude, disdainful, meddling, respectful, trustworthy. In this sense, if they step out their doors, all wives are representational of the Embassy as well as representative of themselves and their country. Whether they like it or not. Whether they seek such status or not. For better and for worse. This is true the world over and not just the lot of American diplomats. Think how

often Washington's diplomatic community brings the wrath of the public down on itself because some diplomatic wife parks her car illegally.

Being in a role larger than one's self is neither all negative nor all positive. It has benefits and limitations for both wives and the Service. Wives may find that this perception of them by others as an Official American limits their choices. It is not politic or perhaps is even forbidden that she speak to or make friends with the Cuban Chargé's wife or involve herself with a local radical political reformist church group. Choosing to ignore her own "official" position and do it anyway might in extreme circumstances seriously harm the Embassy and US foreign policy or the person or cause to whom she is attracted. More often, it may just cause a tempest in a teapot. Nonetheless, this is an area in which all wives need sharp intuitive awareness. There can be repercussions. Conversely, however, wives may find that being an American Embassy wife opens doors—say to

a normally locked archive or section of a museum in which she would like to study—that might otherwise be closed. People will be generous with her, thinking of the good she can do them, or refuse to see her—as Eldridge Cleaver and his wife refused to see one FSO wife who was a college friend—because of her Embassy status. The Foreign Service not only suffers when wives do things which are embarrassing, it benefits when they use their own skills in ways—either voluntarily or for hire—that are appreciated and make connections within the country that might otherwise not be open to the Embassy. The host-country's view, then, also affects the reality of being able to be a private person.

Home Again, Home Again

Being at home instead of abroad further changes the relational tensions. In Washington, wives have, on the whole, no relationship whatsoever with the State Department. They reintegrate into the larger society, often a culture-shocking ex-

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perience. For some, this means the anonymity which permits the development of her personal identity. She can be a career woman or a suburban housewife or a combination of the two as she chooses or as financial considerations dictate. For others, reintegration means a loss of identity and status which she finds frightening and threatening. For the wife who has been abroad for an extended period of time, the experience of reintegration may bring her in touch with changed expectations and possibilities for women which make her question assumptions about the Foreign Service life which she has never questioned before. For some this means experiencing for the first time that they can deal with other women as friends and in supportive ways. Having finally come home, some women do not wish to return to the field. They want for the children—and for themselves although some of them are not so quick to say so—the prolonged chance to live like “normal Americans.” Others are never really “at home” and are like firehorses

straining to be off again at the first clang of a travel order. There is ambivalence in most wives about the alternatives. Living Stateside lets husbands and wives set their own lifestyles with different outside intrusions. There are not pressures of visibility but there are pressures of money and time and the need to do it all yourself. Coming home again can be as changing an experience as first going abroad; the ways of life are so different as to be totally disjunctive.

Knots: The Macrame Effect

Looking at the whole tangle: The Service and wives have profound effects on each other. The Service's effect on wives is the more obvious, but wives, too, affect it in important ways which in the long run have the power to either weaken or strengthen the Service. Certainly, at the moment, wives are more aware of the Service than it is of them—no doubt one of the “wife problem's” chief irritants. No longer officially public persons except by their own choice, in

practical terms not wholly private persons, institutionally required but institutionally unmentionable, frequently “employed” but unremunerated, many wives feel that they have become dependent non-persons. A reality of the Foreign Service is, then, that for those who want to, being a private person is still virtually impossible and for those who want to assume the public roles, some of the old satisfactions, recognitions and rewards have been removed and nothing external has replaced them. A further reality is that the Service on its part is often trapped between the private and public nature of its wives. It is caught on the delicate questions of intrusion into private lives and irresponsibility for lives dependent on it which both action and non-action can raise. The reality of the broader society is that many of these same dilemmas are under review by women, by men and by institutions. The specific complexities will be explored next month.

(to be continued next month)



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HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE

from page 17

ence in Western economic policy making and would further shackle individual COMECON countries to Soviet economic strategy. In the eyes of Common Market officials, the COMECON proposal for formal diplomatic EEC relations did not have basis in Final Act language as Moscow insisted. Instead, the proposal would have set a departure from the EEC practice of dealing with non-EEC members as trade needs dictated by creating a special status for COMECON members. The Common Market is not prepared to do this.

The US approach to Belgrade should reflect an awareness of these Soviet initiatives. Several vital questions must be confronted now.

Are we willing to risk confrontation with the USSR by presenting our arguments about their slow pace of Basket III implementation in humanitarian fields, regardless of the posture assumed by Soviet

representatives? Are we willing to do this even at the expense of endangering bilateral relations? If we accept confrontation, are we willing to present our case even if our Western allies are unwilling to go along? How will we present our data on Soviet human rights violations at Belgrade? Specifically, will we champion only cases involving Americans, or will we endeavor to raise the issue of third-party cases?

Is the United States willing to use its scientific and technological strength in order to link economic and commercial progress in Basket II with movement in the humanitarian and cultural areas of Basket III?

There is the issue of whether the United States has complied with certain provisions of the Helsinki Accords. Has it prepared substantive, realistic proposals for improving its implementation? Does this include a review of the McCarran-Walter Act, encouraging US firms to import more Eastern cultural materials, or generating increased funding for cultural and educational exchange?

