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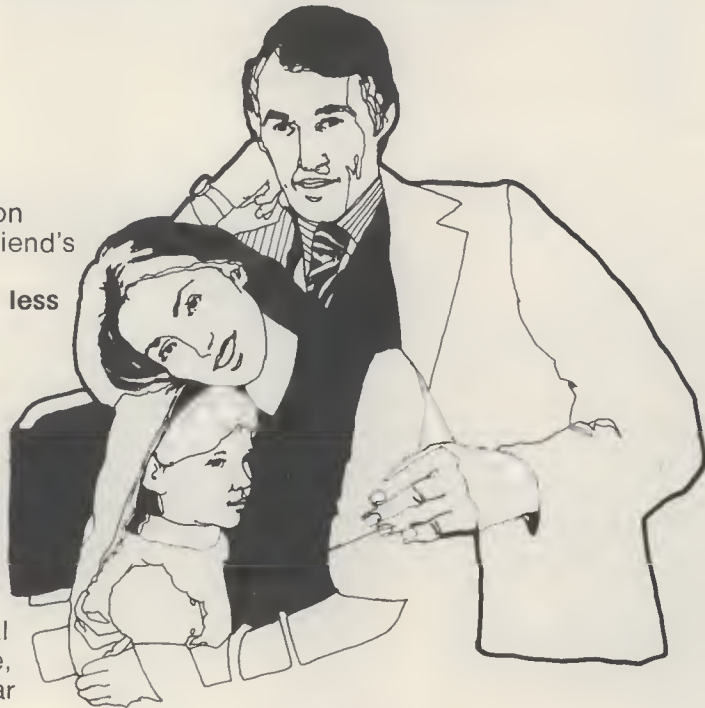
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THE FOREIGN SERVICE ACT OF 1979

AFSA's July 9 House testimony, published elsewhere in the *FSJ*, did not endorse the Foreign Service Act of 1979, but provided a detailed commentary on the bill's virtues and faults. This position, overwhelmingly endorsed by the Washington Membership at its annual meeting earlier that day, reflected the repeatedly expressed opposition of the Foreign Service to earlier drafts of the bill. At the same time, our position reflected the fact that many of the proposal's unpopular features have been removed or adequately modified, and that the bill contains some features which clearly would benefit the Service.

The responsible House subcommittees are in no hurry to bring the bill to the floor, and they have expressed interest in working with AFSA in preparing for the mark-up. This will give the new AFSA leadership a chance to educate the Hill about the importance and uniqueness of the Foreign Service, forestall attacks on valuable features of the bill, and improve the bill further, for example by adding benefits the OMB wouldn't let State put in the draft, or by pressing for full pay parity.

In the past, AFSA has had considerable success on the Hill. This comprehensive bill, like past annual authorization bills or the concept of a package of amendments to the F. S. Act of 1946, poses opportunities as well as threats to the Service.

At the same time, AFSA cannot remain forever coy and inscrutable about its position on the bill. At some point we will have to say whether or not we want it passed. The new Governing Board will need from the membership adequate flexibility, including the possibility of AFSA support, to give it leverage to obtain the best possible package.

The outgoing Governing Board has no doubt that as a result of its own efforts and those of many other members of the Service, the bill today is in far better shape than when we began last January. We believe that if the good parts can be protected and significant further improvements made, AFSA should, with the support of its members, back the bill.

WATSON TO MOSCOW?

The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) has noted reports that the president intends to nominate Thomas Watson as ambassador to the Soviet Union.

AFSA notes that Section 500 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, provides that "It is the policy of the Congress that chiefs of mission . . . shall have, to the maximum practicable extent, among their qualifications, a useful knowledge of the principal language or dialect of the country in which they are to serve, and knowledge and understanding of the history, the culture, the economic and political institutions, and the interests of such country and its people."

The draft Foreign Service Act of 1979 contains similar language. A number of senior members of the career Foreign Service, including but not limited to those whose names have been mentioned publicly, possess these qualifications. According to published reports, there is dispute whether Mr. Watson possesses them.

In a country as vital to our national security as the Soviet Union, it is especially important that our ambassador be such an expert, capable of analyzing Soviet politics and society and negotiating with the Soviet leadership.

The draft legislation also provides that to the extent practicable, chief of mission positions should be occupied by career personnel of the Service. AFSA supports this provision. We do not insist that all such positions be so encumbered, and have supported some non-career nominations. It is in the national interest that F. S. personnel who spend their careers developing expertise in a country such as the USSR be able realistically to aspire to becoming chief of mission to that country.

We recognize that over the past several years, most high-level US-Soviet diplomacy has been conducted in Washington

between high administration officials and the Soviet ambassador, and that successive US ambassadors to Moscow have found it difficult to develop comparable access to senior Soviet officials. Maybe a US ambassador perceived by the Soviets as close to the president and from US "ruling circles" will develop better access, of the type enjoyed by Ambassador Harriman. But given the longevity of Ambassador Dobrynin and the preferences of successive American administrations, maybe not.

AFSA urges the president to take into account the above considerations when making his final decision on whom to nominate as ambassador to the USSR. Whomever he decides to nominate, AFSA urges the Senate to examine the nomination carefully in the light of these considerations, and the Senate's views of US-Soviet relations.

Press release approved June 26 by the Governing Board.

FAREWELL

The Governing Board which is leaving office July 15 does so with a sense of pride, regret and relief.

Pride, because we believe we can point to some real accomplishments during our term of office. They were detailed in the July *FSJ*; we would highlight—

- Our work on the Foreign Service Act, and full pay parity,
- The *amicus curiae* brief in the *Bradley* case,
- The helpful amendments to the annual Foreign Relations Authorization Act, particularly the one which led to the Hay study on pay comparability,
- An interagency agreement on suitability criteria and disciplinary regulations,
- Progress toward a permanent international development function, staffed in Washington as well as overseas primarily by career Foreign Service people,
- A system that provides opportunities for advancement of AID staff employees into the officer corps,
- Standing up to the Department against the preferential, reverse-discriminating aspects of its affirmative-action plan,
- Forcing management to break the freeze on skill code changes, permitting staff and officers in State to move into new personnel fields,
- A start on restoring a lively speakers program,
- Improvements in the Bylaws,
- A balanced General Fund budget during the last two years,
- Improvements to the AFSA building which save energy, increase its value, and make the Club more attractive.

Regret, because we wish we had done more—

- We know better than anyone that we have not done as well as we would have wished in communicating with our membership, especially in Washington.
- We wish we could have kept the High-One window open for at least three months instead of 17 perilous days.
- We wish we had found a way to increase membership, especially among the Staff Corps in State.
- And we regret that the time did not ripen to relieve our long-suffering USICA Foreign Service colleagues from the burden of AFGE misrule.

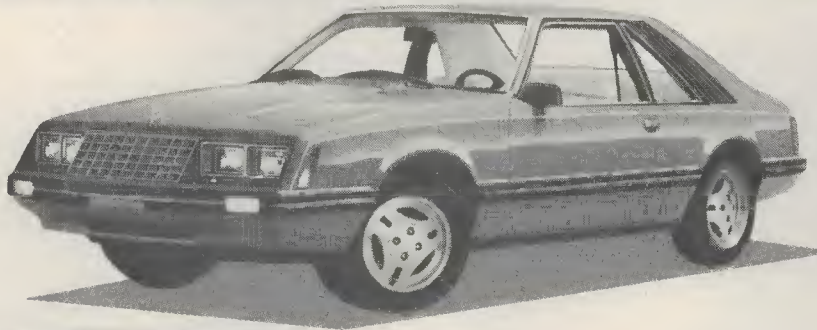
Many of these problems can be traced to a lack of resources. That is why we have proposed a dues increase and income-indexing.

Relief, because being an AFSA Governing Board member is hard work. The work only begins with showing up at weekly Board meetings. For the serious and responsible Board member, it continues with committee meetings, negotiations with managements, Congressional liaison, and keeping the membership informed and seeking its advice. Some of the work is interesting; much of it is tedious and boring; for most of us, it had to be fitted in somewhere among the demands of a regular Foreign Service job, as well as those of family life.

All in all, we are glad that we have made the effort. The Foreign Service, with all its faults, is worth fighting for, as a career and as an instrument of our foreign policy. And AFSA, with all its faults, is worth fighting for, as the only organization of, by and for the career Foreign Service.

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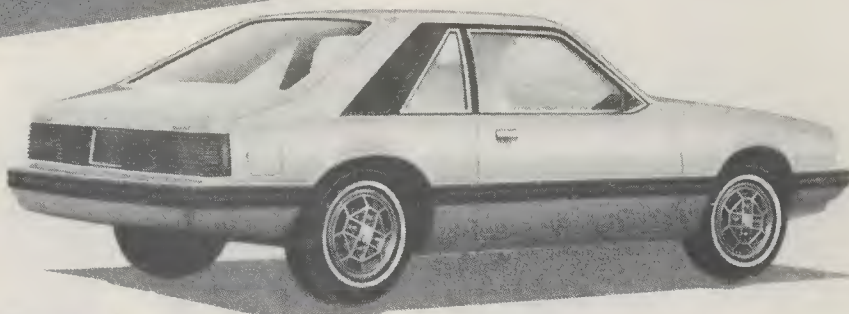
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As Shakespeare said:

“What’s in a name?”

EDWARD DEVOL

In a world where little goes right it is pleasant to see occasional instances of improvement.

Such is the case with China, now that Jimmy Carter has completed what Richard Nixon began, and our diplomatic relations with Peking have been “normalized.”

I do not say Mr. Carter’s action was wise or foolish. I have no idea of its effect on our relations with the Soviet Union, or whether it made him a more palatable president in the minds of American voters.

I speak only from the point of view of a former American propagandist who spent years struggling with the question of what names to apply to that very large and important part of the earth. In referring to improvement, I mean that life must now be a bit easier for those who still labor to put together American overseas propaganda. It’s all out in the open: the country is “The People’s Republic of China.” Its capital is “Peking.” When the president says so, it’s official.

Yet, I feel a slight twinge of nervousness in writing

Edward Devol is a former USIA (now ICA) Foreign Service officer and editor now free-lancing in the Washington area. He is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

those names. As a veteran of the word wars fought by the United States Information Agency, I will never make a full recovery from the “policy guidance” on Chinese nomenclature in years past.

For many years we were forbidden to refer to The People’s Republic of China in USIA output. One did not dignify usurpers with a name that conferred legitimacy. It was “communist China,” with periodic arguments about whether to capitalize the adjective. The legitimate government of the entity called China was “The Republic of China,” which was temporarily located on an offshore island. We refrained from speaking of “Nationalist China,” because that left the implication there might be two Chinas, which we did not admit.

The seat of the Chinese communist “regime” was not in Peking. We were told that Peking meant “northern capital,” and since there was no legitimate government there, it could not be granted a capital. For years after everyone else spoke of Peking, USIA spoke of a place called Peiping, which meant simply “northern city.” That was acceptable, since there was undoubtedly a city where the Chinese communists had their headquarters.

Korea also required care. We didn’t mind speaking of “North Korea,” but we took quiet pleasure in occasional contemptuous references to something called “the Pyongyang regime.” It was never the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. We spoke easily of South Korea, although the preferred term was Republic of Korea. It had a government, of course, not a mere regime.

No one who has not worked in the self-conscious environment of an overseas propaganda agency can ap-

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tirement or age 65 (whichever is first).

Officers who are now members of the Association may make application by using the amended form including information necessary to satisfy the Underwriter that they are in good health (see section of booklet entitled ENROLLMENT).

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preciate the importance attached to terminology. It is as though you believe the enemy is studying every word you utter, in order to find cause for war or insult, or to detect evidence of whether he has gotten away with his nefarious schemes. You do know that the State Department—perhaps even the White House—is watching your output to detect misstatements which might weaken the security of the republic.

Few terms are chosen by accident. They have cleverly chosen purposes. Consider the evolution in the way we referred to the poor, backward nations of the world (we never called them poor and backward, of course; that would have risked irritating them).

We began by speaking of them as undeveloped. Presumably because that seemed to indicate we saw no hope they could ever be developed, we switched to "underdeveloped," which admitted some hope for improvement. That became too static for what we imagined their tastes were, and they were transformed into developing nations, considerably more flattering. Next came "emerging," which we hoped would convince (whether the facts justified the conclusion or not) that we thought that with our aid they were really doing rather well.


Our obsession with the names of countries was not limited to those of the Far East. For a long time there was no East Germany in our output, but only an "East German regime," or even a "Pankow regime." Never a German Democratic Republic. On the other hand, we tried hard to remember to speak of the Federal Republic of Germany instead of West Germany. It seemed more respectful to an ally.

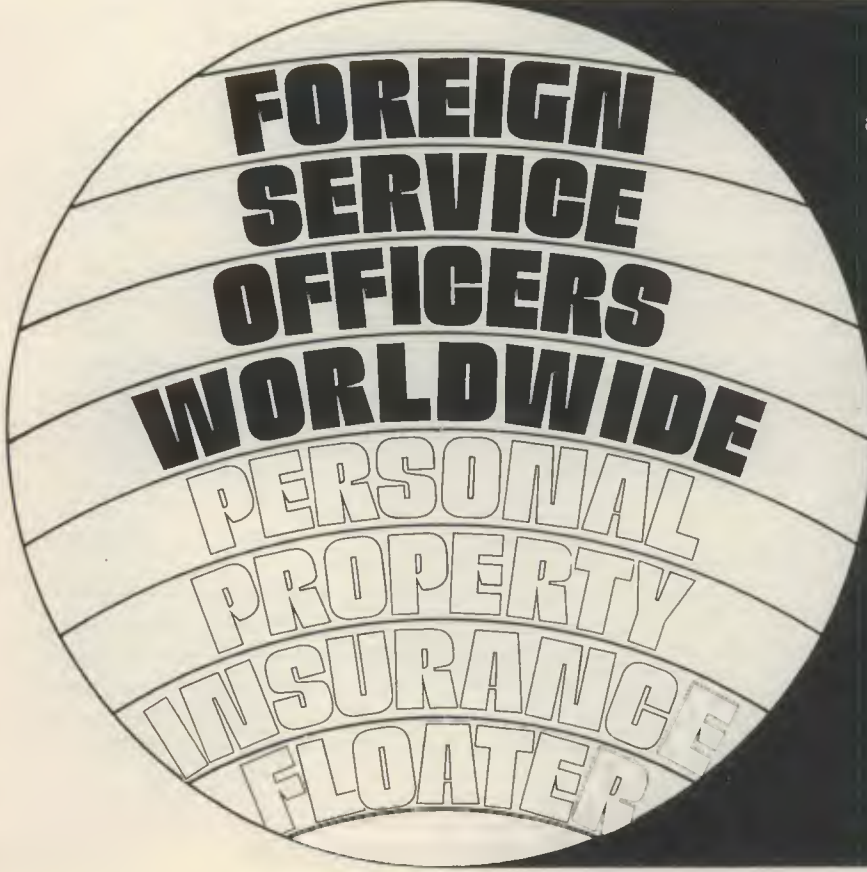
Our chief foe posed special problems of nomenclature. We were careful to refer to the Soviet peoples, never employing the singular, because we wanted no one to forget that the USSR encompassed a number of previously independent nations which had joined the union unwillingly.

As if to prove that propagandists do indeed study the other side's output with care, one of USIA's numerous directors reacted irritably to the terms Soviet propagandists used to describe their own country. In a forceful memorandum in 1972, Frank Shakespeare commanded USIA writers not to speak of the Soviet union as a nation. Noting that a Soviet magazine had spoken of "the Soviet nation," Shakespeare called this "a semantical absurdity," adding, "There is no 'Soviet nation' and never will be. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a state; it encompasses many nations, and is thus a multinational state."

Shakespeare further instructed his subordinates: "Correct use of words and terms is important, particularly when we are dealing with opponents who commonly distort meanings for purposes of deliberate confusion, deception, or political and psychological ends."

We American word warriors had definite "political and psychological ends" in mind during all those years we dubbed the Chinese communists a mere regime and forbade them to occupy a capital.

I don't know what terms are prescribed in the US propaganda agency these days, but there are surely some. After all, one must assume that both friends and enemies still read everything with great care. 



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It all comes back to me now—

Shanghai boomerangs

BART N. STEPHENS

Yesterday the cover of a popular magazine caught my eye. Chinese students stood in rows on a sidewalk, arms extended. The caption read: "Chinese practice traditional exercise on Bund as old Shanghai reveals its new face."

Shanghai. The name evokes how many images? Great

The author, an FSIO stationed in Bangkok, writes: As a Navy junior, I lived on the East and West coasts of the United States and abroad in Haiti, Samoa and China. World War II found me aboard an LCI in the Pacific, posing as a visual signal officer. During 30 years in State, USIA and USICA, assignments have taken me to other parts of the world: Greece, Germany, Poland, Vietnam, Austria and now Thailand, where I am cultural affairs officer. My wife and I have four daughters, and my major preoccupation during most of my career has been working for four men I had not met. As for the two new boomerangs mentioned in the story, they were not tested in China but later in a vacant lot in New London, Connecticut with most unsatisfactory results. They never returned to me.

metropolitan center of China, population eleven million. I have not seen this new Shanghai, but the mind quickly retrieves and illumines pictures of an older city . . . tall, uniformed Sikhs, imperiously directing traffic in the International Settlement . . . in the parks plump men, stripped to the waist, airing their caged birds . . . sidewalk vendors—cooks, barbers, knife sharpeners . . . riding homeward in a rickshaw in December, peering out from under a newly bought and tightly held Christmas tree . . . and an unused drill field in the French Concession, vacant enough for shooting firecrackers and rockets, and large enough I would have thought for throwing boomerangs.

In this older Shanghai it was 1935 and one of the last years of peace in Asia. Four years earlier the military-led government in Japan had occupied Manchuria. Two years later Japan launched its attacks on China itself. Meanwhile the Chinese communists—100,000 men,



"The Kyrulian Ambassador's wife ignored me until I started reading the Journal. She still ignores me, but now I know that George Washington had trouble with interpreters, too."

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women and children—had begun the Long March, winding their way from southern China west and then north towards Yenan in northern Shensi where they would consolidate their strength, planning for their eventual take-over fifteen years later. But in 1935 the Kuomintang ruled. China in that year was deceptively tranquil.

In Shanghai my mother and I lived in the Clements, a large, rambling apartment hotel situated in the French Concession. My father, a chaplain in the Navy, divided his time between his family and his duties aboard the 10,000 ton cruiser, the *U.S.S. Augusta*, that was anchored in the muddy waters of the Whangpoo, Shanghai's outlet to the Yangtze estuary and the East China Sea. The *Augusta* flew the flag of the commander-in-chief of the Asiatic Fleet, an insignificant force compared to today's Seventh Fleet. The cruiser spent its summers in northern China, based at the port of Tsingtao—formerly the German colony of Kiaochow—a deep water harbor on the southern coast of the Shantung peninsula. The flagship wintered in Shanghai or Manila. (Six years later Roosevelt and Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter in mid-ocean aboard the *Augusta*, by then transferred to the Atlantic Fleet.)

At 10 Avenue Petain, within walking distance of the Clements Hotel, stood the brick Shanghai American School, a private school attended by children of missionaries and other Americans living in China. I was a day student there.

If bearded Sikhs dominated the traffic scene in the International Settlement, the French employed a parallel force in their own sector: small but immaculately uniformed Annamese soldiers. Their boots gleamed. On one occasion I observed these military police at work. They arrested me for roller-skating in the streets. These Annamese gendarmes had marched me off, skates dangling from my shoulder, tense with anxiety, to the nearest police station, there to pay a fine of one dollar. That was my first encounter with those Asians we now call Vietnamese.

In the winter of 1935 while I was learning to play football European style and despairing in my attempts to draw and master the written characters in an elementary Chinese reader (an Asian version of *Dick and Jane*), the *Augusta* with my father aboard was making a 12,000 mile goodwill cruise to Australia. When the flagship put into the port of Sydney, my father, searching for a present for his son, settled on a "real, aborigine" boomerang.

Three months later the cruise ended. The *Augusta* was back in its "home" port safely moored to its buoy in the Whangpoo, and I owned a genuine Australian boomerang. But how to throw it, or rather, how to throw it so it would return, settling gently at my feet? There was someone who could show me.

The commanding officer of the *Augusta* was Captain Chester W. Nimitz, later fleet admiral and commander-in-chief of US Naval Forces in the Pacific during World War II. In 1935 he was 50 years old, a short, inquisitive, friendly man, interested in sports and devoted to physical fitness. The Nimitz family also lived in the Clements, and when Captain Nimitz heard of my boomerang he quickly offered to demonstrate how to throw it. One afternoon the captain and I went out in the grassy field which bordered the apartment.