How will the United States confront the question, "After Belgrade, what?"

Answers to these questions cannot come easily. The Carter Administration has declared its intention to consult with the Congress and with our allies to determine the most prudent, effective US strategy for Belgrade. But the new Administration should seek to generate ideas from within and outside on what our options are. A first step would be initiating a series of multilateral seminars with CSCE working-level experts from other signatory states. With our NATO allies, this would serve to lay the groundwork for the kind of cooperation at Belgrade which so ably served Western interests in Geneva, where the Final Act was hammered out. With non-NATO states, the non-aligned governments, and neutral signatories, this would serve to signal a hope that, where our priorities differ, we can construct a Belgrade agenda offering a fair hearing for all points of view. Our own planners might find harmony among the neutrals or

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non-aligned with many of our precepts concerning what Belgrade must accomplish.

In describing their commitment to follow up on compliance to the Final Act, the CSCE signatories made clear their intention for "further unilateral, bilateral and multilateral efforts and to continue . . . the multilateral process initiated by the (Helsinki) Conference." They spoke of ways to do this, as well, outlining meetings of experts of the participating States as a particularly suitable multilateral undertaking to evaluate implementation of the Final Act. The CSCE Commission, our own official government body monitoring what has happened since the Final Act was signed, might be a unique, legitimate forum for meetings with foreign parliamentarians and government officials involved in CSCE policy. Traditional diplomatic channels offer other opportunities.

The goal of these meetings would be to encourage a thorough exchange of ideas, even with Soviet and Eastern European representa-


tives. There is a need for patience, to overcome a degree of sensitivity among Soviet bloc governments as to whether these exchanges would foster recriminations over Basket III. Perhaps the Soviets and their allies would not respond to this initiative, but we cannot know until we try.

**Presidential Options:
Perseverance and Presentation**

A Presidential decision to persevere in the CSCE endeavor must result in a new definition of what governments must do to preserve and enhance human freedoms. But that decision must also produce a different way to present the argument, one which will convince others to listen. Otherwise, it will be added to the flawed gestures of the past, the unfortunate record of compliance to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and its more recent "alegal" cousin, the Helsinki Final Act.

A "convincing argument" surely exists, and there are ways to discover it. But first it must be de-

ecided that matters of human rights are truly shortchanged in international fora, despite nobly-worded agreements achieved in recent history. Public commentary on the need for further progress must show sensitivity to raising false hopes among peoples suffering the indignity of repression. Examination must be made of which trade-offs this country can offer—or must concede—if pressing for forward movement in assuring human freedoms is ever to occur in specific bilateral situations. This analysis will result in a definition of some of the other things which by chance or by choice will be jeopardized by emphasizing human rights.

When those risks are clear in our minds, the key question will virtually answer itself: whether an emphasis on human rights will sacrifice forever some of the other items on our diplomatic agenda. We don't believe it will, but instead that it will take longer to resolve them. It is a matter of time, but this country enjoys the moral and political strength to be patient. 

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SECURITY FILES

from page 20

longs to the Security Office of USIA which in late 1973 sent a man over to the Department to make copies for USIA of a half a dozen old reports on me, dating back to 1954. Interesting reading over at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, no doubt, but hardly essential to clear me to give a one-hour talk on the ecological crisis to a group of newly returned USIA officers being brought up to date on the latest thing on the home front. As Chairman of the Potomac Chapter of the Sierra Club, the title that earned me the invitation from USIA's training branch, I perhaps should have been flattered at the care being taken, but there surely must have been simpler ways of taking care of the problem.

Nor would I have the uninformed reader think that SY's immense resources make the Office's investigators immune from the simple vexations which plague everyone else in less favored parts of the government. I was quite moved, in spite of myself, while reading some memoranda which passed between Washington and a

Regional Security Office (RSO) in the field in 1967 and 1968, to come upon this charmingly candid complaint:

With the present Embassy freeze on per diem travel, we cannot give you a firm date on which to expect a report . . . [I]f you feel a debriefing is required in the near future, please send us a strong memorandum indicating that the debriefing is important and urgently needed. With that ammunition we just might be able to convince the Counselor for Administration to come up with the necessary travel funds—although we give no guarantee.

This plaintive memorandum, presumably despatched to Washington through Security Channels and thus not over the desk of the Embassy's close-fisted and hard-hearted Counselor for Administration, appears not to have stirred SY Washington to blast loose the necessary \$75 or so needed for the trip in question. Instead, after a delay of nine weeks, Washington replied with this Confidential message:

It would be appreciated if your Office would give us an approximate date as to when you will complete this investigation. As you are aware, this case has been pending for almost eleven

months and its [sic] not the type of case we can justify inaction [double sic].

Here my screen goes blank, for my copy of the RSO's reply, written about eight weeks later, has the reason for the delay and the estimated reporting date carefully blotted out. In checking back with my letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary, however, I see that the document is one of those in which deletions were made to protect the government's confidential sources. Fair enough as regards the name of the source, I suppose, but unconvincing as to the closely guarded "Estimated Reporting Date."

Anyway, whatever the Regional Security Officer's classified excuse may have been, SY Washington did not let the matter rest. After waiting another six months, Washington (or perhaps it would be fairer to say only the flunky in Washington who was handling the case in such a distinctively lackadaisical fashion) came back at last with a reminder that my case and a couple of others had been pending for an unreasonable length of time. "This Staff [a circumlocution for a particular subsection of SY Washington] is aware," the


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message read, that the current Regional Security Officer has been at his post only a short time and accordingly

cannot be held accountable for the delay in completing the investigation. However, we cannot at the Headquarters level justify a further delay in bringing these cases to a proper conclusion.

Alas, the reply from the man in the field was again unsatisfactory. The workload and staffing at his post had been under review at the highest levels locally ever since his arrival at the post, but in spite of that he was still unable to give a definitive date as to when the cases could be completed. There the matter pretty much seems to have rested as far as RSO was concerned, and in Washington too the file was finally closed when someone wrote a memo telling the files that "subject" [elsewhere also called "incumbent"] had retired in November 1968. And, like the Gang That Couldn't Shoot Straight, it turned out that SY was

wrong on that too, for I was still on the payroll and didn't actually retire until late January 1969, thus gaining a Going-Away Commendation from Secretary Rogers instead of Secretary Rusk.


Since all of this time I not only had my Top Secret clearance but in addition had continued access to the sensitive pieces of paper put out by the NSA intelligence factory at Ford Meade, I can legitimately regard this as a proper subject for innocent merriment, as the Gilbert and Sullivan song about the Lord High Executioner has it. Still, as a taxpayer, as an alumnus of the career diplomatic service, and as an amateur analyst of political institutions, it is hard to feel charitable about the general foolishness of the compilers of these thick files I have gone through with so much patience. It is harder still to avoid the conclusion, drawn from this retrospective survey of files going back more than thirty years, that the Department managed its administrative affairs better back in 1946 than it did in 1969 (or does in

1976). And it did it with a fraction of the manpower and resources it now uses in keeping the papers flowing back and forth in those Security Channels which even Ambassadors may no longer monitor.

As the noted legal scholar Karl Llewellyn once wrote:

The nature of institutions is that they grow around our needs and partly serve them. The nature of institutions is also that they almost never serve these to satisfaction.

This wise observation reminds us that all institutions badly need, and will be the better for, a more critical examination than they are usually given. And this applies above all, I am sure, to that peculiarly arrogant and self-satisfied set of civil servants and Foreign Service Reserve officers, who can be found in such swarms in the administrative areas of the Department.

And if you need further evidence on the point, see for yourself by writing a letter to the Department's Foreign Affairs Document and Reference Center and asking for a look at your own files. 

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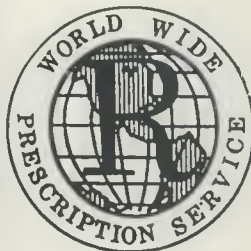
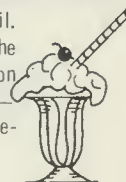
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LETTERS TO FSJ

USIA's Foreign Service

 In the various letters and articles that have appeared in recent issues of the *Foreign Service Journal*, and elsewhere, concerning a possible reorganization of USIA, there has been scarcely any mention of the most important aspect of a reorganization.

That is the question of the status of USIA's Foreign Service.

Whatever happens to USIA as an agency, it is high time that the separation of USIA's Foreign Service from that of the State Department be ended. This separation was a mistake when it took place in 1953; it was not rectified by the creation of the FSIO Corps in 1968; it should be ended by the new Administration in 1977.

It has been a mistake for the FSIO Corps because it has deprived FSIOs, with few exceptions, of the opportunity to engage in other areas of Foreign Service work such as political, economic or consular, and thereby to gain the experience necessary for them to assume top executive, Ambassadorial or DCM positions, outside the public affairs specialty.

It has been a mistake for FSOs because, again with few exceptions, they have been prevented from obtaining the experience in public affairs work that is a necessary ingredient for someone who aspires to Ambassadorial or DCM rank.

On a more philosophical basis, the separation between FSO and FSIO has been detrimental to the concept that the Foreign Service is the Foreign Service of the United States, of the President, and not of a particular agency. More practically, the separation has too often fostered different standards of recruitment, assignment and promotion which have widened the gap and made less easy the creation of a unified Service. In the employee relations field, too, the separation led to separate bargaining units in State and USIA with the result that USIA's Foreign Service personnel no longer are represented by an organization with a primary interest in the problems of personnel whose careers include a large dose of foreign service.


No doubt the reintegration of the State and USIA foreign services after all these years will pose some problems. There are those that believe, for example, that the USIA personnel system is more efficient and humane than that of State. But it would seem not to be beyond the grasp of modern administrators, in cooperation with the employee organization or organizations concerned, to devise sensible and equitable arrangements. For example, FSIOs could be treated, at least initially, as a personnel cone, with the barriers between that cone and the FSO Corps gradually made more flexible.

It is interesting to note, in conclusion, that in 1968, the Committee on Career Principles of AFSA recommended ("Toward a Modern Diplomacy," p. 55) that "the new President use his reorganization authority to place USIA within the Department of State, to operate as an autonomous unit as is now the case with AID, and that its foreign affairs personnel come within the *Foreign Service of the United States*" (italics added by present writer). That recommendation looks good also in 1977. What is more, the President of AFSA at that time was Philip Habib, and its second Vice President was John E. Reinhardt.

THEODORE L. ELIOT, JR.