As my thoughts jump back 40 years, I see Captain Nimitz in his khaki shirt and trousers, the sun glancing off

(Continued on page 38)

Pearl Harbor 1941

The First Energy War

CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

In the summer of 1941, Japan had been at war on the mainland of Asia for four years. After amputating Manchuria from China proper in 1931, and recreating it as Manchukuo under a puppet regime, she had plunged into a full-scale war of conquest with China in 1937. But although a Japanese army of well over a million men occupied vast stretches of the Chinese mainland, active hostilities showed no sign of diminishing. Despite the installation of a puppet regime in Nanking, and a campaign of intimidation and brutal reprisals to pacify the conquered areas, the drain of manpower and supplies continued unabated.

Just as today, Japan was wholly dependent on outside sources for the minerals, petroleum and other raw materials necessary to fuel its economy, which in 1941 was already highly industrialized. In fact, the whole aim of Japan's program of expansion on the Asian mainland was to carve out a continental economic system, insulated from the forces which had caused the world-wide economic depression, in which raw materials from China and Southeast Asia would flow into Japan for conversion into a stream of manufactured goods aimed at the limitless Asian market. The conquest of China—or more accurately, her forced conversion into a compliant economic partner—was the first step in a grand design

called the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere which was ultimately supposed to embrace Indo-China, Malaysia, and the Dutch colonies of Indonesia.

The Achilles' heel of Japan's economy—and the greatest drawback to military ambitions—was her energy resources. Despite the fact that civilian gasoline consumption was minimal, and the Japanese armies were largely unmechanized, Japanese oil consumption, including military, had since 1931 climbed steadily from a level—unbelievably low by modern standards—of about 21 million barrels a year to over 32 million barrels in 1941. (Japan's current annual consumption is about 2 billion barrels.) The most imperative defense need, on which the safety of the island empire depended, was to insure ample reserve stocks for the large and powerful imperial navy and it was largely to this end that Japan, at great pains to her strained economy, had accumulated a stockpile of around 54 million barrels of which 29 million was reserved for the navy.

In 1941 Japan was just as dependent on outside sources for its oil supply as it is today. Domestic production of synthetic fuel amounted to only three million barrels annually; the rest of Japan's needs—over 90 percent—were made up by imports. In the late '30s total imports varied from a low of 30.6 million barrels in 1939 to 37.1 million in 1940, the excess over domestic requirements going into the stockpile. Fifteen per cent of petroleum imports of all categories came from Venezuela, the Dutch East Indies, and the Middle East—the vast reserves of Saudi

Arabia and the Persian Gulf had not yet been developed. Eighty-five per cent of imports came from one monolithic supplier—Japan's own private OPEC—the United States of America. And by 1941 relations with the United States had deteriorated to the verge of war.

It had not always been so. The United States had been instrumental in securing a favorable settlement for Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, had been an ally in World War 1, and was Japan's most important trading partner. Despite resentment over the Japanese Exclusion Act, there was a considerable reservoir of good will for the United States among the educated classes of Japan and vast admiration for American education and technological achievement. But since 1931, the United States had been the principal and most outspoken opponent of Japanese expansion in Asia. Under the Stimson Doctrine the United States had refused to recognize the puppet regime in Manchukuo and regarded the program for a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere with hostility and moral disapproval—attitudes reinforced by the barbaric atrocities perpetrated by the Japanese forces in the course of their slow advance through the Chinese provinces. But, until the late '30s, isolationist sentiment and the rigid constraints of neutrality legislation not only prevented military assistance from being given directly to threatened friendly countries but inhibited any form of economic sanctions against aggressor nations that might lead to military confrontation. When these policies were finally reversed it was owing to the tide of German ag-

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gression in Europe and the threat to Britain rather than to events in Asia. Even then President Roosevelt was under pressure at first from the Western European powers to avoid a crisis in East Asia until the Nazi menace could be dealt with.

In late 1939, President Roosevelt took the first step toward economic sanctions by imposing a "moral embargo" on sales of aircraft and aviation material. Over the next year, this was expanded to include a wide range of metals and raw materials—rubber, tin, magnesium, molybdenum, aluminum, etc. But where Japan was concerned the administration was careful to avoid any interference with the flow of the most precious commodity of all, oil—this was regarded as too dangerous. In May, 1939, Ambassador Joseph C. Grew in Tokyo had warned the president that ". . . if we cut off Japanese supplies of oil . . . and she cannot obtain sufficient oil from other commercial sources to ensure her national security, she will probably send her fleet down to take the Dutch East Indies."

The outbreak of war in Europe presented the United States with a policy dilemma that took the form of a conflict of priorities. The attention of the president, the press and the American public was riveted on Europe, and after the fall of France on the plight of Britain. The prevailing view was that the Nazi menace to European civilization was the overriding problem of the time. True, the United States was also committed to a policy of resistance to aggression in Asia and support for the Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek. But while there was a growing consensus for all-out aid to Britain, opinion was divided on how to cope with the Japanese menace. Within the Cabinet, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau and Secretary of the Interior Ickes, along with elder-statesman Henry L. Stimson (soon to become secretary of war) believed that there was "linkage" between all outbreaks of aggression. They pressed for "economic sanctions" against Japan, including the cut-off of scrap iron and oil. But Secretary of State Hull and the State Department, guided by the cautionary warnings of Ambassador Grew, were wary of pushing

Japan into an act of desperation that would compound the difficulties of the European colonial powers and divert public attention from Hitler. The US Navy was even more cautious. Successive chiefs of naval operations had warned the president that until the 1934 naval building program was completed and outlying bases in the Philippines, the central Pacific and Hawaii reinforced and fortified, any military confrontation with Japan would find the navy at grave disadvantage. The navy had neither the auxiliary supply vessels nor the carrier air strength to fight its way through the Japanese-mandated Marshall and Caroline Islands, bristling with air bases, to face the formidable Japanese navy in its home waters.

The reluctance of the admirals to risk a military confrontation with Japan became even more pronounced in 1940, after the German submarine campaign to cut supply lines to Britain got underway. Substantial units of the Pacific Fleet, including the destroyers necessary to protect heavy ships from submarine attack, were now being transferred to the Atlantic for patrol and convoy duty. One chief of naval operations, the redoubtable Admiral James O. Richardson, had actually been replaced for pouring cold water on the president's fantasy of running a cruiser patrol line from the Philippines to Hawaii, and for too outspokenly recommending that the fleet be withdrawn to its West Coast bases because of its vulnerability in Pearl Harbor. When a decision was finally made to give the Atlantic top priority, it made a temporizing stance in the Pacific almost mandatory.

The passage of the Export Control Act in July of 1940, however, gave the president a weapon for retaliating against Japanese expansion without appearing to be punitive. The rearmament program and aid to Britain had produced shortages in some materials and the prospect of future scarcity in others. When in September, 1940, the Japanese moved into bases in the northern region of French Indo-China, President Roosevelt promptly imposed an embargo on the export of scrap iron and steel, citing US defense needs as justification. Soon afterwards he prohibited the export of aviation gasoline

and lubricants to all but Britain and western hemisphere countries. But the flow of oil and regular gasoline to Japan continued without interruption. In the embargo year of 1940, Japan's oil imports from the United States only dropped to 23 million barrels from 26 million the year before.

Meanwhile Japanese foreign policy had been undergoing reappraisal through a convoluted process which can properly be described as agonizing in the literal sense of the word. The Japanese military—or more properly the army high command—had, since the Manchurian takeover, exercised a baleful influence over civilian cabinets, especially on matters of foreign policy. On several occasions this had reached the point of permitting the assassination, by fanatical young officers, of elderly and conservative ministers who were considered to have "become unworthy" of the Japanese imperial mission. The longer the campaign in China dragged on the more the army high command itself risked loss of face and disgrace in the eyes of the emperor and the people. Fearful of the Soviet menace on the long and exposed Manchurian flank, and frustrated over its inability to settle the "China incident," the high command was the principal proponent both of closer ties with Germany and Italy and an aggressive move south to achieve the long-promised dream of self-sufficiency in Asia.

On the other side, strong forces were at work for a policy of moderation. These included the nobility, the business and financial leadership, the diplomatic service and the imperial navy. Though dismayed and resentful over American policies past and present, these circles had a more healthy respect for American industrial might than the insular army and genuinely dreaded the unforeseeable consequences of war with the United States. Compared with the deep geographical, historical and economic bonds that linked the United States and Japan, the new ties with Japan's far distant allies of expediency, Germany and Italy, seemed somehow flimsy and artificial. In these quarters the unrelenting opposition of the United States to Japan's program in Asia was upsetting and threatening but could be tolerated as long as the oil supply

remained intact. In the meanwhile, there was always a chance that the "China incident" could be settled, or that the mounting involvement of the United States in the defense of Britain would make some kind of compromise possible.

Before a clean-cut policy could evolve, however, these differences had to be thrashed out within the imperial circle. Although crudely styled "fascist" by American politicians and the press, and lumped in with Germany and Italy as a grinning partner in iniquity, Japan and its political system had little in common with European dictatorships. Except for the predominant influence exercised by the military caste, which was deemed to incarnate the warrior virtues, Japanese society before World War II was no more, or rather no less, "totalitarian" than the "Japan Incorporated" of 1979. Under an overlay of parliamentary forms the Japanese decision-making process was almost morbidly traditional. In all vital questions concerning the future of the empire, decisions were not dictated by an upstart tyrant but reached after a painful process of soul-searching and mutual consultation between the traditional power groups. The resulting consensus, couched in the euphemistic and abstract style unique to Japanese culture, was then given a sort of mystical endorsement by the emperor, after an elaborate ritual called a "Throne Conference" in which all groups were represented.

Predictably, this system often produced policy compromises that embodied fatal contradictions. Typical was the decision reached in the summer of 1940 to install a civilian premier of impeccably conservative stripe, Prince Konoye, to pursue a policy of negotiation with the United States while at the same time the army was given a limited mandate to obtain bases in French Indo-China. Then in September, 1940, under pressure from the army high command, Japan signed a defensive alliance with Germany and Italy known as the Tripartite Pact. The terms of the pact had no operative effect except in the event of a future attack on one of the parties by an unspecified outsider, but the Axis label it now gave Japan was to have a devastating political effect and prove a serious impediment to

negotiations with the United States. It would henceforth be extraordinarily difficult for President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull to make meaningful concessions to Japan without the risk of being called appeasers.

At about the same time Japan took steps to solve the problem of its oil dependence. Civilian consumption of gasoline was cut from 6-7 million barrels annually to 1.6 million. By diversifying supply she managed in 1940 to reduce the proportion of oil imports from US sources down to 60 per cent as

"Ambassador Grew had once more cautioned that if pushed to the wall it was in the Japanese character to react violently and without warning."

compared to prior level of 80 per cent. But the attitude of the United States, combined with disruption of the international oil market and competing demands of the warring powers, made reliance on distant sources imprudent to say the least. The one alternative closer at hand, on which Japan had cast covetous eyes for years, was the Dutch East Indies, now cut off from the mother country by the German sweep through Western Europe.

In June, 1940, immediately after the Nazi occupation of Holland, Japan demanded assurances from the colonial government in Batavia that exports of oil and mineral exports to Japan would be maintained at present levels. This was merely a stopgap, however, taken more out of fear of German intentions than anything else.

In September, 1940, a large Japanese mission was dispatched to Batavia to make "proposals" to the colonial government for access to raw materials on a greatly increased scale. Oil was given top priority: oil imports from the Dutch

Indies were 4.5 million barrels a year, and now the Japanese demand was for a guaranty of 22 million barrels annually. This would have represented 40 per cent of the annual production of the Indies at that time (55 million barrels) and a figure almost exactly equal to the current level of Japan's oil dependence on the United States. The Dutch colonial administration, however, though well aware of its vulnerability, proved tough and obstinate. It protracted the negotiations over nearly three months, and when in November an agreement was finally reached, the Japanese were granted 14.5 million barrels annually and no more. Even this amount was made subject to the concurrence of the oil companies and hedged about with escape clauses.

In the winter of 1940-41 the war reached a condition of temporary stalemate with American attention increasingly focused on the plight of Britain. In April, 1941, Germany invaded Yugoslavia and Greece, and inflicted heavy defeats on the British in Crete and North Africa. In May, President Roosevelt proclaimed a state of unlimited national emergency. During this period the pendulum in Japan again oscillated and a new Japanese ambassador, Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, known to be well-disposed to the United States, was sent to Washington with a fresh set of proposals. In essence these offered a freeze of Japanese military operations in Asia and a promise to negotiate peace with Chiang Kai-shek. In return Japan requested from the United States a lifting of all embargoes on critical items, resumption of normal trade relations, American assistance in obtaining a continuing supply of raw materials from Southeast Asia, and the exercise of influence on Chiang Kai-shek to force him to negotiate peace terms with Japan in good faith. The State Department agreed to discuss these proposals, but after fifty private meetings between Secretary Hull and Ambassador Nomura in the Spring of 1941, no basis for agreement could be found. The United States clung to its rigid formulations—withdrawal from Indo-China, acceptance of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for the

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THE ROLE OF ROLE-FLEXIBILITY

JUNE BINGHAM

During a long and not unliberated career, I have been the wife of
a Wall Street lawyer
a civil servant
a private in the army
a captain in the army
a special assistant to the secretary of state
a partner in a mid-town Manhattan law firm
the secretary to the governor of New York state
an ambassador at the US Mission to the UN
the US delegate to the Economic and Social Council in Geneva
a member of Congress.

All happened to be the same man.

He, in fact, has remained more the same old self than have I. The intellectual muscles used by a lawyer and diplomat, a military intelligence officer and legislator, all encompass the power to analyze vast amounts of data and make decisions too fast for comfort.

My wifely role, on the other hand, started low and proceeded to go lower. Jonathan's first boss and colleagues assumed that I would neither be interested in, nor capable of contributing to, their legal shop-talk. When he was assigned to intelligence during World War II, I had no official clearance and therefore was not permitted even to hear a word of shop talk (one of the anomalies of the US system is that ordinary voters can clear a person for Top Secret simply by electing her or him to the House or Senate).

Then bang, with no forewarning, I was expected to appear at diplomatic receptions and dinners every bleeding weekday evening, during the many months of the UN General Assembly. My evening

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clothes became a uniform and I needed every resource of cultural training, foreign languages, general information, human empathy, knowledge of current issues, ability to cook, entertain, flirt but keep the flirtation within bounds, make foreigners feel at ease, and pick up on nuances when one of them decided to use me as an unofficial conduit to the United States government, via my husband.

This exciting and exhausting involvement of mine in Jonathan's career was, however, only from 6 to 11 p.m., only five nights a week. It took his entrance into elective politics to make my immersion total. When a member of the family is running for office a house is not a home: it is a campaign headquarters.

Yet it was through Jonathan's involvement in New York politics that I met my first subject for a full-length biography, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, and through Jonathan's involvement in diplomacy that I met my second subject, UN Secretary General U Thant. My tears of joy, when Jonathan was accepted by the voters, and when my books were accepted by the publisher, were identical. And although I cannot speak for Jonathan, I can report that in the early days of my receiving nothing but rejection slips, his comments about the imbecility of editors were far more rigorous than mine.

So it is from a fairly well-braided point of view that I approach the ways in which diplomatic and political spouses are different and alike.

But first, a word about their respective sponsors. One way you can tell the difference between a diplomat and a politician (in addition to the diplomat's being better dressed) is that diplomats hope to keep moving, and politicians do not. For a diplomat, the packing case is as much a part of the job as the attaché case, while for the politician, the original move to

Washington may come as quite a shock. The diplomat has lived in places where the natives are not always friendly: the politician, particularly from the south and west, may never have had such an experience. The diplomat who has served, say, in a French-speaking country can find plenty of restaurants in Washington to suit his taste—but where is the fellow from Butte or Plains to go? Other ways in which the diplomat and the politician differ might include the following:

- The diplomat defends the flag; the politician wraps himself in it—
- The diplomat avoids personal publicity; the politician laps it up—
- The diplomat is trained to work in the background; the politician forces his way to the foreground—
- The diplomat is a team player; the politician, on occasion, is a loner—
- The diplomat needs his mate to inflate his ego because it has been crunched during the day; the politician needs his mate to deflate his ego because it has been puffed up during the day, whether by staff, lobbyists, even members of the executive branch who want his ear, his voice, or his vote—
- The diplomat knows how to work in a hierarchy; the politician on the Hill may defy the leadership or the White House, in order to please his constituents—
- The diplomat must feel comfortable with every kind of foreigner; the politician must feel comfortable with every kind of American—
- The diplomat often does business with elites; the politician often does business with the so-called common people—
- The diplomat has to be ordered back to Washington from a foreign post he has grown to love; the politician who fought tooth and nail to get to Washington may never, after he feels settled, want to leave. Even after retirement, some politicians manage to stay on. Like the old soldiers who never die, the old pols merely fade away—into a Washington law firm.

To balance all these differences,

are there any similarities? Surely there must be some, since people do commute between the two realms. As Representative Andrew Young was moving from Capitol Hill to the US Mission to the UN, Ambassador Pat Moynihan was moving from the US Mission to the UN to Capitol Hill. There was talk some years back, up in New York about a young fellow named Vance running for the Senate, and here he is in the State Department, while right now Henry Kissinger, who used to be in the State Department, is up in New York doing all the things that make one assume that he is running for the US Senate. But by and large, the professional diplomat does not seek or find the kind of publicity that leads to recognition by the voters, and thus to elective politics. Or if there is personal publicity, it is likely to be of the wrong kind, as when an individual diplomat is made a scapegoat for some failure in US policy. I'm sure that more than just the old China hands get the collywobbles when people today ask in an ugly tone, "Who lost *Iran*?"

The main similarity between the diplomat and the politician, I submit, is that both have chosen a career that enables them to be of service to their nation, and, by way of this work, to exercise power over events, even, visibly or invisibly, to put their thumbprint on history.

What about the wives? I submit that we wives have more in common with each other than our husbands do, not least of which is the problem of our husbands. A few years ago, Mary Jane Dellenback, wife of former Representative John Dellenback (R-Oregon), sent out a written questionnaire to her fellow congressional wives. In answer to the question, "What is the most annoying frustration in your marriage," one wife tersely answered, "Him."

I further submit that we wives both have more in common with each other than our husbands do, and also have more in common with the *diplomatic* husband than with the political one. Let's go back for a minute to the earlier list,

- Like the diplomat, we wives are expected to be team players—
- Like the diplomat, we wives need to know how to work effectively in the background—

- Like the diplomat, we wives do not seek publicity—
- Like the diplomat, at the end of the day, we wives need someone to expand our ego, rather than contract it.

On the other hand, although we resemble the diplomatic husband, he has two major advantages over us. One is recognition, whether as feedback from colleagues or evaluations from superiors. The other is dollars.

Officially and directly, we wives receive neither cash nor kudos. And I am much in favor of the efforts on behalf of wives that have recently been made by the State Department's Women's Action Organization, the Family Liaison Office, the Foreign Service Institute and its Workshop for F. S. Families, and the Foreign Service Women's Association. I hope that we congressional wives can continue to learn from you and be of help to you. One idea that was sparked by your Dr. Steve Pieczenik who addressed the group last September is that we congressional wives need to have a list of professional counselors to whom we can turn as individuals, either when we first move in, or later, when, for some reason, the emotional going gets rough. Such a list is being drawn up and will be sent to all wives.

An individual's need for recognition, some psychiatrists say, may be so basic as to be called biological. The cock that crows, the peacock that struts, the wolf that howls, are instinctively seeking to be noticed. In nature, it is the male of the species that sports the brighter colors. With humans, although the female often dresses in more imaginative fashion than the male, her work does not generally bring her fame or fortune.

How then can wives achieve recognition? One way is invisible to outsiders; the other is clear to all. Some wives prefer the first; some, the second.

Objectively, to a stranger, it may not look like much when a wife works alongside the one person in the world she has chosen to spend her life with. Yet, subjectively and invisibly, she may feel immensely rewarded, especially

- if her husband treats her as a co-equal—
- if he respects, and listens to, her

opinions—

- if he relies on her eyes, ears, and tongue as confidently as on his own—
- if he shows gratitude for her efforts on his behalf.

When this happens, she—and he—may find themselves in that extraordinary corner of heaven where the line between work and pleasure is thoroughly blurred, and where no clear distinction can be made between *his* efforts and rewards, *her* efforts and rewards, and *their* efforts and rewards. Although, to the stranger, her efforts may seem to be unrecognized, *she* can hear the sound of one hand clapping.

The two things that matter most in life, Sigmund Freud said, are "arbeiten und lieben," work and love. If a woman loves a man who loves her and his work, and if his job is the kind that, by definition, is too big for any mere mortal to complete with excellence each day, then she gains, so to speak, a career-in-law. (And I use the phrase, in-law, not in its pejorative sense, since two women I deeply love happen to be my mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.) When this career-in-law is diplomacy or politics, the wife may find that everything she does is grist to its mill, whether this be the newspapers she reads, the people she talks to, the facts she learns, the skills she develops. Both when my husband used to be in diplomacy and now, when in politics, I cannot describe anything I like doing as a "waste of time," so often does it come in handy, and in a way I would never have foreseen. But for me, and many others, the key is that I have—and people know that I have—a choice in the matter. I can choose whether to work along with him or not, and if so, whether to make his work my central or peripheral concern. For it is the fact and recognition of *options* that makes the difference between service and servitude, between being relied-upon and put-upon, between being needed and being used, or even abused.

The second form of recognition available to wives is the visible variety. This comes when a woman develops a field of expertise. It does not matter what it is, so long as she applies herself to it. Volunteer, yes; dilettante, no. The prod-

uct can be as long-lasting as sculptured marble, or as ephemeral as a flower arrangement. It can be paid or unpaid, solo or with people, but its quality needs to have that competence and consistency that is termed professional. For the time may come when she needs this skill to earn her daily bread—or that of her children.

Today there is a fifty-fifty chance that an American woman, by middle age, will be widowed or divorced. For the sake of her future, she needs to find out what she likes to do and how to do it competently. In this regard, it is welcome news that the Civil Service employment forms no longer demand that applicants reveal whether or not they have been paid for a particular form of work. Volunteer experience, thus, can also give a vocational boost.

A New York psychologist, Dr. Iris Sangiuliano, says that women tend to be "late bloomers" in regard to their vocation. "We postpone ourselves," she says in her new book, *In Her Time*. Whereas typically, a young man has his identity crisis before he establishes intimacy, a young woman may first strive for union, and only later seek her personal identity. By that time, her husband's career and the arrival of children may send this search underground.

Girls today appear to be handling the vocational problem better than their mothers may have done. Yet in time they too are likely to be torn between the demands of their job, their husband and his job, and their children.

I would like to float an idea that might be useful to many kinds of career. It is that for a designated time the person can say "finze," or can cross fingers, or can ask for pass-fail rather than marks. Competence, in other words, rather than excellence, would be the understood aim.

This kind of partial moratorium could be useful to young people while they try out their different talents—or when their children need them most. Some older people might claim it for the period between their prime and their retirement. Just as the football player who catches the punt can signal "fair catch" and no one will tackle him, so the employee can signal to the supervisor not to count the des-

ignated period in the overall promotion system. Within a marriage, the partners could take turns. Perhaps the husband would be in low gear in order to have time with his small children or to free his wife to pursue her own career. Or perhaps she could be in low gear at work in order to concentrate on the kids or help in her husband's assignment.

In diplomacy, where new posts come with regularity, the diplomats might announce which gear they wished to assume for that tour of duty. Similarly, the wife could announce whether she wanted to work as a high gear or low gear

"Some of the stunning marriages I have been privileged to witness are in the diplomatic boonies where a man and woman have been forced to rely on each other in work and in play."

helpmeet, and the other wives' expectations from her would be adjusted accordingly. More of the top-flight FSOs with families might thereby stay in the service. And although the State Department computers might jam, the results in long term happiness, effectiveness, and health for the individuals would be worth it.

I mention health because, as Dr. Sangiuliano says, men tend to express their anger at frustration, while women tend to depress themselves on this account. As a result, she says, there is more depression among American women than men, and depression, as we know, can lead to addiction and other disruptive ailments. Since a medical evacuation of an overseas family costs some fifty thousand dollars, a gear-shift choice for the overseas employee and spouse might improve family life to the point where a lot of money was saved—and perhaps, a lot of marriages.

For the elective politicians, however, the gear shift would be more difficult. The voters cannot be appealed to on anything other

than an excellence basis. Still, between elections, there might be a short time to slack off. Similarly, at the top levels of the State Department—or any large organization—this cannot be done for long because the responsibilities are too great. But the wives could still, on occasion, opt for merely a competence gear in their helpmeet role.

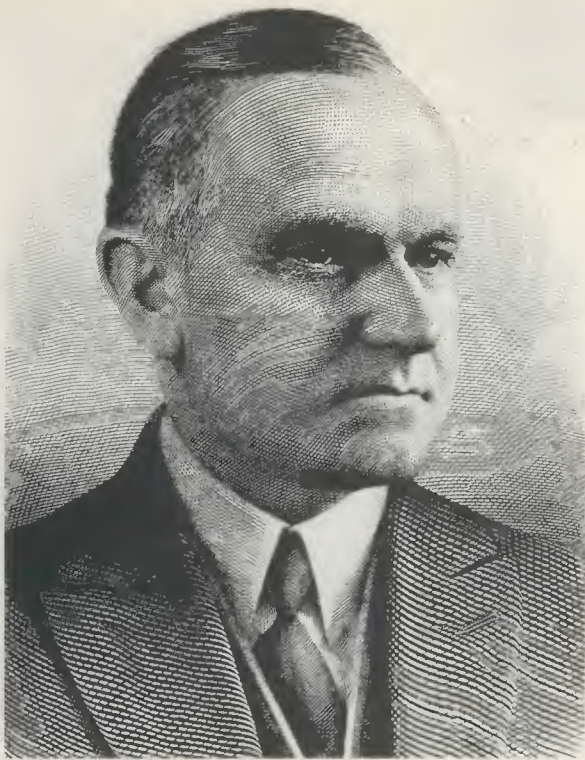
At the time when a wife is developing her career-worthy skill, she needs support, not only from her husband, but also, if possible, from other women. In my view, one of the most valuable contributions by the Women's Movement has been "sisterhood." Because, today, a woman's opportunity for recognition is no longer solely through her man, she no longer needs to relate to other women solely as if they were rivals. Now women assume that they are allies. No longer do they need to cut each other down, but can build each other up; no longer do they need to deplore, but can truly enjoy, each other's success. And women need this recognition from other women because not all men are willing—or liberated enough—to offer it without condescension.

On the other hand, once a woman has established her identity in the vocational world, she may be content not to keep re-establishing or outdoing it. Phyllis Macomber, for example, had a most successful career in the department as executive assistant to two secretaries of state. She gave it up to marry Bill. When he was assigned as ambassador to Turkey she went happily along to Ankara. "I love being an adjunct," she said. Today she is adjuncting happily while Bill heads up the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Diplomacy and politics, moreover, are by no means the only fields where the wife's adjuncting is useful. If she becomes knowledgeable in his field, whether by study, shop talk, or conjugal osmosis, her voluntary input to his career may move his competence into recognized excellence. Theodore White, who wrote the Making of the President books, says in his autobiography that he has "never met any man in politics or letters who was not thoroughly influenced by his wife, if he loved her."

Nor is the wife the only team

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"I expect I can get an upper berth on the Federal out of Boston tomorrow night."

CALVIN SUCCEEDS

JAMES COOLEY

The way Allen Dulles used to tell the story, it ran something like this: The night was a stifling one, even for an August in Washington, and he and a couple of colleagues were languidly gossiping in the torpid heat. It was 1923, before the days of air conditioning, at a period when the British and other foreign embassies rated Washington as a hardship post by reason of its brutal summer weather. On this evening, as cool a place as any was behind the slatted swinging doors of one of the spacious high-ceilinged offices in what now goes by the name of the Executive Office Building, but which then housed the Departments of State, War and Navy. So there the young men lingered, not because of the demands of any crisis, foreign or domestic, but because there was no more comfortable place to go.

Dulles was 30 years old. He had joined the Foreign Service seven years before. He had already had assignments in Vienna, Bern, Berlin, and Constantinople, and had been on the American delegation at

the Peace Conference at Versailles. Now he was back in the State Department, as chief of the division of Near Eastern affairs.

It was near on to eleven o'clock when the men finally pulled themselves together to face the ordeal of going home. But as they descended into Lafayette Square, newsboys came running through the streets calling "Extra!" Dulles and his friends bought a copy, and found that President Harding, whom the afternoon papers had reported as recovering from a sudden and mysterious ailment, had died in San Francisco. Instinctively, they went back to the office, to their post of duty in a time of uncertainty. There, they took counsel with one another, and agreed that the first step was to telephone their chief, the Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes. Mr. Hughes was at home in what was then an outlying district of the Federal City. His reaction, like theirs, was to come to the department. "Has any of you young men an automobile?" he asked, and one of them did, and off they went to collect the secretary. On their way back to the center of town, he began to muse aloud about the late president. One incident that he recalled formed a salient part of Allen Dulles's narrative. Two years before, in the inau-

gural parade, Hughes had been in the car with Harding's father, and the old man had fallen to reminiscing. "Warren was always a good boy," he had said, "a good boy, and he had a lot of friends. But he was always too ready to go along with what his friends wanted to do." We used to say to him, "Warren, it's a good thing you're not a girl, you don't know how to say no."

Once back at the office, Mr. Hughes assigned Dulles the task of getting through by telephone to Vice President Coolidge, who was vacationing with his wife at his father's place in Plymouth, Vermont. Dulles set to work, and the call was passed from one operator to another, through Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and so on, until he was talking to the operator at White River Junction in Vermont. She revealed that there was no telephone in the Coolidge house. "Is there one nearby?" asked Dulles. "A farmer named McIntosh, a quarter mile down the road, has one," was the reply. "Let me speak to Mr. McIntosh," said Mr. Hughes, and Dulles relayed the request. It must now have been near midnight, perhaps a bit later, but before long the sleepy voice of farmer McIntosh came over the line. Dulles handed the

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telephone to Mr. Hughes. "Mr. McIntosh," said the secretary, "This is Charles Evans Hughes, the secretary of state. I am sorry to bother you at this time of night, but I need urgently to speak to Vice President Coolidge, who is staying with his father. Would you be so kind as to step down the road and ask him to come to the telephone?" "It's pretty late," replied McIntosh, "and they'll all be in bed. What do you want to talk to him about?" "President Harding has died suddenly in San Francisco," said Mr. Hughes, "and Mr. Coolidge is now president of the United States." "Well," said McIntosh, "that's good news, ain't it? Why won't it keep till morning?"

But he was prevailed on to make the journey, and before long the twang of Calvin Coolidge's voice came over the telephone. Mr. Hughes confirmed the news of Harding's death and offered his best wishes to the new president. "What, in your opinion should I do now," asked Coolidge. "I believe, sir, that you should take the oath of office as soon as possible," was the reply. "My father is a notary," said Coolidge, "and it is my recollection that the Constitution sets forth the precise wording of the presidential oath." "That is correct," said Mr. Hughes, and the prescribed text was read to Mr. Coolidge. "What, in your opinion, should I do then?" was the next question. "I believe, sir, that you should return to Washington as soon as possible," replied the secretary. "Very well," said Mr. Coolidge, "I expect I can get an upper berth on the Federal out of Boston tomorrow night."

In his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, Winston Churchill devotes a chapter to that remarkable monarch Henry II and his no less remarkable queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine. In addition to recounting achievements of war and of statesmanship, Churchill also mentions the story of Henry's love for "a damosel of high degree and transcendent beauty." You will recall that Henry is said to have hidden his fair Rosamund in a maze constructed for the purpose at Woodstock, that Queen Eleanor discovered the silken thread that furnished the clue to this refuge, that she herself wound her way to

the heart of the maze, and that she there offered her hapless supplanter the cruel choice between dagger and poisoned chalice. Churchill continues, "Tiresome investigators have undermined this excellent tale, but it certainly should find its place in any history worthy of the name."

It is in emulation of Churchill's generous spirit that I have offered the foregoing narrative in its full detail. Now, in the role of tireless investigator, do I propose to undermine the essential parts of Allen Dulles's account. He himself was accustomed archly to amend the end of his story by affecting to confess that Mr. Coolidge had really said "lower berth" not "upper berth." It would be unbecoming in a former subordinate of Mr. Dulles to say whether this particular episode was merely the embroidery of a skilled and enthusiastic raconteur or was what he, in the idiom of his later profession, would have called a fabrication.

At all events, let's take a look at the transcriptions of that night from a Vermont vantage point. The summer of 1923 was not a particularly happy one for President Warren G. Harding. His administration had fallen into those not uncommon mid-term doldrums. The substantial majorities in both houses of Congress that had been the concomitant of his own triumph at the polls in 1920 had dwindled in the 1922 elections. And though on paper the Republicans still had comfortable control in both Senate and House, bickering had broken out among various factions of the party. Delegations from the agricultural states were particularly restive. The World War I boom that had brought prosperity to the mid-western farmer had utterly collapsed.

So the president found it politically expedient, as well as personally congenial, to leave the heat of Washington, journey through the farm states, and top off his travels with an excursion to Alaska. He left the capital on June 20 and sailed from Tacoma on July 4. But he was weary and run down with his cares, the trip proved over-strenuous, and on the way back from Alaska he gorged injudiciously on crabs. From one or a combination of these, or perhaps from other causes, he fell ill of a

malady never yet precisely identified. Appointments along the way were cancelled, and in San Francisco he was put to bed. There, however, he appeared to be regaining his health, and the *Washington Star* of August 2 carried the headline "President's Fever Entirely Subsides."

Nevertheless, Harding's illness had been worrisome enough that the wire services, and certain major newspapers had taken pains to position reporters as close as possible to Vice President Coolidge, just in case. This was not the easiest of tasks. Since July 8, Coolidge and his wife had been vacationing in Plymouth, Vermont, at the home of his father, John—known as Colonel Coolidge. Plymouth was a tiny settlement and provided no accommodations for the newsmen from the cities. They had to find rooms in neighboring towns, and most of them had to come to rest in Ludlow, some twelve miles to the south. In Ludlow were quartered three representatives of AP, as well as men from UP, INS, and Universal Service, and staffers from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and other big city papers.

This, then, was the state of play on the afternoon of August 2, when the president's condition took a sudden and disastrous turn for the worse. He died in San Francisco at 7:30 p.m., or 10:30 p.m. by Eastern time. As Dulles reports, the papers had extra editions on the streets in jig time; in Washington both the *Star* and the *Post* were alert to spread the news. But the tidings seem to have reached Mr. Coolidge more quickly, but in a more round-about fashion than the Dulles account would have it. The beginning of the process was straightforward enough. George B. Christian, Harding's secretary, sent a telegram to Washington. The message was immediately relayed, by telegraph, to White River Junction, whence it was passed by telephone to Bridgewater, Vermont, that being the telegraph office closest to Plymouth, though still ten miles away. Now the procedure becomes a little difficult to understand. As we shall see later, there was a telephone in Plymouth, though not in Colonel Coolidge's house. But Mrs. Perkins, the telegraph operator in Bridgewater, did not

use the phone. Instead, she woke her husband and told him to take the message to Plymouth by automobile. The commotion in the Perkins household awakened the next door neighbor, who—overhearing the news—made it his business to step across to Furman's Boarding House and rouse Messrs. Geisser and McInerney, Coolidge's secretary and chauffeur, who were lodged there for want of space in Plymouth. Geisser and McInerney promptly sprang to action and themselves sped along to Plymouth in the vice president's Pierce-Arrow, arriving there only three minutes behind Mr. Perkins, the bearer of the official telegraph message. Colonel Coolidge was awakened and in turn woke his son, who dressed and came downstairs. There he wrote a few lines of condolence in longhand to Mrs. Harding and, finding his secretary on hand, dictated a statement for the press, expressing his regret at Harding's death and pledging his best efforts to fulfill his new responsibilities. This task was completed just in time, for the contingent of journalists who had been quartered in Ludlow arrived at this point, having been galvanized into action when they got news, through their own head offices, of Harding's death. The statement was handed out to them, and Mr. Coolidge indicated that he would return to Washington in the morning and take the presidential oath of office there. Whereupon the reporters started back the way they had come, to Ludlow to file their stories. All, that is, save Paul Mallon of the United Press. He latched on to Mr. Perkins, the bearer of the original telegram, and rode with him back to Bridgewater, where Mallon tied up the telephone line for a matter of three hours.

It was probably at about this point that Coolidge sent McInerney, the chauffeur, over to Miss Cilley's store, some 200 yards away from Colonel Coolidge's house. As McInerney walked in, the phone was ringing. At the other end of the line was Percival Clement, once governor of Vermont, formerly president and still a director of the Rutland Railroad, calling to offer Coolidge the railroad's private car to take him back to Washington. This message was relayed to Coolidge, who accepted,

and—to anticipate—drove early next morning to Rutland whence he took the train to Troy and thence to New York and Washington. It is too bad that he didn't use that upper on the Federal, but the record seems to be clear on this point.

Another set of actors now comes onto the stage. In the town of Springfield, 30 miles south of Plymouth, a somewhat disparate group was gossiping away on that August night which even there in Vermont was a sultry and breathless one. One of their number was Joe Fountain, the 21-year old

"I don't believe
Congressman Dale or I
would have criticized
the drink that night if it
had been oil from the
lamps of the Cilley
store. We finished our
drinks in silence."

editor of the local paper, who also doubled as a stringer for the Associated Press. Sometime before midnight he got a call from AP's Boston office informing him of Harding's death and telling him to speed off to Plymouth and render any help needed to the regular AP men who were, as we have seen, based in Ludlow, halfway along the route. The only phone in Plymouth has already been commandeered by the government, he was told, so if you get anything good, tie up a wire, even if you have to go back to Springfield or on to Rutland to do it. From which instructions it would appear that the AP man in Boston was not quite as sharp as UP's Paul Mallon, who located—and pre-empted—that telephone in Bridgewater.

When Fountain imparted his information and his flight plan to his three companions, they were all eager to come along, especially Porter H. Dale. Dale was Vermont's sole congressman, and he was ambitious to move up to the Senate, so this moment of political drama was particularly appealing to him. In short order, the four men

had routed out the local taxi and set off posthaste over the road north. Pausing at the hotel in Ludlow, they found, not surprisingly, that Fountain's AP colleagues and the other newsmen had gone off to Plymouth. So our party pressed on.

But before they reached their destination, they met a blaze of headlights coming toward them on the lonely midnight road. It was, of course, all those first-string reporters returning to file their stories. In a rapid roadside conference, Fountain and Dale learned that Calvin Coolidge proposed to defer his swearing-in until he got to Washington and that they might as well go back to Springfield and to bed.

Congressman Dale was not satisfied. He was, of course, still caught up in the exciting prospect of being among the first to pay his respects to the new president, and of the impetus that this might give to his own political career. Further, he had some question whether, as a matter of national policy the swearing-in should be so long delayed. Whatever the weight of the various factors in his mind, he was eager to go on to Plymouth. His companions needed no persuading, so Dan Barney's taxi bore them onward, and they were soon in the presence of the new president.

It is clear from Fountain's own memoir of this night that Congressman Dale forthwith began to urge Coolidge to take the oath of office at once and not to wait until he got to Washington. What is not clear is whether Coolidge had other advice to the same effect before making up his mind. Allen Dulles's story is certainly evidence that he did, and if Coolidge did hear from the secretary of state before the event, it must have had great influence with him. At any rate, we have heard the Dulles version; now let us see what Fountain has to say. According to him, Coolidge—after listening a while to Congressman Dale's importunities—told Geisser, his secretary, to step over to the store and to telephone Ted Clark, another Coolidge secretary, in Washington and ask him to get in touch with Chief Justice Taft to ascertain the form of presidential oath and whether it could be administered by a notary. Geisser went, and soon came back to report

(Continued on page 32)

THE REAL CULTURE SHOCK: ADOLESCENT RE-ENTRY TO THE US

KAY BRANAMAN EAKIN

Culture shock is a phenomenon well-known to foreign service families. All of us have experienced the frustrations of being where the food, the language, the climate and the mores are different than those we are accustomed to. But the concept of culture shock as applied to a return posting in the United States is something for which we've not always been prepared. Of course, we are all familiar with the apprehension that we sense, perhaps only fleetingly, when we think about being a less important cog in a larger wheel, or of commuting, or housekeeping without help, or fighting traffic jams—but generally a return assignment has been considered a positive move, especially for the children who will get back to their own educational system where they belong.

But do they? For younger children who are still in a close, warm, family dependency stage and who will usually move fairly easily into a small elementary school, the transition may be relatively painless. But for adolescents, who are going through the greatest changes in growth and development of their

lifetimes, this move is often more traumatic.