Kabul

Apropos the F.S. Wife

 I am writing in response to your advertisement* seeking persons with flexibility, resourcefulness and management ability for a position with your organization.

Perhaps a brief review of my professional background would be helpful to my candidacy.

After graduating from college with a degree in Marine Biology, I accompanied my husband, a Foreign Service officer, to our first post, a landlocked country in South Asia. After several months of looking for a job, I was fortunate to find part-time employment teaching arts and crafts in a missionary school. The following year I taught physical education to Junior High School boys.

In subsequent posts I taught English at a Binational Center, was a clerk in the Embassy's Adminis-


**We are not quite sure what this refers to. Ed.*

tration section, ran a nursery school and taught bridge in the international community.

I have three children, one born in a tent. I can wash clothes for five in a bidet and can cook a family meal in a frying pan and teakettle. I can do Ikebana and can also make centerpieces out of stones and vegetables. I can iron on the floor and can polish 62 pieces of silver in 43 minutes. I have been president of one organization and have held office in three others. I have taught numerous people to serve table, make potato salad, wash dishes and themselves. I can waltz, samba, tango, do belly dancing, ski and play tennis. I can look interested at military parades lasting up to two and a half hours. I can speak two languages well and can discuss people's children in three others. I have survived going to the opera with three small boys. I can handle both an insult and a compliment to my country.

MRS. JENNY JETLAG
(Mrs. John Q. Jetlag)

Decisions on the Wall


 I am writing to your journal in the hope of obtaining support from your readers who held government positions during the 1958-62 Berlin crisis. The VW Foundation in West Germany has awarded me a grant for 1977-78 to complete a study of US decision-making during the Wall phase of that period with an eye toward shedding light on the decision-making process. And I would like to invite anybody who is interested in my project to share their insights or experiences with me. All correspondence will be kept strictly confidential.

My investigation will be based on interviews with participants, input from their private papers and declassified government documents. The research is of an academic nature for book publication and in no way reflects the views of governments. So far I have talked with Dean Rusk, Foy Kohler, Martin Hillenbrand, George McGhee, Allan Lightner, Eleanor and Allen Dulles, Lucius Clay and Maxwell Taylor.

I may be contacted at the Department of Government, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota 56321.

HONORÉ (MARC) CATUDAL
Asst. Prof., International Relations

What is Ugly?

 The defensive attitude of the Foreign Service towards *The Ugly American* has always been surprising. For to the average American the ugly American is not a Foreign Service officer, as we seem to think, but any person who lives in a foreign country without learning the language or culture and without treading beyond the golden ghetto.


It was therefore instructive to discover from Mr. Dino Caterini's article in the January FSJ, "The Ugly American Revisited," that not only is *The Ugly American* alive and well but that we continue to regard it as our own special affliction.

To suggest, as does Mr. Caterini, that our experience in Vietnam represented a testing, and failure, of the thesis of *The Ugly American* is, I believe, to stand the message of the book on its head. What *The Ugly American* said to most readers was that to operate effectively in an alien culture, whether as a diplomat or as something else, one must understand the language and the people, and allow Asian solutions to be developed for Asian problems.

The lesson of Vietnam, and the reason for the book's continuing popularity, must surely be, not that the book was misdirected, but that, stung by its criticism of our commissaries and other perquisites, we in the American overseas establishment closed our eyes to the fundamental message of the book.

MALCOLM H. CHURCHILL
APO San Francisco

Rights for Kurds

 I met Mulla Mustafa al-Barzani and his companion recently. We talked for five hours, and except for their new and even more tragic circumstances it was as if I had never left Kirkuk. Although I learned no facts that are unavailable to the Department, allow me to record an observation.

Mulla Mustafa is cancer-ridden after decades of struggle that have left shot and shell scars over his body, his people scattered and herded into the Arab South of Iraq, others of them transported to the environs of the Pakistan border in Iran, double-crossed by our dangerous friend, the Shah of Iran, 60

deceived by American diplomats in Tehran and, it seems, by officials in the White House itself, and still the old man hangs on to a belief that if the USG wanted, it could do something to influence the creation of the autonomous area inside Iraq for which he and his people before him for so long have negotiated, fought, and died.

He and his people, of course, are primitives, an anachronism in these latter days of the real world, the option, deterrents, bottom lines, input, etc. To give you an idea, despite his experience with us he still uses terms like "honorable" and "dependable," describing what he believes motivates our foreign policy. Were it otherwise, he said, "all men will have become animals." I wish I could have had advice from Foreign Service colleagues about how to have replied to him.


I suppose that it should now be obvious that al-Barzani and the Kurds ought long ago to have given up the idea that the Kurdish people have "rights" or that they are entitled to cultural self-preservation under their own administration in Iraq. But, what did we expect from an old warrior with stars in his eyes, father figure of his people, who understands the real world so poorly as to say, "Your country sent 50,000 young men to die in Vietnam to help the Vietnamese people; if a half dozen Jews in Moscow raise their voices your press prints every word and Congress passes laws and threatens the Soviet Union to help them. When I think of what has happened to the Kurdish people. . ." He couldn't finish.

It became a long, long conversation, while al-Barzani and his friend spoke and I listened, shocked and angry at what must have been a variety of behind-the-scenes ploys by the United States, Iran, and Israel that had exploited the Kurds as expendable pawns in a larger game plan against an Iraqi regime that is surely its own recipe for failure sooner or later.