Teenagers often have only hazy memories of what the United States was like. Most likely, they know America first-hand from hurried and harried home leaves, briefly seeing their relatives and their country, but rarely participating in American teen-age life. Their image of the United States may be augmented by USICA films showing shiny trucks rolling across America delivering produce to the cities, travelogs extolling the virtues of this state or that area, or Hollywood movies which have never been known for their realistic portrayal of American life.

With this limited background, adolescents return to the United States often feeling more "American" than teenagers here. After all, they've been told by parents that they are representatives of the United States ("Don't do anything wrong—it will reflect on your country!"). Then they discover, woe-fully, that they are very different from the other kids in school and that this wonderful country is foreign and alien to them in a way that, perhaps, no foreign country has ever been.

The adolescent, going through this time of great change, may well be the one whose pain can be most readily seen. The frustrations and unhappiness of the various family members may find expression through the adolescent who is at a

stage where he can afford to be more open and honest about his unhappiness through expressions of dissatisfaction or through acting-out behavior.

While the pseudo-sophisticated foreign service child may appear to be knowledgeable and able and bright, this same child may not have the necessary skills to fit easily into the new environment. The teenager may know how to take a plane from Bangkok to Cairo but not know which bus to take to Tyson's Corner. The children are often good conversationalists with adults, but they may not speak the language of their peers. They may have lived in countries where teenagers could not learn to drive or use a car. In many overseas countries, there is little or no television programming, and when there is, it is often good conversationalists with grams, talk shows or news programs, often in the vernacular, or old series from the United States or Great Britain. But, perhaps more importantly, very little television abroad has advertising with its glorification of certain values and promises of success from use of certain products, which here is often aimed at teenagers and young adults. These adolescents have usually lived in a fairly restricted social environment with a longer period of dependency upon their families.

There will be all kinds of social changes that will confront teen-

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agers. One example is today's high rate of divorce. Obviously there is divorce in other countries and in the foreign service community, but in neither instance does the rate of divorce equal that of today in the United States. (In Michael Keely's study at Princeton on the effects of geographic mobility, the foreign service sample included no children from divorced families.) Many classmates will be living in single-parent homes where the level of supervision is necessarily less than that to which the returnee is accustomed. The freedom of movement of many of their classmates is often both appealing and a little frightening, and student behavior at school may present a whole new picture to the returnee.

During the fall of 1978, Montgomery County policemen conducted a series of raids at the county's junior and senior high schools, and more than 350 youngsters were arrested at or near the schools for possession or use of drugs. A report issued in January of 1979 stated that one out of every ten teenagers in Fairfax County has an alcohol-related problem affecting the youngster's ability to attend school or work. A survey made the same month at one of the Fairfax County high schools showed that over 30 percent of the students drink at least once a week, that 20 percent said that they had been under the influence of alcohol at school, and that only 21 percent said they never drink.

Obviously foreign service adolescents have been through the moving experience before, but they may find that return to the United States is far more difficult than the initial breaking-in, getting-acquainted stage in a new country overseas. At most posts, there are other Americans or teenagers in similar situations, going through the same experience. Everyone is in the "same boat"; thus they make more of an effort. Those who are "oldtimers" at post have been new themselves and are familiar with the life style of the new arrival. In contrast, when the adolescent arrives back in the United States, the established students are already locked into groups or cliques, and there is often little interest in someone with a different background. Sidney Werkman, in

his book *Bringing Up Children Overseas*, pointed out that settling in was particularly hard for teenagers, because the high school culture puts a premium on excluding "unusual" people.

The returnees in Keely's study mentioned returning home as far more difficult than coping with a new post abroad especially if returning before college. Some foreign service children, because they must make new friends every two years or so, finally give up and are not able to give easily of themselves in a friendship situation.

Erik Erikson, the noted psychologist, says that the major concern of adolescence is the search for identity and that being unable to settle upon a definite identity is what really disturbs most adolescents. There can be a real crisis in identity for the foreign service adolescent. When this teenager, who feels so very American abroad, realizes that he is not the same in some ways as his peers, it can lead to a very real questioning of just who he or she is. One 13-year-old returnee, super-patriotic abroad to the point of tactlessness, said, "I don't feel like an American or anything else." He added uncertainly, "I just feel like me."

The time when the adolescent really begins to question identity comes the first day of school. While education at post may not have always been up to the academic standard considered desirable, most schools abroad are small, and, as a result, the child has had a great deal of personal attention. But unless the adolescent is coming back to a small private school, most junior or intermediate and high schools in the Washington area are very large. In Fairfax County, for example, the high schools range in size from 1400-2500 students. While there is an effort to maintain small class sizes, small really means not over 30. Several students interviewed by the author had been able to attend smaller schools outside the immediate area when they first returned to the United States and reported that they found it easier to make friends and found themselves accepted more quickly in those schools.

While there has been very little research or study on the impact of

international geographical mobility on the adolescent, there are materials available on mobility in the general population which point to problems which are inherent for the adolescent and which may be exacerbated in international mobility. Vance Packard, in *A Nation of Strangers*, predicted several impacts from a mobile life style—resignation to relative aloneness and privatism or instant gregariousness, an uncertain sense of self, loosely rooted values, living for the moment—more interest in immediate gratification rather than working for long-term goals. Significantly, Keely's study found the foreign service returnee less inclined to go on for professional education or a higher degree.

Given the kinds of problems that teenagers face when they return to the United States, is there anything that can be done to make this transition easier? Obviously a family may have to return with teenagers, especially if their children range in age from eight to 18. There are steps which should, however, be taken to ease re-entry.

Various community action groups have sprung up at posts abroad, many of these organized around teenage activities. Some preparation for returning home can be planned in conjunction with those groups or through the Family Liaison Offices, now operating at some 44 posts. Discussion groups may be especially valuable in reviewing the challenges of re-entry (not just for the adolescent, but for the entire family).

The Overseas Briefing Center at the Foreign Service Institute has re-entry packets containing a general discussion of re-entry available on request. If there is no organized group at post, or if only one family is returning, these materials would be useful in provoking thoughtful family discussions. Talking about some of these matters at post in a relaxed atmosphere can be far more helpful than talking about them in a tension-charged crisis situation after returning.

Teenagers will be dealing with many in their peer group from diverse backgrounds and with many different values. From an atmosphere where friends and often parents of friends are known to the family, the foreign service family

finds itself somewhat isolated in the Washington area, the children in a large school with a wide catchment area, and in a situation where many parents do not know their children's classmates or their backgrounds. This is a good time, then, to reiterate and discuss the family's value system in order that the adolescents have a clear idea of where parents stand and what they expect, and the parents have an awareness about the feelings of their teenagers.

It is also a good time for the whole family to take a "crash course" in American culture. A few issues of Washington area newspapers can provide a quick lesson in what's current in local news, culture and advertisements. The Institute for International Studies in Education at Michigan State University publishes a *TCK Newsletter* (Third Culture Kids) for American students at overseas schools and an orientation booklet written by returnees. These sources should help provide the information that Werkman suggested that all teenagers should know: sports, the names of their stars, current movie, television and rock stars, advertising slogans and current slang!

Another point in family discussions will be schools. This area is fortunate to have many excellent public and private schools. It is important to determine if a school is going to fit the individual needs of each child. Private schools are expensive, of course, and sometimes difficult to gain admittance to, and many parents have a public school bias (parsimony may also be a factor!), but this may be the time to think about alternatives. Help can be obtained from the educational counselor now located in the Family Liaison Office in the Department of State. She has information about local public and private schools, including schools for special education needs, boarding schools in the US and abroad, a microfiche of college catalogs, information on correspondence schools, career awareness and on educational tests such as SSAT, PSAT, SAT and ACH, and educational evaluation and referral. In addition she acts as a liaison between families at post and dependents in US schools. A book

entitled *Public School Programs in the Washington, D.C. area* is available for \$4.50 from the FLO office and can be ordered from post.

The Overseas Briefing Center at the Foreign Service Institute sponsors three one day (Saturday) re-entry workshops for families each year. The last few summers a weekend retreat has been held for returning teenagers where the participants discuss re-entry problems and coping techniques for adjusting to school.

The best place to find out information about these activities and to learn about other sources of help for returnees is the Family Liaison Office. That office has brochures and materials on almost everything. It serves as a central clearing house referring individuals to specific centers of information and offering short-term counseling. There is career counseling, a reference library covering State Department regulations and a skills bank. The "Washington Assignment Notebook," an invaluable aid for returnees, can be obtained in the office or by writing from post.

After the family has returned to the Washington area, there are some signs or symptoms which may indicate that your adolescent is having a re-entry problem. Some of these are: recurrent minor maladies, proneness to accidents, a sudden drop in grades, withdrawal or clinging, irritability, change in leisure activities or in eating or sleeping patterns. If, to a parent, these symptoms become obvious, how does one decide when it's time to go for help? A good guideline is that once the problem is so great that the parent finds he or she can no longer adequately help or cope, then assistance should be sought.

But where does one go?

If the problem seems to be in education, the counselor in the Family Liaison Office may help you find the answers. The public schools and many private schools maintain special offices to handle learning problems; most have access to a school psychologist. The county and municipal governments support mental health facilities for testing and referral and counseling at reasonable costs. The medical unit of the State Department has a

psychiatric social worker who is also available for members and dependents of USICA and USAID for discussion of problems and referral. USICA also has an excellent Advisory, Referral and Counseling Service that provides counseling, diagnosis, short-term psychotherapy and referral.

The role of the parents in the adjustment is clear. Children whose parents are supportive and positive about the move will be able to make the transition more easily. Continuity and support are very important for children, and it is up to the family, especially one with a mobile life style, to provide that.

There is a tendency in discussing the problems which may be encountered on return to the United States to blame distressing experiences on geographic mobility and the strain of returning to this culture. Obviously it would not be fair to do so. Sometimes the problems are those which would have been inevitable during the process of adolescence. Some teenagers have problems because of, or in spite of, their parenting. Many foreign service children adjust readily to their lives abroad and to their return to the United States; many thrive on a variety of educational experiences (in fact, no study has shown that mobile students do more poorly, especially if they are basically good students).

That there are problems should not be surprising, however. The State Department brochure, "Information for Married Applicants," points out that life overseas can be a mixed blessing for the children of foreign service employees, because of frequent uprooting, separation from US culture and adjustment problems when returning home. Keeping this in mind through the years, and most especially preceding a move home, may go a long way in helping to alleviate those difficulties.

Re-entry is a real challenge and should be recognized as one of the greatest faced by participants in a life style of geographic mobility. But an awareness of possible problems and pitfalls, solutions and answers should help make that re-entry a time of excitement and growth, not just for the adolescent, but for all members of the family.





the track to Yekior

Glimpses of a Workday

Yekior, Sierra Leone, March 24, 1976

MARGARET W. SULLIVAN

Photographs by LISA M. TURNBULL

Surrounded by the thick bush and soaring palms, overshadowed by angular, tree-clad mountains, and in March enveloped by a pall of smoke, the twenty or so dwellings that form Yekior (ee-kay-o) cluster on a hilltop. It is past two villages, some six miles, down a tortuous, rutted, usually motorable track running east from a checkpoint on the laterite road ten miles south of Koidu in the Kono District of the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone.

We visited there in late March, three years ago. It was one of many Sierra Leonean villages we spent time in during an intensive ten-week period in which we drove 5,000 miles, crisscrossing the coun-

try to study craftsmen and their skills. We found they were not isolated individuals making isolated things, they are households, villages, clans, whole societies of people who still live in a world where craftsmanship is a way of life. In Yekior, we observed not specific craftsmen but the village and its daily work. That place, that day and its people are both typical and unique.

The Place

Yekior is home for about two hundred and fifty men, women and children. It is bigger than some Sierra Leonean villages, smaller than others. Most of the inhabitants are ethnically Kono, the fourth largest of the 16 groups in the country. Their ancestors have lived in this place for 90 years and in the region since the sixteenth century. The products of their subsistence farms and the surrounding bush and the labor of their own muscles feed, house and provide them with such of life's other necessities as they have. Yekior gives them identity. In many Sierra Leonean languages, the word for "human being" is best translated *person of the village*.

The village straddles the track. Away from the road, near what is called the "old town," a hummock now reclaimed by tall trees which shade a coffee plantation, the dwellings are of the old style: round, made of sticks stuck into the ground and filled in with mud, with conical thatched grass roofs. Nearer the track, the randomly placed mud-brick houses are rectangular with enclosed verandas. Some of the roofs are thatch, some are galvanized metal. The community meeting place, or *court barri*, the small church and the school are cement plastered. The settlement is



the first trip down the steep road to the spring



rice boiling in three-legged pot

a hub from which paths lead through dense bush to widely scattered farms and water sources.

Other than the motorable track, which continues eastward, there are no streets or paths within the village, however. Instead, the entire undulating area is bare, swept terracotta, at the end of the dry season deeply cracked. The open spaces near each house, used for domestic work, are scattered with the tools of living: three stones over which meals are cooked in round, fire-blackened cauldrons; silvery-gray wooden mortars for pounding rice, coffee or greens; mats covered with parboiled, unhusked rice spread out to dry; a rock for cracking palm nuts with a smaller stone used as a hammer surrounded by scattered empty shells. A few householders have erected pole-supported flat roofs of



cassava root is another starch



often two or three women stand at a single mortar

palm branches which cast speckled shadows over a work area. Close to some houses are empty granaries, steeply pitched palm-leaf roofs on stilts, their pole floors at eye-level. In October, they will be filled with rice. Random granite outcrops stand like sentinels. Occasional grapefruit, orange and mango trees provide patches of shade and whiffs of heavy fragrance. The tall dark-green forest encircles the village like a fence.

Sharing the space with the dwellings of the living are the graves of the dead. Throughout the area, they cluster in twos and threes, some with square cement head-

stones, others ringed with rocks, still others mere piles of laterite. The village fabric is the extended family; the living interwoven with those who have gone before. All major events are reported to the ancestors who are asked to lend their protection to the venture.

Because it can be reached by truck and taxi, Yekior is not so isolated as some villages. Goods, people and ideas can come in from the outside; excess produce can more easily be carried out to market. But transport arrives irregularly. Some days several vehicles pass; other days none come at all. Most people get where they are going by walk-



green leaves are finely shredded with a knife before cooking

ing, their loads balanced on their heads.

Like most of Sierra Leone, Yekior has one foot firmly in the traditional world and one in the modern. It boasts a two-room school house where 84 youngsters are taught primary school subjects in English up through the Class 5 level. (Since 1976, Class 6 and the secondary school entrance exam have been added to the curriculum.) There is a clinic with a trained midwife. La Tropicale Shop, one room of a house by the road, offers a limited supply of soap, tomato paste, sugar cubes, matches, Coca-Cola, and other manufactured goods. Occasionally, a transistor radio fills the air with the news from Freetown and with the throbbing of broadcast African music. For very special occasions, a dance band is hired to come from Koidu to amplify the latest tunes from around the world through the normally still night.

The heartbeat of the community—in spite of change—continues to be the interlocking rhythms of the day, the agricultural year and

the life cycle. Darkness and daylight. Morning freshness, midday heat, afternoon stillness, nighttime chill. Scorching sunshine, increasing dusty dryness; sudden violent then steady rains, lush green wetness; again the draining sun. Bush land brushed, burned, planted, harvested, left fallow to revert to bush. Plenty, hunger, and by God's power, once again plenty. Birth, childhood, initiation, marriage, old-age—at any time, any age, death. Grinding toil; joyous unabashed laughter.



"Ten-cents" pulls a piece of metal out of the fire

Morning

What of a particular day? Cock crows and bird songs start while the world is still black. The day's work begins for most people as it gets light (about a quarter to seven if one had a clock). The girls, younger women and some of the middle-sized boys make the first of innumerable trips down the steep road to the spring. And climb back up again with kerosene tins, plastic cooking-oil bottles, buckets or enamel basins full of water on their heads. In March, water is difficult. The rainy season ended in early November: the creek east of Yekior (not such a tiring trip) has dried up to shallow undrinkable pools.

Early morning is palm-wine tapping time. Like many of Yekior's men and boys, Sahr Kofuma, his son Sahr, Sais Bankanda and Aiah Sagbe, follow a steep, narrow path down through the bush to the clearing where Kofuma has tapped two bamboo-palms. The wine must be collected twice a day and the hole cleaned properly, or the tree will spoil. Young Sahr and Saia climb



some of the older boys help put a roof on the new house for the teacher



Sia Yekior has nearly finished her palm oil extraction

first the beans are pounded in the mortar, then winnowed

the trees to lower the overflowing *buli* (calabash containers) to Aiah on the ground while the elder Kofuma sits on a log and supervises the operation. Then he and his son sample the morning's take with grins of satisfaction. Freshly tapped wine is light but as it stands and continues its natural fermentation, it becomes stronger. Sahr sells his wine for five cents a cup. For many men in the village, a cup of the crisp, yeasty drink is breakfast and will hold them for a full day's work. By the time the tapping is finished, the sun has risen above the tall trees, the haze is burned off, and the promise of the day's full heat is in the air.

Cutlasses over their shoulders, many of the men and older boys leave the village early, headed for their farms, in some cases a considerable walk away. March is the season for "brushing the bush"—slashing away the thicket that covers the patch of land to be farmed that season. Land is owned by the village's founding families and apportioned annually to individuals within the family. Plots varying from less than one to perhaps three acres are used once every seven or eight years in the Yekior area. In many parts of Sierra Leone, the time between use is down to every

two or three years, a sign of increasing population pressure. After the growing season, the field is left to revert to bush and rejuvenate until it is time to brush it again, and a different patch is cleared and planted for the succeeding year. Musa Keita takes eight or ten days to brush his farm, although these may not be consecutive. A man



a young girl who is being initiated into the Sande

might have an errand that takes him to a neighboring village or need to stop to repair his tools. When the cut bush has had a few days to dry, Musa will set it on fire. Then he and his wife will plant it with rice mixed with corn and cotton.

Women in Yekior think of themselves as farmers just as the men do, but their farm work comes later in the cycle. In March, they go about their tasks in the village. The area around the houses is carefully swept. Some women wash clothes either at the rock by the spring or over at the waterside but only a few wash at a time because the water is limited. The day's cooking is started. "Eating" means rice and sauce—in reality a thick stew, perhaps pounded greens, palm oil, red peppers and bits of fish, or if there is a special occasion or lucky hunting, meat.

Cooking is time-consuming. Rice, the staple food, is usually parboiled while still in the husk, then sundried. Parboiled or not, it must be pounded in the mortar to loosen the husk. At all times of day, the *tjunk, tjunk* of pounding sounds through the village. Often two or three women stand at a single mortar, each throwing her long stick pestle forcefully down into the rice in turn, never missing a



mats are laid out on the ground for a siesta

beat. The pounded rice must be winnowed, tossed lightly into the air from a large flat basket or faner, then washed. While it is spread on the ground, rice often accumulates small stones which must be painstakingly picked out. Only after this can it be boiled in a three-

legged pot over the fire. Great caution is taken with fire. Sufficient water to extinguish a blaze is down-a-long-hill-and-back-up-by-the-canful away.

Cassava root is another starch. It is peeled and pounded, then boiled into a sticky base for sauce to be poured over. Preparing ingredients for sauce is also slow. Green leaves must either be finely shredded with a knife or pounded in the mortar before cooking. Seasonings are pounded. The sauce simmers long and slowly before reaching thick peppery perfection. The fire must be tended and fed. Wood must be carried and chipped. Hard and time-consuming as this and women's farm labor are, the burden is lightened by the fact that it is often done with someone else. A chance to joke and sing together as they work gladdens women's hearts.

Yekior's morning quiet is shattered by repeated banging from the blacksmith's. The smithy is on the edge of the village, set off by a small thicket and shaded by tall trees. The blacksmith is a special asset to any community; smithing involves not only technology but also magic. The blacksmith, Tamba "Tencents" Temuendo, so called because when asked how much a

job will cost, he usually replies "ten cents," is forging a blade. When the metal is sufficiently glowing, "Ten-cents" pulls it out of the fire with long tongs, swings it over to a low stone "bench," uses his bare foot to wipe the extra bits of coals off the red-hot blade and, with the grin of a showman, begins to pound. Joking banter and thigh-slapping laughter resound with the clanging metal.

On the eastern edge of Yekior is the clinic, a mud building with a veranda, a zinc roof, a large room with four simple wooden beds, and at the back, a sparsely furnished delivery room. Kumba Kombagin-banda's first child gives promise of being born and she has settled down stolidly to wait. Her mother and several of the older women sit around the room with her, talking and joking among themselves. It is customary for a woman to return to her own village for the birth of her child. Although Sia Seba, the midwife, thinks it will be at least late afternoon before the child is born she prepares her rudimentary equipment. Most of it was issued by the Ministry of Health, but Sia herself has supplemented her supply with what she can find or fashion.

Sia Yekior (her last name indicates she was born here—but not everyone born in the village carries

(Continued on page 35)



the sound of a harmonica floats through the village



the village headman, or kongomansa

In the Catalog of Human Folly

BAY OF PIGS, by Peter Wyden, Simon & Shuster, \$12.95

This account of the Bay of Pigs fiasco has been endorsed by Lyman Kirkpatrick and several other ex-CIA notables as "definitive." If the author's depiction of events is correct it certainly is a devastating indictment of virtually every level of the national security establishment of 1961, and especially of the covert action side of the CIA.

The origins of the operation lay in the paranoiac reaction of the Eisenhower administration to the Castro take-over in Cuba. At this stage, however, all that was planned was the development of a limited covert action capability on the part of emigré Cubans to take advantage of any cracks in the Castro regime and to provoke instability through hit-and-run raids and sabotage. By the time Kennedy took office, however, the operation had gotten out of hand. Inflated to paramilitary proportions as a result of the blind trust reposed in Allen Dulles by President Dwight Eisenhower, the exile brigade was represented to the new president as a weapon of Cuban liberation that had to be unsheathed now or bring shame on its sponsors. Tempted by the prospect of a spectacular and inexpensive triumph to kick off his presidency, Kennedy snapped up the bait.

The flaw of the plan was that an emigré landing of two thousand Cubans was doomed to failure unless coordinated with a massive rising of the Cuban people—yet coordination was ruled out on security grounds. Operationally it suffered from an inadequate command-and-control structure, unbelievably amateurish, logistical planning, and a landing site surrounded by swamps and with no escape routes to the mountains. Overall CIA direction was in the hands of Richard Bissell, a "brilliant" Yale economics professor without a vestige of military experience, while Howard Hunt was a principal lieutenant. From start to finish CIA management was characterized by foolhardy incompetence.

Much of the later criticism over

the failure, however, was directed at President Kennedy for cancelling a second "air strike" by unmarked World War II planes flying from a secret Nicaraguan base. But even had the second strike neutralized the Cuban air force—and the first strike was unsuccessful—it seems doubtful that this would have affected the outcome. The invasion brigade would still have been stuck on the beach or in the swamps immediately inland, trying to fight its way through a militia force that outnumbered it by 20 to one. And there was no massive uprising; the Cuban masses backed Castro.

The book is based on taped interviews with a wide range of participants from both the emigré and Castro sides, including both Bissell and Castro. Unfortunately the author's narrative technique is that of the eyewitness vignette, coupled with reconstructed dialogue. This may heighten the dramatic effect of individual episodes but makes it difficult for the reader to master the sequence of events in a coherent and comprehensive way—the parts are so brightly illuminated that they obscure the whole. Nevertheless, the book is a readable and authoritative addition to the catalog of human folly.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

It Might Have Been . . .

AIR AMERICA: *The Story of the CIA's Secret Airlines*, by Christopher Robbins. G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$10.95.

Hundreds of *Journal* readers who served in Southeast Asia in the two decades between the fall of Dien Bien Phu and the fall of Saigon were familiar with at least some of the activities of Air America. The pilots of this CIA-owned airline flew an odd assortment of aircraft in and out of remote jungle clearings in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. Their airstrips earned the name only because those daring airmen had the courage and the skill to land airplanes on them. A few *Journal* readers owe their lives to those magnificent men and their flying machines.

The time has come for somebody to produce a comprehensive history of Air America and the major role it played—in overt and mundane tasks of nation-building as well as clandestine military and

paramilitary operations. Unfortunately, Mr. Robbins has not done so.

Robbins, a young English freelance journalist, acknowledges that he first intended to write an article, or perhaps a series, about what he alleges was at one time the world's largest airline. His end product, if properly edited, might have been considered acceptable as a series by the publisher of one of the tabloids you find beside your supermarket checkout stand. Alas, this was not to be. He found a book publisher who was willing to tarnish a once-prized escutcheon by pandering to the voyeuristic appetites of today's readers for yet another "expose" of the CIA.

Having fired the expected salvos at the CIA for declining to reveal its secrets to him, Robbins then sets out to prove that he is not deterred by the lack of primary sources. His fabrications become transparently obvious when assorted American characters—pilots, journalists, soldiers—suddenly begin conversing in British slang!

The story almost comes alive at two points: the beginnings of Air America, and the climactic weeks culminating in the fall of Saigon. Robbins could and did draw upon many published sources depicting the exploits of the legendary Earthquake McGoon and other veterans of Claire Chennault's Flying Tigers during the Franco-Vietnamese War. The recounting of the final days is the only portion of the book that shows evidence of hard work. Robbins interviewed Air America pilots and other employees, and got permission to quote extensively from an excellent and detailed diary written by a methodical and quite literate pilot. However, the chronicle of the two decades between beginning and end seems to the reader to be based mostly on boozy barroom reminiscences of pilots and journalists.

This is a bad book. What makes it appear even worse is that the publisher seems to employ neither editors nor proofreaders. Even so, some Southeast Asia veterans will want to read it. After all, it's the only Air America game in town.

The definitive story of Air America remains to be written. Any candidates?

—JAMES N. TULL

ENERGY WAR

from page 13

territorial integrity of China—as preconditions for negotiations. These Japan could not accept.

In June, 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. In the same month the United States suspended all petroleum exports to Japan from East Coast and Gulf ports, throwing supply contracts into temporary disarray. The handwriting was now on the wall, even though once again genuine shortages caused by US military demand and shipments to British forces in the Middle East had prompted the action. The new factor was that at long last the Soviet threat along the Manchurian border had been neutralized. Pressed by the army high command, the Japanese establishment again went into conclave, and in a Throne Conference in July it was agreed that the empire now had no choice but to resume the march southward. Planning was ordered for the military conquest of Malaysia, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies to be combined with preparations for war with the

United States, Great Britain and Holland. But no specific deadlines were set. On July 24th the Japanese, with the reluctant acquiescence of the Vichy government, occupied key positions throughout French Indo-China. Two days later the dreaded blow fell.

On July 26th President Roosevelt ordered the freezing of all Japanese funds and other assets in the United States and the placing of all petroleum exports to Japan under embargo subject to license. Britain and the Dutch East Indies quickly followed suit. It was originally intended to use the licensing authority as a lever for further bargaining or to avert a crisis. But it soon became apparent that in the current political climate no licenses could be issued and none ever were. The oil cut-off was now complete and Japan was thrown back on her stockpile. To quote from a leading historian of the period: "There was no way, no uncontrolled source of supply from which Japan could get as much as it would have to use even with the most rigid economy.

Ton by ton, it could be foreseen, Japan would have to empty the tanks which had been filled with such zealous foresight . . . From now on the clock and the oil gauge stood side by side. Each fall in the level brought the hour of decision closer." (Feis, *The Road To Pearl Harbor*, p. 244.)

The oil embargo represented a triumph for the hard-liners of the Roosevelt administration who were convinced that an oil cut-off would force Japan to its knees. The navy, however, again stressing US naval inferiority in the Pacific—we were now outnumbered in aircraft carriers by 10-3—had strongly urged delay at least until air and ground forces of the Philippines could be strengthened. Ambassador Grew had once more cautioned that if pushed to the wall it was in the Japanese character to react violently and without warning. According to the historical records, President Roosevelt believed that although he was running a risk, it was one that did not close off his options or entail serious consequences to the United States. He

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was reassured in this regard by the virtual unanimity of his advisers that if Japan struck it would be against Malaysia and the Dutch East Indies. The safety of the United States was not considered at issue.

In Japan the freezing of its assets and the embargo on oil was greeted with shock and dismay. Any mitigation of popular feeling against the United States was prevented by sightings of US tankers headed for Vladivostok with oil for Soviet armies. By August, 1941, there was only a 12-month supply of fuel left for the army, and an 18-month supply for the navy.

When the Japanese records and diplomatic cables of the four months preceding Pearl Harbor were published after the war they revealed an atmosphere of desperation. In October a hard-line cabinet headed by General Hideki Tojo replaced the now discredited ministry of Prince Konoye. Three more Throne Conferences were held, of which the last, on November 5, 1941, committed the emperor irrevocably to war unless a last-

minute diplomatic solution could be found. At the same time a final effort was authorized to reach some kind of compromise or *modus vivendi* that would restore the flow of oil without forcing Japan to totally abandon her acquisitions in Asia. Accordingly, new proposals embodying further concessions were carried to Washington by a special envoy, Saburo Kurusu, who henceforth participated with Admiral Nomura in all negotiations. These went so far as to agree to immediate Japanese withdrawal from Indo-China, renunciation of further expansion in Asia, and withdrawal from most of China upon conclusion of a peace treaty with Chiang Kai-shek. It was made plain that Japan was prepared to treat the Tripartite Pact as a nullity. But in the end, like all previous diplomatic efforts, these proposals foundered on the rock of an irreconcilable conflict. Japan would not totally withdraw from the Asian mainland and return to a pinched and impoverished existence on its overcrowded islands. The United States would not accept a compro-

mise that left Japan in physical domination of any part of China. Under pressure from Chiang Kai-shek, Secretary Hull on November 26th confronted the Japanese negotiators with a reversion to the earlier US demand for complete Japanese withdrawal from China. Repeated Japanese pleas for a summit meeting between Prince Konoye and President Roosevelt were met with stony silence.

Throughout these events, the highest circles of the Roosevelt administration were at all times aware of Japan's sincere desire for a negotiated settlement. Since August, 1940, the president, Secretary Hull and the civilian and military heads of the army and navy had followed every twist and turn of Japanese policy through the secret cable and radio traffic of the Japanese themselves. Cryptographic experts of the United States Army Signal Corps, headed by the legendary William E. Friedman, had broken the Japanese diplomatic code, styled PURPLE. Thereafter, intercepts of messages from Tokyo to its overseas embassies

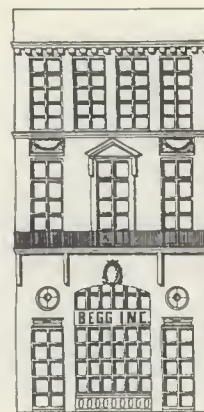
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and consular posts were on Secretary Hull's desk within a few hours of receipt. After the oil cut-off in July 1941 the president and his advisers not only knew of Japan's desperation, but of its intention to take drastic military measures unless the embargo was lifted. All indicators pointed to an outbreak of war on either the weekend of December 1st or December 7th, with Malaysia, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines to be the immediate objectives. But partly owing to the indirection employed by the Japanese in communicating with each other, and partly to the tight security imposed by the Japanese military—whose codes were still unbroken—there was no certainty precisely when and where the first blows would fall. On November 27, 1941 a general war warning was sent to the commander of the US Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor, the army's Hawaiian department, and General MacArthur in Manila. Not a hint of impending war was given to Congress, the press or the American public.

The Japanese air raid on Pearl Harbor of December 7, 1941—the "date that will live in infamy"—lives in history as the military catastrophe that plunged America into World War II. But for the Japanese naval staff, the attack was essentially a sideshow introduced out of excessive deference to the "worst case scenario." Admiral Yamamoto, the Japanese naval commander, had convinced himself, in the teeth of all the evidence of American naval inferiority in the Pacific, that only if the US battle fleet was dealt a knockout blow would his convoys be secure from interception and time afforded to build a defense ring around the new conquests.

That the attack on Pearl Harbor was a strategic and political blunder of the first magnitude became apparent only later. Instead of trapping underarmed battleships far from their home base, they were sunk in shallow water where they could be raised and modernized to fight again. Instead of confronting President Roosevelt with the di-

lemma of how to persuade a refractory Congress to declare war on Japan in defense of the British and Dutch colonial empires, while resisting the Nazi menace across the Atlantic, the attack brought a unified America headlong into war.

What followed can properly be called the first energy war. Oil was not the primary cause of the steady deterioration of relations between the United States and Japan, but once employed as a weapon it made hostilities inevitable. Historians continue to debate endlessly about the extent to which President Roosevelt provoked the attack, but two lessons stand out: Regardless of the legal and moral rectitude of its position, the United States recklessly cut the energy lifeline of a powerful adversary without taking due regard of its own preparedness and the predictably explosive consequences. When the victim struck back he blundered badly and thereby unleashed forces of incalculable fury.

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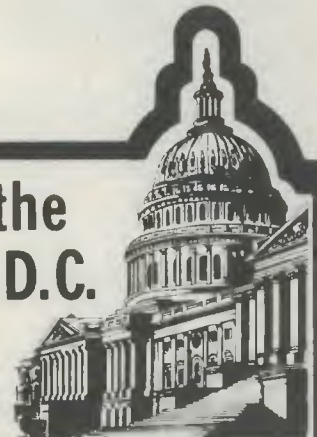
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CALVIN SUCCEEDS

from page 19

that they were still trying to get through to Washington. This seems like fairly convincing evidence that up to this point Hughes had not talked to Coolidge. It likewise appears to establish that the telephone line which was brought in to Colonel Coolidge's house that night had not yet been installed. In fact, the only account specifically dealing with the installation of this line states categorically that the job was not started until after Coolidge took the oath of office (an event which occurred at 2:47 a.m.) and was not completed until half past three in the morning. Hence, any telephone conversations with the outside world before the swearing-in must have been over the instrument in Miss Cilley's store.

Back to Joe Fountain's narrative. Coolidge now elected to go himself to the store, and Congressman Dale, Fountain, and a couple of other men went along. Geisser was not one of them, which would suggest that Coolidge did not expect a message that

would require the services of his secretary.

Here there comes a distressing gap in the Fountain narrative. A telephone call, either incoming or outgoing, must have taken place while the group was at Miss Cilley's store. Fountain himself says, "Upon the return to the house the president-to-be dictated the form of the oath which had been confirmed over the telephone and asked Geisser to type it in triplicate." But he does not say who did the confirming—who it was that Coolidge talked to on the telephone. It was certainly not Chief Justice Taft; he was at his summer place in Murray Bay, Canada, and had no word of Harding's death until the telegraph office opened there later on the morning of August 3. It is most unlikely to have been Attorney General Daugherty, who had at Harding's request gone to meet the late president in San Francisco and was there when Harding died. My hunch is that this was when Allen Dulles's call came through and that Secretary Hughes's advice to take the oath that night reinforced the

decision which Coolidge himself had virtually arrived at, perhaps as a result of Congressman Dale's persuasive arguments. In any case, the telephone call *did* confirm the authenticity of the text which Colonel Coolidge had meanwhile run to earth in a book of Vermont statutes.

What Fountain particularly recalled about this trip to Miss Cilley's store is best told in his own words: "The president-to-be seemed suddenly to work up a thirst, for he turned to Miss Cilley and asked 'Have you some cold soft drinks?' With New England loyalty she produced some Moxie. Mr. Coolidge took his glass first, raised it to his lips and sampled. It must have tasted mighty good, for he then took a long healthy drink. The congressman followed suit and I brought up the rear. 'It just hits the spot on a night like this,' Mr. Dale beamed. Again I managed a dutiful 'yes,' thinking of the other newspaper boys and their brand of Moxie at the Ludlow Hotel. But I don't believe that Congressman Dale or I would have criticized the

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drink that night if it had been oil from the lamps of the Cilley store. We finished our drinks in silence.

"Never before having associated informally with vice presidents, much less men who were to become presidents in a matter of minutes, I didn't know what to do about paying. Neither did the congressman, apparently, because, as I recall, there was no great contest to be first on the counter with 15 cents. After what seemed like hours, the thirtieth president of the United States slowly reached for his left hip pocket.

"Deliberately his left hand returned from the depth of that hip pocket and in it was a small leather change purse, the kind our parents got for us in the trolley days to carry our street fare. Holding the purse firmly in his left hand, his right hand opened the change compartment.

"With the same deliberation that marked his every physical action, he fingered the loose change in the purse and carefully removed a single coin.

"With an equally unhurried mo-


tion he carefully deposited this coin on the counter beside the three empty glasses. It was a solitary nickel.

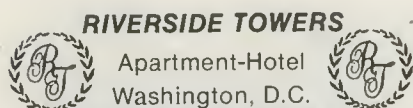
"Dale stepped back from the counter, bumping into me and he was so surprised at what he had seen that I had no difficulty in beating him to the draw and depositing my own thin dime on the counter to cover the other two drinks."

Back to the house, then, where—as earlier noted—Geisser typed the form of oath in three copies. Colonel Coolidge administered it to his son by the light of an oil lamp. All the copies were signed by Calvin Coolidge, his wife Grace, his father, and by Dale, Fountain, and Geisser. The new president had been formally and legally inducted into office.

Young Joe Fountain, the only newsman present at the historic scene, jumped into the waiting taxi and sped off to file his scoop and to earn his hour of journalistic glory. Minutes after he left, came the telephone men to put in the new line. What use the new president

made of that line is not wholly clear. One historian states that Coolidge forthwith called the secretary of state. "Of course it was no longer any emergency, but the president did believe that maybe Mr. Hughes might like to know." Stated so baldly, it scarcely seems a compelling reason for waking a man at 3:30 in the morning rather than imparting the news a few hours later. But if we accept the Dulles version of an earlier conversation between the two men, when the secretary furnished the text of oath of office and urged that it be taken forthwith, then this later call, to confirm that the deed had been done, is plausible indeed.

The same historian goes on to relate an incident which, even were it not documented, would be worthy of record under the principle laid down by Winston Churchill. After Calvin Coolidge had left Plymouth for Washington on the morning of August 3, his father's first act was to ring up the telephone company. His message was this: "Come and take this instrument out of my house." 



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THE ROLE OF ROLE FLEXIBILITY

from page 16

player with whom a big shot is willing to share the credit for excellence. In February the *New York Times* gave publicity to Paxton Whitehead, an actor who plays Sherlock Holmes on Broadway, for turning down star billing for himself. "I feel," Paxton said, "that ours is truly an ensemble performance . . . I'm really more interested in good parts than starring roles."

Maybe "good parts" is the name of the game for many wives in diplomacy and politics. Certainly our roles include a dazzling variety of parts. We analyze verbal and written intelligence, we judge people, make budgets, run a small hotel; at night we may turn glamorous or amorous or we may be up to our shoulders in laundry; we act as counselor, secretary, nurse, chauffeur, chef, chamber maid-waitress, plumber, carpenter, seamstress, gardener, setter-of-scene for family reunions, articulate correspondent


to folks back home, and in Washington, D.C., as an occasional exhausted shoveler of snow.

Certainly, too, most wives have been involved, together with their husbands, in some form of crisis. These are the fires that weld two people together—or sear them apart. Some of the stunning marriages I have been privileged to witness are in the diplomatic boonies where a man and woman have been forced to rely on each other in work and in play. A similar kind of couple can be found on the hustings, where politician and spouse pinchhit for each other almost without signaling, and one catches the flare as the other drops in his or her tracks. It is no accident that the political wife speaks of "our" district and "our" constituents.

In one sense, the world can be divided into people who like moving and those who do not. This applies to geographical moves and vocational moves. It also can apply to moving as an emotional exercise. One example is the wife who transfers enthusiasm from her own

skill to her husband's skill and back again. "Role flexibility" is what Dr. Sangiuliano calls it and she claims that it is this that "makes for creative living and successful aging."

So, like Molière's *bourgeois gentilhomme* who found that all along what he had been talking was "prose," so we wives might say that what we have been demonstrating all along has been "role flexibility."

As we continue practicing it, whether we get recognition from outsiders, or only from insiders, we might remind ourselves—and our favorite audience of one—of the conclusion E. M. Forster reached at the end of a long life in which he observed India and England, men and women, politicians and diplomats. "Personal relationships," he said, "seem to me to be the most real things on the surface of the earth. . . . We are more complicated, also richer than we knew, and affection grows more difficult than it used to be, and also more glorious." 

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WORKDAY from page 27

its name) and her children are making palm oil in one of several communal pits, rock-lined conical holes in the ground. Sia pounded some of the red-orange nuts in the mortar to soften the pulp and puts them as well as others which have not been pounded onto one edge of the pit. Nearby, a large basin and kerosene tins of water are heating over a fire. When the water boils, Sia pours it through the nuts to draw out the rich red glistening oil. Passersby going to the spring or on down the path to their farms pause to pass the time of day. The metronome bird's piercing note regularly counts out the seconds.

During the midmorning break at the school, the younger children race around while the older boys help put a roof on the new house being built for the teacher, S. N. Nanoh, and his assistant. Nanoh comes from a village some miles away where his wife and children stay.