LEE DINSMORE
FSO-Retired

Elcho, Wisconsin

The Nature of the Korean War

 For any American presently stationed in Korea, the interpretation offered by Professor Berns-

tein of the nature of the "Korean War" is a difficult one to accept. Thanks to the efficacy of ROK and United States Army propaganda, Americans are persuaded that the "invasion" of June 25, 1950 represented Stalin's determination to test America's resolve to defend its allies and to spread communism by force of arms. For them the notion that the invasion represented a Korean-inspired determination to unify Korea after forty years of foreign domination—and, hence, a civil war—is unacceptable.

Professor Bernstein's interpretation is, nonetheless, the correct one from the standpoint of Korean cultural history. The presence of Soviet arms and Chinese soldiers in the conflict makes the northern revolution of 1950 no less a Korean one than the presence of Spanish arms and French soldiers in the conflict of 1776-1781 makes the American revolution less of an American one.

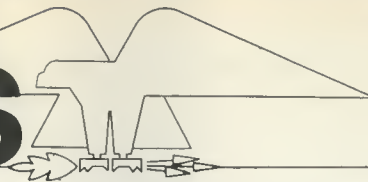
The issue that Americans in Korea and in Washington have never faced is this: What is Korean about Korean political behavior on both sides of the DMZ? From the Cairo Declaration of 1943 to the present, Americans have insisted upon looking at Korea as an arena for the application of global strategy. Koreans have never been perceived and appreciated in their own terms.

Americans take shelter from their ignorance of a nonideological interpretation of Korean affairs by pointing out that "north Korea" (in the ROK "north" takes a lower-case "n") is communist. If, however, we say that "communism," by definition, refers to a system of public administration, then a cultural interpretation of Korean politics is possible: the DPRK is no less Korean for having incorporated elements of Soviet communism in its government than the ROK is less Korean for having incorporated elements of American democracy in its government. "North Koreanism," as David Fitzhugh puts it, is still Korean; for which reason it bears a homological relationship to "south Koreanism," however great the ideological differences may appear to be from a distance.

A.-C. CULBEAUX

Seoul

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. AFSA News Committee, Room 3644, N.S.

ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM

from page 2

Rather, what is needed is the development of concrete proposals for organizational reform, including any needed legislative proposals, for consideration by the President, with an emphasis on matters amenable to early implementation. In the process of making these proposals, the Task Force would of course review the major recommendations of past studies in the context of today's circumstances.

In order to capitalize on current interest in reform among foreign affairs professionals and to take advantage of the momentum of a new Administration, AFSA urges that the Task Force be convened as soon as possible, with the goal of presenting its recommendations to the President by July 1, 1977.

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Consulate General, *Auckland*; Interests Section, *Baghdad*; Embassy, *Banjul*, Douglas Broome; Consulate General, *Barcelona*, Robert E. Prosser (Madrid); Consulate, *Belem*; Consulate General, *Dhahran*; Consulate, *Douala*; Consulate General, *Edinburgh*, Sheldon J. Rapoport; Consulate, *Florence*, Ovsanna Harpootian; Embassy, *Gabarone*, Richard W. Hoover; Consulate General, *Hamburg*, John G. Peters; Consulate, *Isfahan*; Embassy, *Luxembourg*; Embassy, *Maputo*; Consulate, *Mazatlan*; Consulate, *Oporto*; Consulate, *Ponta Delgada*; Embassy, *Port Louis*, Barbara A. Van Tuyl; Consulate General, *Quebec*, K. Patrick Garland; Consulate, *Salzburg*; Consulate, *Trieste*.

NEW AGREEMENT FOR ALLOTMENT OF DUES BY STATE MEMBERS

On March 1 a new agreement between AFSA and the Department on payment of dues by allotment took effect. It permits AFSA Members in the State constituency to pay their AFSA dues by allotment from their paychecks.

Since the initiation in 1973 of dues checkoff in State, the number of Members paying AFSA dues by this method has risen above 1000. The previous agreement expired last year but was extended by exchanges of letters pending negotiation of the new one.

The new agreement provides that dues allotments previously requested and not revoked will continue in effect without new authorization. Any new AFSA Member in the State Foreign Service may authorize payment of dues in this fashion by filling out and signing an SF 1187 form and sending it to AFSA headquarters. Any such employee may revoke the authorization by memorandum or SF 1188 to the payroll center holding that employee's authority to pay; the revocation will take effect the first payroll processing cycle after March 1 or September 1, whichever date next occurs. No employee may be required to be an AFSA Member or to pay money to AFSA except pursuant to such voluntary authorization.

For the first time the Department has agreed in writing to continue to deduct the appropriate amount for dues when an employee-member is transferred, and upon notification from AFSA to change the amount deducted, without the necessity for a new SF 1187, when dues schedules change or when an employee's change in level of grade or pay places that employee in a different position on the dues schedule.

The Department and AFSA have also agreed that when, due to administrative error, the Department had not previously withheld enough money from the checks of an employee who has requested such withholding, the Department will withhold enough money to

satisfy the delinquency.

We usually send SF 1187 forms with the first renewal notice to AFSA Members in State and AID, and with membership application forms to prospective Members in those constituencies. These forms are also available at AFSA headquarters in Washington.

AWARDS & HONORS

Richard Vine, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, has been elected to the board of directors of the Audubon Naturalist Society of the Central Atlantic States. Mr. Vine fills the position on the board left vacant by the resignation of James Page. Edward Rivinus, Chairman of the Board, in making the nomination, commented on Vine's active interest in birds and said that he had "fed mice to the barn owls in the tower of the Smithsonian Castle when no one else was willing to do the job."

AFSA member Robert A. Bauer, retired FSIO, presently Director of the Kenyon Public Affairs Forum, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, was awarded the Great Silver Order of Honor of the Republic of Austria.

At a ceremony at the Austrian Embassy, the Austrian Charge d'Affaires, Dr. James Preuschen, noted Bauer's role in the Resistance Movement against the Nazis as Director of the Austrian Freedom Broadcasting Station in France, his work as Voice of America commentator and, after his retirement, as US Delegate of the Organization for International Economic Relations, Vienna, and as accredited US correspondent for the organization's *West-Ost Journal*.

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MEMBERS' INTERESTS

Changes in Living Quarters Allowances

The Interagency Committee on Allowances decided on certain changes in living quarters allowances. AFSA has acquiesced in the elimination of the ten percent bonus for personnel not using their full quarters allowances, but we believe this negative change is more than offset by liberalized quarters allowance increments for dependents; elimination of the lowest quarters allowance group (for FSS 9-10 and equivalents); and authorization to heads of agencies at their discretion to place employees in quarters group four (FSS 6-8 and equivalents) in the next higher quarters allowance group if they have fifteen years of government service.

Charges for Overseas DOD Medical Facilities

As a result of AFSA initiative, the State Department Medical Division has had a series of meetings with DOD concerning the DOD plans to raise the charges for outpatient medical services from \$1 to \$20 a day. The DOD representatives explain that the increase is being forced on DOD by actions of the General Accounting Office. As of April 1, the GAO has effectively cut the DOD budget and insists that outpatient medical services for civilian Federal government employees overseas and their dependents be performed only at no cost to the taxpayer. Present DOD studies indicate that the per diem charge of \$20 is necessary to cover the cost of these services.

In order to define what services are included in that charge and to indicate what services will be offered gratis, DOD has issued a guideline which is being circulated to all Foreign Service posts. In summary, it states that the charge for an outpatient visit is basically a per diem charge rather than an individual charge for each procedure, examination, test, diagnosis, treatment, prescription, evaluation or consultations. All services ancillary to a chargeable visit, such as filling of prescriptions, injections of medicine, chest X-ray surveys and examinations are included in the single chargeable outpatient

visit. If the patient cannot be seen in one day by the specialty clinics because of the time constraints of the medical facility, the patient will be charged for only one visit even though the patient must return on another day for treatment. The following are not chargeable as separate outpatient visits: prescription refills, consultations on results of tests, pre-employment physicals, dependent school children's visits to public health nurses located at school, etc.

When immunizations are the only services given, the immunization rate is \$1.00 per dose or shot. Group treatment or evaluations in schools, community centers, or isolated locations are not chargeable as individual outpatient visits.

Commenting on the DOD guidelines, a State Medical Division representative said that medical services provided at State medical offices will continue to be on a no-fee basis.

TAX INFO

Tax Deductibility of Losses from Currency Conversion. The US Tax Court recently decided a case which raised the issue of whether a Foreign Service employee overseas can legally deduct from gross income as a business loss the difference between the official exchange rate at which the Embassy required US employees to purchase local currency and the more favorable free market rate widely used by a number of other foreigners. A US employee stationed in India claimed such deductions, the IRS disallowed them, and he sued the IRS. The Tax Court denied his claim on the grounds that (1) his gross income was received, and Federal tax liability measured, in dollars, and (2) his conversion of part of his income into rupees was not for purposes of "carrying on any trade or business" but rather for personal expenses, which are not deductible. The Court found that Indian law prohibited currency exchange except at the government-imposed rate.

AFSA was asked to help finance an appeal of the Tax Court ruling but concluded that it would not be advisable to do so.

NEW CAREERS

Thomas S. Estes, retired Ambassador and former Executive Director of AFSA, is the Assistant Director of the International Center for Marine Resource Development at the University of Rhode Island. ICMRD was founded in 1969 specifically to help other countries solve their marine resource problems through education, research and extension programs. AID is a major sponsor and the Center has been able to assist several developing countries in improving their small-scale fisheries and aquaculture.

Joseph J. Sisco, president of American University and former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, has been appointed a member of the Board of Directors of The National Bank of Washington.

John W. Tuthill, Ambassador to the EEC (1962-66) and to the OECD (1960-62), has been named President of the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies.

The Seminar brings together government officials, scholars, journalists, business leaders and other professionals from Europe and the United States for discussion sessions of contemporary political and social issues. In 1976, three-to-four-week sessions were held on such topics as food and population, urban problems and planning, American law and legal institutions, multinational enterprise and continuing education.

Harrison M. Symmes, retired Ambassador, has been appointed Resident Director of Mount Vernon by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, as of January 1, 1977. Ambassador Symmes has been President of Windham College in Vermont for the past two years. The Symmes will be at home in the Director's Residence, Mount Vernon, after January 15.