Midday

The noonday sun beats down, its

fierce brightness bleaching the color from the sienna ground and making it appear to shimmer white. If they have food enough for a midday meal, women like Kumba Maioma, who lives in the same house with La Tropicale Shop, have finished their cooking and are serving their families. But March is the end of the dry season and food stocks are low, so many families do not eat at midday. It is nearing the "hungry time" when the old rice is finished and the new is not yet ripe.

By early afternoon, Sia Yekior has nearly finished her palm oil extraction. Toting a bucket on her head, she fetches more water from the spring. As she reaches the pit, she tips her head slightly and the water streams down into the pit. The red oil floats to the top; Sia scoops it off and puts it into a cauldron over the fire.

Near the edge of the road at the side of the path to the spring lie a rolled-up mat and some beads belonging to a young girl who is being initiated into the Sande, the women's ritual society (also commonly called Bundu). She has come with

Sia Yekior to do some washing and is greatly embarrassed when her headtie comes off, revealing her hair decorated with numerous pieces of wood. For this season, she has "disappeared" from the community. When she walks through the village she is wrapped in her mat so that only her feet and nose are visible. She entered the "bush"—a special cleared place in the forest—a girl. As an initiate, she is being taught the attitudes and secret traditional wisdom she is expected to possess as a woman in Kono society. When she is "pulled from the bush"—graduated—there will be great rejoicing. She will be a woman, ready for marriage. From participating in this common experience, she gains a sense of social solidarity with other women which continues in the spirit of cooperative assistance throughout her life.

Afternoon

Fishing in the dim coolness of the pools left in the dried-up creek is a favorite way women spend the long hot afternoon. Bondu Binde hikes

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her yellow polka-dot *lappa* (wrap-around skirt) around her haunches. She and Koba Kondosopa tie small baskets to the side of their heads with their headties and wade in, scooping through the murky ochre water with their nets. Periodically, they poke through the contents to see if anything more than mud, sticks and leaves has been caught. The women are glad to get a few eel-like mud fish about the size of a long middle finger which they pop into their baskets. These will be fried and added to the soup for supper.

In Sia Seba's compound, one of the old women is making soap by burning coffee hulls and coconut husks into ash. The ash will be boiled with palm oil and water and the flaky gray residue used for washing clothes. Not far away, another woman is processing coffee. First, the beans are pounded in the mortar, and then winnowed in a flat basket, a fanner, so that the husks fall away. Coffee and excess palm nuts and palm oil provide a little cash for those who can carry them out of Yekior to sell.

Late afternoon is a time to relax. The heat loses some of its intensity and the light some of its harshness. Mats are laid out on the ground for a siesta. The school bell rings, calling the boys to play soccer. But the bigger ones are busy and only a few of the younger boys kick a ball around aimlessly for a while. The men, some of them carrying bundles of firewood, begin to drift back into the village from the farms and go to the waterside. It feels cool to rinse away the dust and sweat of the day's toil. The palm-wine tappers return to their trees to collect the afternoon's outpouring. Middle-sized boys and girls are sent down the hill to the spring to fetch one last bucket of water.

Tamba Yiaba, one of two particularly fine weavers in Yekior, has stretched his loom the length of an open space and works on a piece of cloth for himself. Beyond him, Kumba Koidu sits on a low stool, her children clustered around her, stringing beads which will be put around her plump young daughter's hips. Older women spin cotton and younger ones plait each other's

hair. The sound of a harmonica floats through the village. Some of the young men gather under one of the granaries for a game of bingo. The work of the day has been hard and the main preoccupations those of just living. But at the end of the day, there is rest and quietness. Final preparations are made, and as individuals are ready, meals are eaten.

Among the men to return from farming is Komba Kainesi, the village headman or *kongo mansa*. He has recently been chosen from among a number of men of the founding families to be responsible, along with the elders, for running the village.

As it nears sundown, the few Muslim men gather to say their prayers. They had mud bricks and a new mosque started, but construction has been stopped because the village as a whole is unhappy with the site which has been chosen, near the road and in the midst of things. Another portion of the community is Christian and has built a simple church further down the road.

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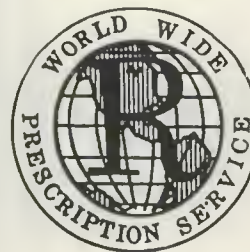
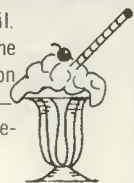
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But the world of witches and capricious, malevolent spirits is not far removed from anyone's life. Many young children wear charms as protection. Small creations of woven sticks hang from the rafters to guard the house. Narrow strips of white cotton cloth festoon the clinic. "Scarecrows" stand in the fields to ward off evil spirits rather than birds, and to signal passersby that this place is protected, woe be-tide him who trespasses. Libations are poured and rituals observed on many occasions. Not all spirits, of course, are evil. A pair of rocks on either side of the path just outside of the village is plastered with white cloth and here one may come to beg for money and children. The frequent reply, not only to greet-ings but in many other situations is *kasiatama*, "no fault upon God." The ancestors have gone before and may be called upon to inter-vene. Those now living in their turn will be looked back to by those yet to come.

Night

Darkness descends suddenly

(just after seven, if one has a watch). Around the village, there are a few pinpricks of light from candles, lanterns and the occa-sional flashlight. At the clinic Kumba paces the room. As her pains grip, she strides into a corner to quietly wail *edowa*, "oh my mother," and snap her fingers. The older women still wait, chatting among themselves. A single kerosene lamp in the center of the room throws tall shadows on the wall. Wooden shutters are closed against the night air. Finally it is time. Kumba lies on a rude table in the small delivery room. Her mother stands by her head and helps by pushing down on her swollen abdomen. Two other old

Margaret Sullivan is a Foreign Service wife who lived in Freetown from 1974-76. She is currently editing a magazine in Washington. Photographer Lisa M. Turnbull was in Freetown at the same time and she and her husband are now in the Philippines. This article is excerpted from chapter two of their book in progress, Fine Hands People. Some 200 of the photographs and captions from it were on display at the Bronx Botanical Garden last winter.
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women hold her feet up to her but-tocks, her knees flexed outward. Slowly, carefully, midwife Seba eases the stretched vulvar skin back as the baby's head, plastered with wet black curls, emerges. The rest of the small body slides out suddenly. It is a girl. The women burst into laughter, and clapping their hands, dance up and down for joy. Mrs. Seba cleans the baby and hands her to her grandmother who inspects her carefully, Kumba, tired from a long day's work, goes to sleep.

Across the village, snatches of song and laughter peal through the darkness. The men and boys have gathered at the smithy to gossip and listen to the old men tell stories of the past.

Late in the night, there is thun-der, lightning and gentle rain. There have been one or two show-ers the week before, a promise of gushing deluges that are to come. The next morning the air is espe-cially clear and the ground gives off the rich moist smell that comes just after a rain. Yekior begins another work day.



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SHANGHAI BOOMERANGS

from page 10

his reddish hair. He is eagerly striding across the stubble of the field and I am hurrying to keep up. We reach the end of the field and stop. He shows me how he is holding the flat curved piece of wood. He draws back his arm, makes several practice swings, and then crisply slings the boomerang in the direction of Avenue Petain. The boomerang flashes away, arcing high in the air, blue sky behind it. It curves to the left toward the gray apartment building, seems to gather speed and then curving no more smashes into the wall of the apartment, splintering into fragments.

We stand in the field motionless, then slowly walk toward the broken boomerang. Thinking back now I cannot remember a word, his or mine. Embarrassment and apology, but the painful phrases are missing. We returned to the apartment dining room in time for tea.

In June 1935, about eight weeks after the abortive attempt to throw the boomerang, and after the Nimitzes departure for America, a package from Sydney, Australia arrived for me at the US Navy Purchasing Office at No. 3 Canton Road in Shanghai. It contained two boomerangs. Several days later I received a letter from Albert M. Doyle, American consul in Sydney. Mr. Doyle wrote:

Dear Master Stephens:

Last week I received a letter from Captain Nimitz requesting that I purchase for you a real Australian boomerang. I sent you a couple of days ago one packet containing two boomerangs. These I purchased at an aboriginal settlement at La Perouse, Botany Bay, Sydney, Australia. The aborigine from whom I

purchased told me that they were real boomerangs and could work properly. I selected two in case anything should happen to one of them.

On the flat side of one end of each boomerang is a pencil mark "x." When you throw the boomerang this end is grasped in the right hand with the flat side where the "x" is against the palm. The best results appear to be obtained when the boomerang is thrown into a light wind at an angle slightly higher than 45 degrees. It is best not to throw the boomerang with your full strength. I hope that you will soon learn to be a boomerang expert and that you will derive a good deal of pleasure from it. I might add that if the boomerang comes back to where you are standing, it is well to keep out of its way. The foregoing advice is not my own, but was given to me by the aborigine from whom I purchased the boomerangs.

*With kindest regards, I am,
Very truly yours,
Albert M. Doyle**

Afterword

In the spring of the following year my father completed his tour of duty in Asia, and we sailed from Shanghai to Yokohama, where we boarded the President Lines' S.S. *Jefferson* for the voyage back to the United States. In my Chinese pigskin suitcase, along with a blue silk tie embroidered with a white dragon, were two carefully wrapped and brand-new boomerangs from Botany Bay.

**As far as I can determine, Albert Doyle concluded his career in the Foreign Service as consul general in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1952. At that time I was director of the US Information Service in Patras, Greece.*

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AFSA and Affirmative Action

 For the past year and a half, AFSA has resolutely fought Affirmative Action in the belief that it was inequitable. They have argued from the principled position that the Foreign Service needs the best and that open, unbiased competition on the basis of demonstrated performance is the most efficient and fair way to decide who is to advance to the top.

Affirmative Action is an attempt to get at the inequities which persist in the personnel system. Competition is not open, fair or efficient so long as bias persists. We all know that the evaluation of performance and potential is highly subjective and rarely impartial. Most personnel have seen the damage that partiality can do—to themselves and to friends. Minorities and women often face that throughout their professional lives.

The plain fact is that the Foreign Service has not brought in, assigned and promoted women and minorities on the basis of their ability to get the job done—the merit principle. Those key personnel decisions have been as subjective as the evaluation of “demonstrated performance.” Women F.S. employees were expected to resign upon marriage and, until recent years, sometimes forced to do so. If abroad, they were stripped of their allowances in those cases in which they were permitted to continue employment at American rather than local salaries.

Women officers' assignments were severely restricted. The reasons for this, as well as the obstacles placed in the way of their entry, lay in the minds of the selectors. Personnel officers presumed—and continue to presume—that women and minorities, *per se*, will not be able to be effective in their work because of lack of acceptance by host government officials, other diplomats and their own colleagues. Few were given supervisory responsibilities even in Washington and their leadership potential went unrecognized.

The special EEO hiring program that AFSA is fighting so fiercely was instituted to make up for the

previous failure to bring in qualified women and minorities. For several years after the programs were announced, little active recruitment went on. Highly qualified candidates still had to run the gauntlet of BEX oral examiners who have kept their elitist and irrelevant illusions. No wonder that management is now proposing to make up for previous lost opportunities under these programs by increasing the yearly intake so that by 1980 the initial modest numbers would be reached. For women and minorities, without this infusion at the middle-level, most EEO category employees in the senior grades, who were brought in during and immediately after World War II, will be mandatorily retired soon.

The AFSA/Management dispute over procedures for assignments is largely irrelevant to EEO or Affirmative Action. Management proposals missed the point entirely. So long as minorities and women are limited by the subjective judgments of untrained career counselors and assignment officers (reinforced by prejudicial OERs), they don't have a chance to compete equally. The reason why the Women's Action Organization favored “special consideration” for EEO category personnel in assignments was to force the careful examination of their “documented” qualifications. There is a statistically verifiable pattern of assignments to Africa for blacks, Latin America for Hispanics, and certain functions to women (consular, personnel and B&F). This is the result of group stereotyping not individual qualifications. This year an FSO was told that “Tehran is no place for a woman” and only recently women FSOs were told by their counselors that they could not “make it” as GSOs, exchange officers in the Pentagon or in most officer positions in the Middle East.

WAO has also asked that women and minorities' underrepresentation in certain functions, regions and levels be considered when choosing among qualified candidates. Frankly, if AFSA is still searching for evidence of discrimination, no easier way could be found than to look at the straight statistical disparities.

When deciding among qualified candidates, assignment panels regularly choose on the basis of some

non-performance related factor such as service or personal need. Examples of such factors include how many years candidates have served at home or abroad, the need to maintain a pool of language and area specialists or personal requirements for health care or the education of their family. Where such underrepresentation exists, the need to include a larger percentage of minorities and women is a legitimate “need of the Service” which should be given equal weight with these other non-performance related factors that break ties among qualified candidates.

If AFSA is truly committed to equity and a more efficient personnel system it would have used its energies and resources to insist that women—like men—are considered on the basis of their *individual* capabilities and potential and that past and continuing patterns of discrimination are halted and the damage remedied.

MARGUERITE COOPER KING,
*Vice President for State
Women's Action Organization*

Outgoing AFSA President Hydle replies: AFSA has supported an end to patterns of discrimination, as well as effective remedies for individuals who have been discriminated against. However, the Department has not provided statistical evidence of current patterns of discrimination against women in assignments. It is true that women are more numerous in the administration and consular cones than the political economic cones, but this reflects the growth in the former and the decline in the latter in recent years. Thanks to the zone-merit program, promotion opportunities for these cones are equal at the mid-level, and a recent *Newsletter* article by the director of performance evaluation indicated that women do as well as men in promotions to FSO-2 and FSO-1. We favor assignments to break down any stereotype that may persist with respect to assignments, but do not believe it is either necessary or desirable to seek identical or similar gender composition in each of the cones, skill codes, and regions of the world.

Thus in our negotiations with management, we were prepared to agree to highlight the gender (or ethnic) identity of an equally qualified candidate for a career-enhancing position or a position in an area where very few such people are assigned; but we successfully resisted management's sweeping proposals for preferential treatment for members of previously disadvantaged groups.

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.

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ELECTIONS COMMITTEE CERTIFIES RESULTS

Dear Mr. President:

This letter certifies to the Governing Board of the American Foreign Service Association the results of the 1979 AFSA Elections conducted under the supervision of the Elections Committee of which I have had the honor to be Chairman.

In the conduct of the election, ballots were mailed on May 17, 1979, to all members eligible to vote as of May 1, 1979. A total of 5741 ballots was distributed. Of these, 2767 were returned to the designated address before the deadline of 5:30 P.M. Friday, June 29, 1979. Of the total received, fourteen were judged to be invalid. The enclosed table shows the number of ballots distributed by constituency, the number and percentage returned, and the number of votes received by each named candidate.

Pursuant to Article VI, Section 9, of the AFSA Bylaws, the Elections Committee certifies that the following persons received the greatest number of votes for the positions indicated and, therefore, declares them elected.

President	Kenneth Bleakley
Vice President	Anthea de Rouville
2nd Vice President	Frank Dimond
Secretary	Galen Fox
Treasurer	Dale Coleman
State Reps	Joseph McBride Eva Kim Charles Hill
AID Rep	Jonathan Sperling
ICA Rep	Fred Shaver
Retired Reps	Charles Whitehouse Archie Lang

Very truly yours,
C. ROBERT MOORE
 Chairman, Elections Committee

ELECTION RESULTS

Tally of Votes

(excluding votes for write-in candidates)

OFFICE AND CANDIDATES

CONSTITUENCY

PRESIDENT:

	STATE	RET.	AID	ICA	TOTAL
John D. Hemenway	34	61	19	8	122
Kenneth Rogers	335	227	98	51	711
Robert F. Pfeiffer	529	64	85	25	703
Kenneth Bleakley	578	442	140	25	1185

VICE PRESIDENT:

Robert Stern	373	222	105	47	747
Anthea de Rouville	641	75	99	32	847

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT:

Frank Dimond	595	508	144	37	1284
Robert M. Maxim	664	100	74	36	874
Ronald Witherell	132	126	126	22	406

SECRETARY:

Stanley Escudero	649	145	121	49	964
Galen Fox	757	567	195	47	1566

TREASURER:

Elton Stepherson	318	189	70	55	632
Dale Coleman	589	458	183	24	1254
Arlene Render	538	100	94	28	760

State Constituency Represent.:

Marshall Adair	498
Robert L. Caffrey	461
Joseph McBride	607
Eva Kim	605
Ralph Braibanti	248
John Malott	459
Peter Reams	263
Charles Hill	583
John Harter	70
Patricia Woodring	448

Retired

Archie Lang	398
Charles Whitehouse	493
Spencer King	234
Stanley M. Cleveland	135
Jack Lydman	196

AID

James D. Singletary	104
Ronald Nicholson	98
Jonathan L. Sperling	118
Raymond C. Malley	28

ICA

Fred Shaver	49
John F. Cannon	26
Marilyn McAfee	36

AFSA'S OFFICERS AND BOARD



Ken Bleakley is a 38-year-old FSO-4 from New York City who has served in all of the functional specialties in EUR, ARA, or EA, as well as on detail to other agencies. He has been active in AFSA and in foreign affairs personnel issues since joining the Foreign Service immediately after graduating from the Georgetown University Foreign Service School in 1963. The new AFSA President completed graduate work in Public Administration at American University and in Economics at the University of Oklahoma through after-hours study programs while in the Service. He has received the Meritorious Civilian Service Medal from the Secretary of Defense and the State Department's Superior Honor Award. Ken is currently serving as Special Assistant in the East Asia Bureau.



Fox



McBride



Sperling



Coleman



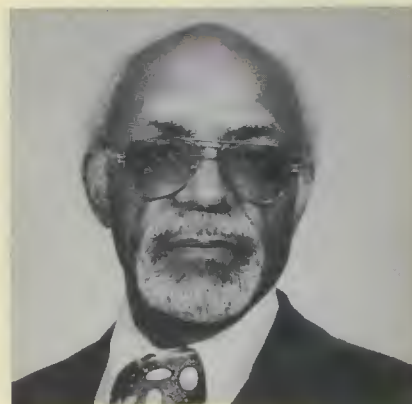
Shaver



de Rouville



Kin



Lang and Whitehouse



Dimond



Hill



AFSA TESTIFIES ON FS ACT

AFSA testified July 9 on the Foreign Service Act of 1979 in a joint hearing conducted by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations and the Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization.

The testimony included a written statement by AFSA President Hyde on the act (see below) from which he drew in making his oral testimony; a 31-page section-by-section analysis of the act, containing about 90 comments favoring, seeking amendments to, or clarification of legislative history with respect to the bill (copies available from the AFSA Counselors' Office), a further statement on pay parity with the Civil Service (see page 46), and a brief statement by President-elect Kenneth Bleakley.

The AFSA delegation also included outgoing Vice President and State Standing Committee Chairman Rogers, State Representatives Stern (also Task Force Coordinator) and Bodine, reelected State Representative (and Flow-Through Task Force) McBride, Staff Corps Task Force Chairman (and incoming Vice President) de Rouville, AID Standing Committee Member Witherell, Compensation Task Force Chairman Veale, Senior Task Force Chairman, retired Career Minister Vance, and Counselors Chase and Waelder. All had played important

roles in the preparation of AFSA's position, and were prepared to answer questions in their areas of expertise.

The key paragraph of AFSA's testimony was the following:

"Because of the strongly expressed concern of the career Foreign Service regarding such comprehensive legislation, AFSA does not endorse this act. On the other hand, it does contain some provisions which could help the Foreign Service deal with its problems. We believe that the most useful service we can perform today for the Service and the Congress is to provide a detailed commentary on the bill, identifying provisions we approve as well as those we seek to change or wish to clarify in the legislative history."

Despite repeated probes from members of Congress, AFSA representatives did not state whether or not we supported the bill. We encouraged the Congress to protect the provisions we support and to amend the provisions we oppose.

The AFSA testimony focused on the impact of this legislation on the uniqueness of the Foreign Service, up-or-out and performance, pay comparability, international development, the Foreign Service Staff Corps, protection of the career Foreign Service against political abuse, and legislated labor-management relations. Questions from members of Congress present focused on a

variety of matters covered by our testimony on the bill. Our presentation lasted 90 minutes. Employee Ethics and Utilization Subcommittee Chairman Schroeder (D., Colo.) gave us a long list of additional questions to answer for the record.

International Operations Subcommittee Chairman Dante Fascell (D., Fla.) reminded AFSA representatives that his subcommittee had been friendly to the concerns of the Foreign Service over the years and has supported the Service through amendments to the annual foreign relations authorization bill. He said the earlier AFSA proposal to seek only a series of amendments to the Foreign Service Act of 1946, rather than a comprehensive new act, was unrealistic. Other members of Congress and staff told AFSA representatives that AFSA would have to say clearly whether it wanted the legislation.

House subcommittee hearings on the bill may continue into the fall. It is possible, depending on the legislative situation, that the bill will not go to the floor of the House until 1980. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is scheduled to hear the Secretary on July 27, but that Committee is otherwise preoccupied with SALT II. Thus it appears that there will be adequate time for AFSA representatives to consult with the Congress as well as management concerning the bill.

Statement by AFSA President, Lars H. Hyde, before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations and the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization on the Foreign Service Act of 1979 on July 9, 1979. President-elect Ken Bleakley's statement follows Hyde's.

For more than half a century, the American Foreign Service Association has been the professional representative of the career Foreign Service, active-duty as well as retired. Since 1973, AFSA has been the exclusive representative of the Foreign Service in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development. We seek to represent the interests of the Foreign Service, but also to encourage use of the Foreign Service as a high-performance, flexible instrument of the national interest and of foreign policy.

AFSA and the Foreign Service Act of 1979

The Foreign Service Act of 1979 is in part an attempt by management to respond to the concerns AFSA has raised in the past with management and the Congress about various problems of the Foreign Service. Since last December, we have consulted extensively with management about the concepts of the proposal and, in the last two months, the successive drafts of the bill. We have met twice with the Secretary of State, once with the Acting AID Administrator and once with the Board of the Foreign Service, and more frequently with Under Secretary

Read, Director General Barnes and working-level management officials.

We have done our best to keep our membership worldwide and in Washington informed on the evolution of the bill, to seek their advice on AFSA's position, and to convey both the substance and the force of their views to management. We have received hundreds of telegrams from our overseas chapters. In Washington, we formed task forces to deal with various aspects, composed of our active-duty membership in all three foreign affairs agencies, as well as retired AFSA members. The election just completed for the new AFSA governing Board which will take office July 15 offered an additional forum for discussion within the Foreign Service of these issues.

No doubt the process of consultation has been imperfect. As management produced successive drafts, we found ourselves continually shooting at a moving target. Our members in Washington and overseas must have felt even more confused as they attempted to keep up with events. But within the Service and between the Service and management, there has been a discussion of fundamental issues unprecedented in our experience as the exclusive employee representative and appropriate to the importance of the bill.

A Service-wide consensus developed in favor of a number of key elements reflected in the bill, either initially or as a result of our efforts:

- re-establishment of the up-and-out principle;

- reaffirmation of the distinction between the Foreign Service and Civil Service;
- legislatively based labor-management relations;
- reduction or elimination of excessive numbers of Foreign Service personnel categories;
- re-establishment in law of the Board of the Foreign Service.

At the same time, a consensus developed in opposition to a number of elements in the earlier drafts of the bill, many of which have subsequently been removed or modified. Overriding the concern of the Foreign Service about specific elements of the management proposals has been our question as to the need to seek comprehensive legislation. We believed that many of the problems of the Foreign Service could be addressed through existing authority and selected amendments to the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

We were not alone in our concern. But despite our urgings and those of others more senior than we, the Secretary decided to submit the comprehensive Foreign Service Act of 1979 which is before you.

AFSA's Position

Because of the strongly expressed concern of the career Foreign Service regarding such comprehensive legislation AFSA does not today endorse this act. On the other hand, it does contain some provisions which would help the Foreign Service deal with its problems. We believe that the most useful service we can perform today for the Ser-

vice and the Congress is to provide a detailed commentary on the bill, identifying provisions we approve as well as those we seek to change or wish to clarify in the legislative history.

I would like to discuss some of the principal areas of interest to us:

- the uniqueness of the Foreign Service
- up-or-out and performance
- pay comparability
- international development
- the Foreign Service Staff corps
- protection of the career Service against political abuse
- legislated labor-management relations

I. The Uniqueness of the Foreign Service

We believe that the Foreign Service is necessarily unique and different from the Civil Service because it responds to the nation's need for a qualified career Service available worldwide, including the United States. Therefore we welcome the act's reaffirmation of this concept in Sec. 531. We support the provision under Sec. 2103 and 2104 for conversion to the Civil Service, with the option of preserved Foreign Service status and benefits, as the most rapid way to eliminate the anomalous "FS domestic-only" category while protecting the rights of persons in that category.

Other unique aspects of Foreign Service life are the obligations and stresses imposed on the families of members of the Service. We support the act's explicit recognition of this problem in Sec. 101 (b) (3). We have initiated or supported most of the legislation in recent years to protect and enhance opportunities of spouses and other family members for training, employment and career counseling, and we have suggested further improvements in Sec. 704(a) and 705(b) (2) and (3).

Another consequence of worldwide availability is that medical standards must be similar to those of the armed forces, and much higher than those of the Civil Service. Such standards, when they have a bona fide relationship to our conditions of employment, should not be considered discriminatory simply because they screen out some persons with handicaps, as we have indicated with respect to Sec. 101(b) (2), and Sec. 301(b) and (c).

II. Up-Or-Out and Performance

Promotions in the Service have stagnated in the Foreign Service of recent years because of the lack of attrition at the top. The principal proposal in the bill to restore attrition from and promotion to the senior ranks, and thereby enhance performance, is the Senior Foreign Service.

Many of us oppose the label Senior Foreign Service, finding it too much like the Senior Executive Service, and likely to promote unnecessary distinction or division within a Service that has always prided itself on a large measure of collegiality among its members of all ranks.

But when one looks beyond the label, there is much that is familiar to those who know the senior ranks of our Foreign Service. Mandatory retirement at 60 and retirement with immediate annuity at 50 with 20 years' service are retained. In addition, retirement for excessive time-in-class and for substandard performance are extended to the top rank, presently Career Minister, as well as to additional personnel categories not now subject to them.

Retirement for failure to be reassigned is extended from Chiefs of Mission to all presidential appointees to specific positions; and there is a new limited career extension which management intends to couple with shorter time-in-class at the senior level. If used properly, these mechanisms will stabilize and improve promotion opportunities throughout the Service, pursuant to Sec. 602(b). We approve of all of these provisions so long as they are implemented rationally and fairly, by agreement with the exclusive representative, so as to give the Service confidence that no administration can manipulate them to create excessive insecurity, punish candid internal "whistle-blowers" or critics, or reward sycophancy or cronyism in the senior ranks.

III. Pay Comparability

Pay comparability—equal pay for equal work—is a hallowed principle for AFSA, as it is for the Congress. In recent years our FSO corps has fallen behind comparable GS personnel. Perhaps the first FSO to draw attention to this problem was a junior officer named Jim Leach, through a landmark study of the problem in 1971. Although Mr. Leach resolved his own personal problem of pay comparability with the Civil Service, we know he retains a sympathetic interest in the problem. We have continued to work at it. An AFSA-initiated, Congressionally-mandated study, just completed by Hay Associates, confirms that FSOs have long been underpaid, and tends to support current Foreign Service Staff Corps pay levels against criticism that they have been too high.

The bill does not in itself implement the Hay Study findings, but makes it possible to do so. We support Sec. 421, which establishes a single Foreign Service pay schedule with the link between new FS-1 and GS-15 in place of the old two pay plans with obsolete links to the General Schedule.

In discussions within the Executive Branch, we are supporting a 12-class, 10-step schedule identical to the General Schedule between grades 15 and 4. We oppose the nine-class Foreign Service Schedule proposed in Section 421.

At the senior level, we strongly support pay comparability between the Senior Foreign Service and the Senior Executive Service. Sec. 411 does this with respect to basic rates of pay. We favor the continuation of post classification of Chiefs of Mission provided in Sec. 401 because it reflects and rewards the level of performance required by a particular ambassadorship. We believe Chiefs of Mission and other senior personnel should also receive the taxable post differential (often called "hardship pay") authorized under 5 U.S.C. 5925, but withheld from them by regulation. (New Sec. 2206)

We oppose the concept of performance pay patterned after the SES and contained in Sec. 441. We believe that a recommendation by a supervisor to a Selection Board could be abused to insure conformity with a current policy line. In addition to post differential, we would recommend that the position of Deputy Assistant Secretary, or its equivalent in IDCA/AID, be compensated at Executive Level 5. Beyond that, we regret we are unable at this point to make any specific proposals, other than the lifting of the executive level pay cap, which would insure pay comparability, and reward and

encourage good performance, without being subject to abuse. If we can think of anything, we will be in touch with you.

To strengthen further the principle of equal pay for equal work, we advocate:

- repeal of the ban on premium pay for FSOs and FSIOs (Sec. 2301 (3));
- improvement of the implementation of the special allowance, to be renamed "Special Differential," and its extension to all Foreign Service members below the Senior Foreign Service who spend excessive off-duty hours on-call or standing by (Sec. 462);
- Full pay for the position while temporarily serving as principal officer (Sec. 461) or detailed outside the Foreign Service (Sec. 521(b) (1)).

V. International Development

Together with the unified personnel system submitted by the administration in May, and the reorganization plan establishing the International Development Cooperation Administration (IDCA), this bill establishes as a matter of law and national policy the nation's long-term commitment to international development, carried out in Washington and overseas primarily by a qualified, disciplined career Foreign Service.

For the first time, senior AID Foreign Service people would become, as members of the Senior Foreign Service, presidential appointees, with an opportunity to be promoted to the highest rank, now called Career Minister. Political abuse of the system should be reduced. We have urged that the legislative history of Sec. 311(a) (3) and (b) (1) explicitly include IDCA/AID and USICA members of the Service in consideration for appointment as Chiefs of Mission.

We support further compatibility between the AID Foreign Service and its State and USICA counterparts by establishing, within 18 months of enactment, a Foreign Service Development Officer corps, parallel to State FSOs and USICA FSIOs (Sec. 202(b) and new Sec. 2105).

On the other hand, AID's recent history would make too rapid movement toward compatibility in some areas unwise. The decline in AID's Foreign Service workforce from some 5,500 a decade ago to less than 2,000 today has virtually frozen promotions during that period, leaving many outstanding officers with many years in class. The sudden application of time-in-class limits would remove these people from the Service. By the same token, it would make no sense to apply the senior threshold window concept in Sec. 602(a) unless and until there is an established and reasonable time-in-class limit at that level and reasonable prospects for promotion above it.

The history of AID personnel management clearly indicates that the application of such concepts as retirement for excessive time-in-class (Sec. 641) or substandard performance (Sec. 642) will have to be gradual, with the full consent of the Foreign Service expressed through its exclusive representative. To make sure that it is clear that AFSA is the exclusive representative of the affected Foreign Service people once AID is subsumed by IDCA, we have proposed an amendment at Sec. 2402.

V. The Foreign Service Staff Corps

The Foreign Service Staff Corps is vital to the functioning of the Foreign Service. For example, secretaries and communicators are

staying on top of the exponential increase in the government's production of words through their mastery of the latest word-processing technology. Yet the Staff Corps suffers from a lack of status, relative to the more visible, and in some cases, more privileged FSO. In addition to the general ravages of inflation, overseas Staff Corps members at high-cost posts suffered last fall a further loss through the recomputation of cost-of-living allowances. At some overseas posts, they have to pay unfairly imposed taxes and fees, contrary to their status as members of the American diplomatic mission. Communicators and secretaries, particularly those at small posts overseas, must spend long, uncompensated off-duty hours by their home phones on call or standing by.

Staff Corps career prospects have been blighted in recent years by difficulties in changing to more promising career fields, down-grading of position, and unearned promotions due to anomalies in the two Foreign Service pay plans.

Unfortunately, the welcome recent emphasis on the rights and needs of Foreign Service family members has, in this zero-based era of budgetary limits, adversely affected Staff Corps opportunities for training and assignment.

AFSA and management are addressing some of these problems under existing legislative authority. But the bill does not do much to correct or address these problems, and therefore the Staff Corps has little enthusiasm for it.

The creation of a single Foreign Service schedule is, however, welcome. It will prevent future unearned promotions through pay-plan switching, and facilitate career specialty changes.

The whole Foreign Service, including the Staff Corps, welcomes the extension to the Staff Corps of such performance-related concepts as the career candidate appointment and tenuring process (Sec. 322) and retirement for excessive time-in-class (Sec. 641) or substandard performance (Sec. 642). However, we seek a ten-year transition period before actually retiring without immediate annuity any currently appointed Staff Corps members, in order to protect those middle-aged members, not eligible for voluntary retirement, who are performing adequately and who joined the Service in expectation that they could stay until voluntary retirement (Sec. 2104(e)). There is a special problem for communicators, presently divided among FSRU and FSS, who do the same work at the same rank, yet only the former would be subject to Sec. 642 during that period. We are still working on a proposal to deal with this problem.

In addition, with respect to the provisions of the Bill which affect particularly the Staff Corps, we have proposed:

- extension of the concept of the special allowance (which we've renamed "Special Differential") to all Foreign Service personnel required regularly to spend many off-duty hours on call (Sec. 462);

- legislative history making it clear that training for family members is "in addition" to, not instead of, training for members of the Service (Sec. 701(b)) and making the training for members of the Service identical to that available for family members (Sec. 704(a) and (b));

- language reflecting current legislation which explicitly forbids the use of employment of family members to avoid fulfilling

the needs of the Service for full-time jobs for career personnel. Career positions, with their relationship to assignments and promotion opportunities, must not be lost to the benefit of non-career personnel who, because of their family situation, may not always be willing to accept the limitations (e.g., worldwide assignment) and responsibilities (e.g., overtime) undertaken by career personnel as conditions of employment. Even under current legislation which refers to the positions of local national employees, management has been trying to abolish or leave vacant career jobs to give the work to family members and has sought to avoid bargaining with AFSA about it. (Sec. 33(b))

- A new section urging the Secretary to attach the same priority to negotiations to protect non-commissioned US diplomatic and consular personnel from local customs duties and taxes levied contrary to international conventions that he attaches to negotiating foreign employment opportunities for family members. In fairness to adversely affected employees, and as an incentive to negotiations, he would be required to reimburse those employees for such unfairly levied costs (New Sec. 2201(a) (4)).

- Legislative history to Sec. 531(b) urging that there be sufficient positions classified Foreign Service in Washington to permit members of the Service in all categories to get a Washington assignment every 15 years if they request it.

VI. Protection of the Career Service

The career Foreign Service has suffered in the past from political abuses such as the appointment of an excessive number of non-career chiefs of mission, many of them unqualified; substantial numbers of Schedule C or otherwise non-career appointments in Washington, and easy lateral entry into the career Service itself of those enjoying political patronage or whose skills are already in ample supply within the Service. These actions are bad for the career Service and contrary to the national interest because they reduce career promotions and assignment opportunities, and make the career track the slow track to success in the foreign affairs agencies. This harms morale and performance within and recruitment into the Service.

This bill contains some improvements over the existing situation. We are seeking further improvements:

- The delineation between the Foreign and Civil Service will probably give political deputy assistant secretaries and special assistants in Washington SES or GS appointments. Similarly, the clear distinction between career candidate appointments (Sec. 322) and other limited and temporary appointments (Sec. 331) will prevent political appointees from slithering unnoticed into the Career Service when their party or patron leaves office. We support these provisions.

The language on appointment of Chiefs of Mission (Sec. 311) generally repeats that Chiefs of Mission should be qualified, not just campaign contributors, and that many should be career personnel. We have proposed amendments and legislative history to strengthen Sec. 311 further in these respects.

Sec. 321 limits non-career members of the Senior Foreign Service to 5 percent. This

reflects existing patterns of employment in positions that would still be classified Foreign Service, but no limit has previously been codified. We have suggested further that since non-career presidential appointees are not counted within the 5 per cent, neither should career SFS presidential appointees be counted within the total from which the per cent figure is derived. We opposed inclusion of the Foreign Service within the SES because of the risk that we would be inundated by senior civil servants seeking pleasant overseas assignments. The five per cent limit is extremely important.

Sec. 323 provides for middle-level lateral entry for FSO candidates. We have urged that such lateral entry be in accord with the specific functional needs of the Service, which already govern promotion, assignment and changes of functional "cone" or "skill code" for current career personnel. We do not oppose lateral entry programs which emphasize recruitment of minorities; indeed, we explicitly supported such a program in a 1975 agreement with the Department. However, the Department violated the Agreement by hiring in total disregard of functional needs or the impact on promotional opportunities in the junior Service ranks, which contain increasing numbers of women and minorities.

To strengthen Foreign Service assignment and promotion opportunities, Sec. 511 should be amended to limit non-Foreign Service assignments to Foreign Service positions to specific tours of duty similar to typical Foreign Service assignments, and the total number of assignments should never exceed the number of Foreign Service personnel assigned outside the Service.

VII. Labor-Management Relations

The Association regards Chapter 10, which deals with labor-management relations, as the most important chapter in the bill. With or without a full new Foreign Service Act, this chapter should be enacted as quickly as possible, with the amendments indicated in our detailed comments.

Chapter 10 is important in itself because it provides the Foreign Service with approximately the same ability to bargain on conditions of employment that the Civil Service now has under Title VII of the Civil Service Reform Act. There are, however, a few perfecting amendments needed to assure full parity:

- "of types and classes" and "promote" should be deleted from the list of totally reserved management rights under Sec. 1005 (a) (1) and (2);

- The Foreign Service Impasses Disputes Panel should be empowered to take final action on a bargaining impasse, not subject to the secretary's veto (Sec. 1014);

- the right of a labor organization to conduct informational picketing outside the U.S. (Sec. 1031 (e)) should be conformed with Title VII and the case law which the FLRA will develop. Sanctions against prohibited picketing should not include decertification, and there should be no sanction additional to decertification (Sec. 1041 (f)).

At the same time, we strongly favor the single, worldwide, agency-wide bargaining unit in our current Executive Order 11636, which continues in Sec. 1022. As indicated by the rest of the Bill, our conditions of employment include worldwide assignment, and most of our personnel policies are applicable worldwide. Only local working

conditions and the local applicability of worldwide policies might be logical subjects for local collective bargaining, and those can be handled, as now, through discussions at post or bureaus with reference to Washington in case of disagreement. Some have suggested that the different personnel categories could have separate bargaining units, but this would only weaken the employees' bargaining power; the whole would be less than the sum of its parts, and management would no doubt claim that agency-wide personnel policies were not negotiable. Such balkanization would be contrary to the American and worldwide trend toward industrial unions, capable of aggregating and representing the various interests among the workers they represent. AFSA does this through systems of subcommittees dealing with special interests.

We also favor a bargaining unit as large as possible, with narrow exclusions of "confidential" employees and of "management officials" (Sec. 1002 (5) and (10)), as provided in Executive Order 11636. Experience under the Executive Order indicates that, in a turbulent period in our foreign affairs, there has never been a need to suspend any part of that order temporarily to any element of any foreign affairs agency, so there is no need for Sec. 1003 (a). E.O. 11636 excludes only management officials and confidential employees from the bargaining unit. The conflict of interest provision in Sec. 1 (b) of E.O. 11636, repeated in Sec. 1041 (3) of the Bill, makes the exclusion of additional categories of employees from the bargaining unit, as in Sec. 1022 (2) and (3), unnecessary.

It is important to look at the Foreign Service bargaining unit issue without the blinders imposed by Title VII or traditional labor-management concepts. Most conditions of employment apply to Foreign Service personnel, whether or not they are "supervisors," "professionals," management officials, confidential employees, or security or audit personnel. The exclusion of security officers from the bargaining unit, for example, might prevent them from bargaining about specific conditions of employment which, according to press reports, are very harsh. Exclusion of the "supervisors" could reach well down into the ranks of the FSO Corps to, for example, a junior officer who shares the services of an American secretary and supervises a consular section staffed by local employees; it could at least double the number of employees excluded from an effective voice in the choice of the bargaining agent which will co-determine personnel policies affecting them.

Apart from its inherent merits, chapter 10 is important to us because it enables us to bargain with agency management on the application of the authority over conditions of employment provided elsewhere in the bill, including, but not limited to, the following:

- the composition of Selection Boards and the precepts under which they prepare their recommendations;
- the length of time-in-class and limited career extensions;
- how to fill available promotion numbers (e.g., how many promotions and how many career extensions?);
- procedures for granting tenure;
- procedures for determining availability for worldwide assignment (e.g., in connection with Chapter I of Title II), and

other assignment procedures;

- procedures for determining the needs of the Service in connection with promotion, limited career extensions, reappointments, and conversion to the Foreign Service;

- the application of Section 641 and 642 authority to AID and to other personnel categories which have not had it in the past.

We believe that Chapter 10 provides the exclusive representative with the ability to bargain on these issues, and more, to protect the career Service from arbitrary abuse of the other authorities in the act. We have made it crystal clear to the secretary and other management officials that we must have that ability to bargain.