Peter F. Szluk, FSO-retired, was sworn in recently as vice president of AFGE, Local 65, in Phoenix. The Local, with about 10,050 members nationwide, will help retired federal employees in Arizona, according to Szluk. Mr. Szluk writes, "I remain, of course, a loyal member of AFSA."

STATE STANDING COMMITTEE

In recent months the State Standing Committee has been pressing Department management to protect the career service from political manipulation from the outgoing and incoming administrations.

Last December, concerned by reports that outgoing Schedule C Type FSR Nixon-Ford-Kissinger appointees were seeking to integrate into the career Foreign Service, we wrote management asking for assurances that such appointments were being terminated in accordance with promises given AFSA in 1975 by Secretary Kissinger—30 days after the termination of the appointment of the Presidential appointee whom these people were brought in to serve, or of the Administration, whichever occurs sooner. This affects non-career people brought in to serve as deputies, special assistants, secretaries, and the like to non-career Ambassadors, Assistant Secretaries, and those of equivalent positions. The Department assured us that these appointments would be terminated in accordance with these Kissinger promises, which had been codified in DG Notices (internal PER regulations).

Then we began to hear reports that the new Administration was promising some prospective new Schedule C Type FSR appointees that their appointments would be written so as to facilitate later conversion to career status. The Department assured us that they would not do this.

Reacting to press and private reports about the new USUN Ambassador's replacement of career Foreign Service people with his congressional staff members and academic friends, we inquired of the Department. The management reply tacitly admitted that this was happening, but explained that non-FSR appointment authorities were being used, and has so far ducked our inquiry as to whether the Department in fact had any administrative control over USUN (leaving aside the question of control over the USUN Ambassador's pronouncements on foreign policy).

Several sources within the Department reported to us that the White House had instructed it to

appoint 60 Carter campaign veterans to "meaningful" temporary positions. We inquired and were told that these appointments would not be Foreign Service ones, that none would be made after May 1, or for longer than 90 days, that these appointees would not replace regular employees of the Department, and that they would receive no preference for subsequent appointments. We later were told that no more than 32 people were actually appointed. The Department ducked our question: "What is the moral distinction between the appointment of fatcat campaign contributors to ambassadorships, and the appointment of lean, hungry Carter campaign workers to Department jobs?" They also refused to draw a connection between the fact that funds to pay these appointees must come out of existing Department allocations, while for budgetary reasons, the 1977 FSO promotions are taking effect one pay period later than FSIO promotions confirmed and attested at the same time.

We now intend to seek further information on all political appointments, including lists of names, so that we can monitor them more closely. At the moment a particular problem area is the Political-Military Bureau, whose non-career Director is seeking to appoint outsiders to office director positions.

In a related move, the Department has outlined interim procedures for determining career status

SPECIAL EDUCATION GRANTS

The Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center is accepting applications for special education grants from foreign service families who have a child with a need for special education services.

All applications are processed in a confidential manner and the Governing Committee of FSECC, comprised of representatives of AFSA and AAFSW, acts upon the requests without knowing the name of the applicant.

For further information and an application form, please contact:

Mrs. Bernice Munsey, Director/Counselor, Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. (202) 338-4045

of FSR appointees, and deciding whether to convert them to FSO or FSRU.

While we face a continuing struggle to limit the number of political appointments within the Department, we believe that the Department, with our strong prodding, is doing better in preventing such appointees from slipping into the career service after their personal last hurrahs.

AFSA CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

The AFSA Chapter in Paris proposes that action be pressed to resolve several outstanding problems. These include (1) that an employee be allowed greater freedom of choice in deciding how to use the educational allowance when seeking the best schooling opportunity of a dependent child; (2) that a solution be found to the present inequality whereby the post differential allowed certain employees is substantially less than that actually authorized for the post, to avoid paying a subordinate employee more than the chief of mission who is presently not eligible to receive any post differential allowance; and (3) that emergency travel allowance be approved for an employee on the occasion of death or serious illness of a family member without regard to whether the family member lives in the United States or abroad.

AFSA Chapter Tunis has asked for assistance in resolving the problem of a dependent child studying at a school abroad being found ineligible for educational travel allowance. The case concerns a child who is continuing to study in a university at the parents' former post and wanting to travel to the parents' new post.

AFSA Chapter London recommends that some means be developed for improving communication between AFSA members and chapters abroad and AFSA/Washington. A weekly or bi-weekly information bulletin highlighting major issues and related developments is recommended.

The AFSA Board and the committees concerned welcome suggestions and proposals such as the above and will give them careful examination and consideration. As soon as practicable, we shall let the membership know what progress has been made.

In order to be of maximum assistance to AFSA members and *Journal* readers we are accepting these listings until the 15th of each month for publication in the issue dated the following month. The rate is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

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ROCKEFELLER AWARDS '77

The Rockefeller Public Service Awards Program is now accepting nominations for 1977. The nationally-recognized Awards Program, sponsored by John D. Rockefeller 3d and administered by the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, grants five awards of \$10,000 each year to individuals who have made outstanding contributions toward the resolution of critical problems facing the nation.

Nominations for this year's awards must be submitted no later than April 30, 1977, to Rockefeller Public Service Awards, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

The 1977 program will consider nominees in these seven critical problem areas: expansion of employment opportunities; administration of justice and the reduction of crime; conservation and development of natural resources and protection of the environment; revitalization of communities and neighborhoods, urban planning and development; promotion of health, improved delivery of health services and control of health costs; reduction of the serious imbalance between population growth and food supplies; enhancing the partnership between the public and private sectors in the public interest.

Foreign Service People

Marriage

Thompson-Barber. Helen Carmine Thompson was married to FSO-retired John H. Barber on December 4, in Cambridge, Maryland. Mr. and Mrs. Barber will be living at 109 Oakley St., Cambridge, Md. 21613.

Deaths

Brennan. Marie K. Brennan, mother of FSSO Patrick W. Brennan, died in Seattle on January 24. Mrs. Brennan visited her son and his family at several of their overseas assignments. She is survived by Patrick Brennan, US Consulate General, Sydney, three other sons, all of Seattle, eight grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Broy. Cecil Norton Broy, widow of FSO-retired Charles Clinton Broy, died on February 19, in Reston. Mrs. Broy was a member of the legislative committee of DACOR and had on occasion represented all widows of career FSOs before the Senate. She is survived by three children, Anne Broy Miller, Reston, James William Broy,

Phoenix, Maryland, and Mrs. Beverly Broy Leidel, Bethesda, and 10 grandchildren.

Flake. Wilson C. Flake, retired Ambassador, died on February 15 in Bethesda. Mr. Flake entered the Foreign Service in 1929 and served at Bombay, Calcutta, Sydney, Manila, Canberra, Pretoria, Rome and as the first ambassador to Ghana before his retirement in 1962. He is survived by his wife, Mary, 4717 Jamestown Rd., Westmoreland Hills, Maryland, a son, Glade F., of Potomac, a brother and four grandchildren.

Hodge. Charles L. Hodge, FSO-retired, died on March 4, in Arlington. He joined the State Department in 1945 after service with other government agencies, and served at Paris, Manila and Ciudad Trujillo before his retirement in 1962. He is survived by his wife, Mary Hugo Hodge, 5261 Old Dominion Dr., Arlington, Va. 22207, a son, Lt. Col. Charles Dennon Hodge, two daughters, Mrs. Charles A. Barton, Arlington and Mrs. William Lawrence Craig, Paris, and 10 grandchildren.

Keatley. Rosa Dora Stone Keatley, OAS-retired and wife of G. Harold Keatley, retired from Commerce, died on January 27, in Washington. Mrs. Keatley served in secretarial, administrative and research positions with OAS from 1923 to 1966. She is survived by her husband, 3358 Chiswick Court, Silver Spring, Md. 20906 and by a sister, Marie Florence Stone, of Silver Spring.

Phillips. Joseph B. Phillips, FSO-retired, died on February 22 in Washington. Mr. Phillips joined the State Department in 1950 after many years of service as a reporter, editor, columnist and foreign correspondent. He served as deputy assistant secretary of State for public affairs, and at Bonn, Paris and Rome before his retirement in 1965. After retirement he became executive director of the Committee on Atlantic Studies of the Atlantic Council. He is survived by his wife, Dorothy, 3702 Corey Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016 and a sister, Mrs. Stanley D. Petter of Paducah, Ky. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Randles. Elizabeth Randles, FSO-retired, died on January 20, in Fairfax. Miss Randles joined the overseas information program in 1949 and served at Colombo, Alexandria, Frankfurt, Bonn, Karachi and Madras. She also served as Director of Library Services in ICS. She is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Lawrence Pogue, 313 Mariwood Dr., Southeast, Warren, Ohio, and Mrs. C. Robert Laxson, 1183 Manchester Rd., Chico, California.

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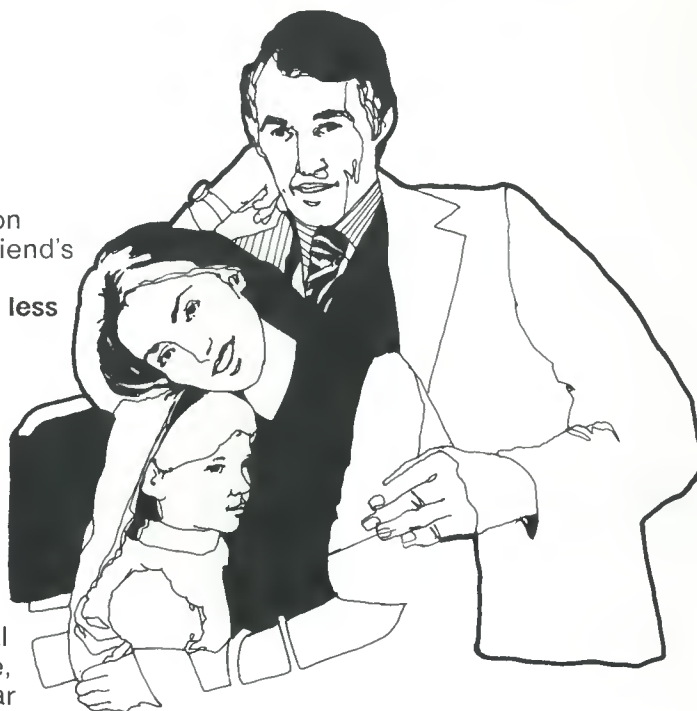
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