Some management officials may believe, or hope, that matters such as changes in time-in-class are within their sole discretion. As I said, we believe they are wrong, but if that is indeed their hope, they are simply living in an earlier, less enlightened, harsher age of labor relations. The career Foreign Service will not tolerate any abuse of the authority in the act. We ask the Congress to help avoid such an abuse—and the damage to labor relations and the recourse to the Congress which would inevitably follow—by declaring in the legislative history that it believes and intends that Chapter 10 does permit and require full collective bargaining on the sorts of personnel policy changes which I have mentioned.

Chapter 11, which deals with individual grievances, substantially repeats existing legislation which was enacted in 1975 after bargaining among the Congress, foreign affairs agency management, AFSA, and others. It has worked well, and now that it has already been in effect for some years, it would be wrong to repeal it and leave management and the exclusive representative to renegotiate a new procedure.

The one significant innovation in Chapter 11 is the monopoly given the exclusive representative over grievance representation and access to the Foreign Service Grievance Board. AFSA has sought to be present or to intervene in individual proceedings to protect the collective interests of its constituents, but not to limit individual members' rights to file a grievance on their own. Nor did we seek the extra responsibility of reviewing all potential grievances to see which have sufficient merit to file; such a responsibility will increase the burden of equal representation on our resources, a burden which we and other federal unions must bear without the resources which can be generated by an agency-shop contract.

LARS H. HYDLE

MR. CHAIRMAN:

Mr. Hyde, as president of the American Foreign Service Association, has spoken for the women and men of the Foreign Service. Speaking as president elect of the Association, I ran on a platform which sought reform through administrative change rather than through a new Foreign Service Act but which stated that should the department submit its legislative proposals we would support what we could, encourage amendments where needed and seek to block counterproductive amendments. The position taken by the current AFSA president today is consistent with that approach.

KENNETH W. BLEAKLEY

FOR RETIREES

The Latest on Cost of Living Increases

As reported in the June *Journal* both the Senate and the House budget committees recommended that cost-of-living adjustments in federal annuities be made only once a year rather than semi-annually as at present. Both the Senate and the House approved the budget committee reports but it will still take specific legislation to effect the change.

It now appears that the summer months may see a move in the Congress to enact the legislation necessary to accomplish this, if not as a separate bill possibly by means of a floor amendment to other legislation. Now is the time for AFSA's retired members to make their views on this issue known to their Congressional representatives. Even under the present system, there is a time lag of several months before the increases in retirement annuity checks issued in April and October are adjusted for the rise in the Consumer Price Index. If the increase is limited to only once a year, this time lag could extend to twelve months or more which would represent another significant reduction in the retirement benefit provisions heretofore applicable to foreign service retirees.

AFSA POSITION VACANCIES

POSITION: Legal Counsel

The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) is both a union representing Foreign Service personnel and a professional association of past and present members of the Foreign Service. AFSA is certified as the exclusive bargaining agent for approximately 12,000 employees in the agency-wide bargaining units of Foreign Service personnel at the Department of State and the Agency for International Development, serving both in the United States and overseas.

The Legal Counsel is the only attorney for the Association, responsible directly to the elected Governing Board. He or she joins a small professional staff of the Association and works closely with Foreign Service personnel who contribute to AFSA's activities on behalf of the Foreign Service on a voluntary basis.

POSITION: Executive Secretary

General secretarial duties; committee coordination; performing research for Governing Board and Committee members; dealing with inquiries and referrals relating to AFSA's activities, both current and ongoing; preparation of weekly Minutes of Governing Board meetings; distribution and assignment of internal correspondence relating to employee-management relations and grievances; monitoring of committee and Board activities.

PAY COMPARABILITY FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE

The American Foreign Service Association seeks pay parity for the Foreign Service with the Civil Service. We do so for two reasons. We believe it is the best way to protect the Foreign Service from suffering again, as it has for at least the past ten years, a serious pay disadvantage. At the same time, we believe that the independence of the Foreign Service can and must stand firmly on grounds other than the similarity of its pay system to that of the Civil Service. The need for a separate Foreign Service rests instead on the flexibility of a rank-in-person system, global availability, and a unique career development system that recruits the best applicants from all walks of life and then moves them into this country's first line of defense.

We understand that the management of the Department is currently discussing with OMB and OPM a new pay system for the Foreign Service. This management proposal, however, is seriously deficient in a number of respects:

- It establishes a more complex pay system with fewer linkage points to the Civil Service scale;
- It fails by a wide margin to provide for pay increases to middle-grade officers at levels which the Hay Associates pay study substantiates;
- It puts a greater premium on longevity in grade rather than on upward mobility;
- It fails to establish new grades, missing a chance to increase promotion opportunities over a career;
- It reduces in effect the current rough equivalencies between GS and FSS grades at the lower staff levels.

In contrast, our proposal is quite fair and simple. We seek direct grade and step linkage to the Civil Service GS scale, creating a 12-class FS system from GS-15/FS-1 to GS-4/FS-12. We would use the 10-step system of the GS scale, in which pay step increases are awarded less frequently the longer a person stays in the same grade—an incentive to move up or get out, we think.

We believe the Hay study fully justifies such linkages, particularly when Hay Associates recommended that Foreign Service pay levels should be increased by 15 percent over Civil Service levels to allow for proper compensation of the overseas dimension of Foreign Service work.

Our proposal would use the full GS scale from GS-4 to GS-15, providing a new class for officer between current FSO-6, and FSO-5, and for staff between current FSS-5 and FSS-4. The new officer class would be equated to GS-12, and, we believe, could be filled through a modest but updated classification effort aimed at current FSO-6s who have been given tenure. The new staff class would equate to GS-10 and would be a first step towards development of administrative assistants long needed in the Foreign Service. In any case, both the new officer and staff classes would serve to improve promotion opportunities over a career.

Management has calculated that its proposal will cost about \$13 million more a year. Our proposal, because it goes further to rectify past problems and bring about pay parity, will, of course, cost more—perhaps twice as much. But we see this as a relatively cheap investment in America's future—less than the price of three F-14 Tomcat Fighters of the type now sitting in Iran.

A Foreign Service having full pay parity with the rest of the federal service will be a much more efficient and productive institution. Not only will pay parity be a significant boost to morale—currently at an all time low—but it will go a long way toward helping the Service attract and retain the best qualified from all backgrounds. In short, it will insure that the Foreign Service of the United States is democratic and truly representative of the American people. The last thing America needs in these times is a Service made up of only those who have independent means.

AFSA PROPOSAL (12 Classes)

(Direct GS/FS Linkage at all Grades and Steps)

FSO	FSS	GS	FS
3	—	15	1
4	1	14	2
5	2	13	3
(New Class)	3	12	4*
6	4	11	5*
—	(New Class)	10	6
7	5	9	7*
—	6	8	8
8	7	7	9*
—	8	6	10
—	9	5	11
—	10	4	12

*Officer Exam Entry Levels

NOTE: Grandfather provisions would protect FSS grades against slight pay reductions involved in these linkages.

PRESIDENT OF PMA

Burke Wilkinson, author and a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, has been chosen by the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service to be its new President. He succeeds Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, president of the Center for the Study of the Presidency and former Chancellor of Long Island University.

Mr. Wilkinson served in the State Department from 1954-1958 and during the last two years of his tour of duty was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. From 1958-1962 he was Public Affairs Advisor to the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. His best known book is *Night of the Short Knives*, a novel based on his years at SHAPE.

The Public Members Association was founded in 1967 to support the goals and help solve the problems of the Foreign Service, as well as to aid in explaining foreign policy to the public. Its membership is composed of former Public Members of Departmental Selection Boards and men and women who have served on similar selection boards of the International Communication Agency. Public Delegates to the United Nations and members of Departmental Inspection Teams are also included.

AFSA OPPOSES NEW OER FORM

AFSA has strongly opposed the introduction of a proposed new OER form, developed by the Boston consulting firm of McBer and Company. The form calls for scaled evaluation of 19 "competencies," and in its ultimate form would permit comparison of individual FSOs according to their numerical ratings.

Some AFSA members may be familiar with the earlier "McBer Report," which was submitted to Management in June, 1977. McBer examined 120 FSOs, divided into "superior" and "average" groups, to try to determine which qualities distinguished those at the top from those who just muddle along. McBer produced a list of "competencies," knowledge, skills or abilities alleged to distinguish the superior officers.

The new McBer OER, which incorporates the findings of the McBer Report, would require a supervisor to place the rated officer on a computer-scored scale for each of these "competencies," and to give a scaled rating for how important each "competency" is to the job at hand. Narrative evaluation would support the numerical rating.

According to the OER Study Group, the chief problems with the McBer system are the following:

(1) The McBer "competencies" are unacceptable descriptors of the best FSOs.

(2) The new OER, if instituted, would create a set of inherently subjective measurements which would tend strongly to take on a specious objectivity.

(3) It is unproven.

(4) It is easily open to error by the rater.

(5) It is long, confusing, difficult and internally contradictory.

(6) If instituted, the new OER could easily be used for purposes other than evaluation and promotion.

AFSA and Management have this issue under active discussion. AFSA is committed to ensuring that any new form which is implemented protects the rights of individual FSOs, and represents a genuine improvement on the system now in effect.

The OER Study Group Report (containing the entire text of the proposed McBer OER Form) may be seen in the AFSA Office, Room 3644, Department of State. AFSA members who would like to discuss this project, or the philosophical questions it raises, are asked to contact the OER Study Group Chairman, Ann Griffin Macfarlane, x28040 (Room 4225).

AFSA MERIT AWARDS FOR 1979

AFSA's Merit Awards are made annually to those 22 graduating high school students who were judged by volunteer review panels to be the best qualified for recognition of the excellence of their high school records and extra curricular achievements.

These awards are made possible by the generous contribution of the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) from



Laura Montgomery, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James M. Montgomery, State. Lived in Saigon, Mexico City, Bangkok and Chiang Mai. Graduated from Winston Churchill High School, member of fencing club, debate team, Spanish club, literary magazine. National Merit Scholar, National Honor Society. Interested in science fiction, history, classical music, writing. Will major in history at the University of Virginia.



Kenneth F. Hewes-Manapol, son of Perla L. Manapol, ICA. Lived in the Philippines, Somalia, Tunisia, Peru. Graduated American High School, Lima. National Honor Society, National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test, honor roll, varsity baseball and soccer team, drama club. Will attend Yale, interested in a career in the Foreign Service.

funds raised at their annual Book Fair and from the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) Scholarship Fund.

Interested students who will be graduating from high school in 1980 should apply this fall to: AFSA Merit Awards Program, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Photographs of this year's winners appear on these pages, along with brief biographies.

Gregory R. Andrews, son of FSO and Mrs. Nicholas G. Andrews, State. Lived in Turkey and Poland. Graduated Bethesda-Chevy Chase H.S. Intends to major in biochemistry at Princeton. Plays pipe organ and guitar, enjoys bicycling and softball. National Merit Finalist.



Scott Dolgoff, son of FSO and Mrs. Lawrence Dolgoff, state. Lived in Germany, Japan, Pakistan, Indonesia, Hong Kong and Ghana. Graduated Bonn American H.S. National Honor Society, National Merit Commended Student, Senior Class salutatorian, editor of yearbook, model United Nations delegate, varsity football, varsity tennis co-captain. Will enter Lehigh University, information science.



Susan C. Sigda, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond R. Sigda, ICA. Lived in Greece and Liberia. Graduated Marymount International School, Rome. National Merit Commended Student, Merit Awards in English, history, mathematics, creative writing, French, Italian. Active in dramatics, chorus, yearbook, student government. Interested in reading, traveling, tennis, skiing, swimming. Will attend Amherst College, majoring in political science and/or romance languages, prelaw curriculum.



Elizabeth Kiss, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Sandor Kiss, ICA. Traveled in Hungary, Bermuda, Canada. Graduated Fort Hunt H.S. Presidential Scholar, National Merit Scholar, Edward Crosland Stuart Scholarship winner, Scholastic Writing Awards winner in short-short story, Rensselaer Math and Science Medal, Valedictorian. Interested in music, camping and hiking, reading and creative writing. Will attend Davidson College, then hopes to enter the Peace Corps.



Anna Lea Florey, daughter of FSIO and Mrs. Adela Florey, ICA. Lived in Cordoba, Cochabamba, La Paz, San Jose, Lima. Graduated Instituto Educacional Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Spanish Award, Service Award, president of school chapter of the National Honor Society. Interested in horseback riding, photography, tropical fish and plants, creative writing. Plans to major in animal science.



Natalie Hulen, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Elmer C. Hulen, State. Lived in Korea, Pakistan, the Philippines. Graduated Winston Churchill H.S. Potomac. National Merit Scholarship, National Honor Society, winner poetry contest, most outstanding student of Spanish award. Interested in ballet, piano, fencing, photography. Will attend Dartmouth, major in biology.

Marc Ericksen, son of FSO and Mrs. Emil P. Ericksen, State. Lived in Mexico, Spain, Nepal, Canada. Graduated Westmont H.S., Montreal. Ranked first in graduating class, Westmont Award for academic achievement. Interested in tennis, skiing, hiking, camping, photography. Will attend Dartmouth College. *See essay and photo, page 49.*

Laura Gaudian, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert R. Gaudian, ICA. Graduated as valedictorian, West Springfield High School. Member, French Honor Society, National Junior Honor Society, treasurer of National Honor Society, two years in Gifted/Talented Internship Program. Interests: reading, track, soccer, tennis, swimming and bicycling. Will attend College of William and Mary, studying sociology and psychology.



Brian Heaney, son of Mr. and Mrs. Donn Heaney, State. Lived in Bombay, Port-au-Prince, Seoul and Kuala Lumpur. Graduated International School, Kuala Lumpur. Forensic club, four varsity sports teams, class president, athlete of the year, annual citizenship award. Will attend Swarthmore to major in engineering, with a minor in a social science.



Christopher W. Lehfeldt, son of Mr. and Mrs. William W. Lehfeldt, State retired. Lived in Cordoba, Naples, Barcelona, Tehran. Attended boarding schools in England since first grade. Interested in philately, numismatics, classical and modern literature, sports (Senior Boys Swimming Champion). Will major in physics (pre-medical) at Georgetown University.



Becky J. Segall, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin E. Segall, State retired. Lived in Indonesia, Yugoslavia and Mali. Graduated from Sidwell Friends, finalist National Merit Award. Interested in arts and crafts, gardening, reading, camping, working with animals, sports. Will attend the University of Chicago, possibly majoring in botany or teaching.

Stephen Higginson, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Higginson, State. Lived in Belgium, Algeria, Italy, Luxembourg. Graduated valedictorian and summa cum laude from Groton. Interested in languages, sports, traveling, international affairs. Will attend Harvard.

Foreign Service Life

MARC C. ERICKSEN

I awoke from a restless sleep to the eerie noise of chants. I looked around trying to remember where I was. Finally, seeing the walls of the tent jolted my memory. I was 18,000 feet above sea level at the base of the Lhotse-Nuptse wall near Everest base camp. With my heart and lungs working feverishly from lack of oxygen, I went outside for some fresh air. The mountains rose steeply on all sides of me, with the moonlight shining on the snow producing an appearance of silver. My thoughts were interrupted as the chanting resumed and I turned to find the source of the noise.

In contrast to the illusion of the richness and beauty the mountains provided, I saw the Sherpas and porters, who owned no shoes and wore ragged thin clothing, huddled around the fire for warmth. They were staring into the fire murmuring Buddhist incantations that echoed off the mountain, creating an eerie atmosphere. Such was a typical scene and experience for me during my three years in Nepal.

Nowhere in the world does one find such a wealth of beauty on the one hand, and such an abundance of poverty and disease on the other. Constant exposure for three years to such a contrast has profoundly influenced my thoughts and attitudes towards various aspects of life and has provided me with some principles that I believe will be central to the course of my life, of which perhaps the most important is an acute interest in bettering man's condition throughout the world.

Nepal exposed me to poverty of an extreme that I never realized could exist and that few Americans have experienced. I am among a small minority of Americans who have seen poverty at its worst, and it has left a firm impression on my mind. Against a background of a country with a per capita income of less than \$70 a year and an illiteracy rate of over 80 percent, where sickness and disease have run rampant for centuries, this impression is vivid and is the source of my interest in seeking an education that will better prepare me to work in fields where I can visualize a direct benefit to the lesser privileged.

During my life I have lived in five different countries and three continents. My exposure to an array of societies and cultures so different from ours has opened my mind. It has made me realize that there are countries other than the United States, people other than Americans, and lifestyles other than ours. I am privileged to be able to appreciate the smaller things in life, and to view problems from differ-



ent perspectives, both sensitivities which I do not think I would have developed at this stage in my life had I lived only in one area.

There have also been disadvantages to this type of life. Because of travel, I have attended four different schools in the last five years. This, while preventing my participation in many extracurricular activities and restricting my relationships with teachers and students, has nevertheless had a positive effect on my character, making me independent and self-confident. Year after year, I have changed my educational environment and have adapted very well. The result has been a feeling of self-reliance and confidence that I can adapt to almost any change I am confronted with. At the same time, however, it has given me a better understanding of the problems other people sometimes face. Along with my independence has come the responsibility of making my own decisions and carrying them out.



Susan A. Fritts, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Robert E. Fritts, State. Lived in Luxembourg, Japan, Indonesia, Sudan and Rwanda. Graduated Walt Whitman High School. Will attend Williams, liberal arts program.

Claire P. Engelhart, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jim E. Engelhart, State. Lived in Caracas, Lisbon, Islamabad, Bangkok, London and Nairobi. Graduated International School of Kenya. Activities: yearbook, literary magazine, concert choir, varsity volleyball, horseback riding, school library assistant. Valedictorian, National Merit Scholarship, Texas A&M for biochemistry.



Christine Marie Courtney, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Edward Courtney, ICA. Lived in Istanbul, Calcutta and Islamabad. Graduated Yorktown High School, active student government, service club, varsity soccer team, member National Honor Society and French Honor Society. University of Virginia. Enjoys reading, writing, playing the piano.



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AFSA'S ANNUAL MEETING

At its annual meeting July 9, the AFSA Washington membership passed overwhelmingly a resolution approving the outgoing Governing Board's efforts to keep the membership and the Foreign Service informed and to seek their advice, regarding the Foreign Service Act, and to seek improvements in the act, in discussions with management. The resolution approved the general outlines of the testimony before the House that afternoon and urged the incoming Governing Board to continue to seek improvements in the act, while keeping the membership informed and seeking its advice.

The annual meeting of the Washington membership was held at noon on July 9 in the East Auditorium of the Department of State.

Outgoing President Hyde, presiding over the meeting, introduced his colleagues on the outgoing Board. He then called upon the Elections Committee Chairman, retired Ambassador Robert Moore, who announced the results of the just-completed election for the 1979-81 Governing Board.

Outgoing Vice President Kenneth Rogers, who was an unsuccessful candidate for president, congratulated the winners, thanked his supporters and urged them to support the newly elected Governing Board.

The other unsuccessful presidential candidate and slate leader present, Robert Pfeiffer, also thanked his supporters and congratulated the winners, singling out the effectiveness of Phil Habib as a campaigner among retired members. Lamenting the decline in AFSA membership in recent years, Mr. Pfeiffer conditioned his support for the new Board on a strong effort to help the Staff Corps, a senior threshold from FSO-2 to 1 instead of 3 to 2, and a gen-

erally more militant posture in support of the career Foreign Service vis-à-vis management and the Congress with respect to the Foreign Service Act of 1979.

President Hyde strongly defended the Governing Board's record with respect to the Foreign Service Act, on which, coincidentally, AFSA was to testify that afternoon, along the lines of the annual report in the July *FSJ*. He argued that AFSA's detailed commentary on the act would have to be taken seriously on the Hill, while our refusal either to reject or to endorse the bill left the new Governing Board with adequate leverage to seek additional improvements in the act, and in related matters such as pay comparability, in return for adopting a clearer position at a later stage, or else to oppose the act if our amendment proposals are rejected or bad amendments are added.

AFSA Member Matthew P. Daly introduced a resolution along the lines described above. After debate for and against the resolution, and the proposal and acceptance of an amendment, those present voted 50 in favor and 4 against it. The text of the resolution, which was later read into the record of the Congressional hearing, follows:

RESOLUTION

- Having heard and discussed the outgoing Governing Board's report on the draft Foreign Service Act of 1979;
- Having reviewed the testimony prepared for the hearing July 9, 1979;
- The Annual Meeting of the Washington Membership of July 9, 1979;
- Approves the outgoing Governing Board's efforts to keep the AFSA membership and the Foreign Service informed, and to seek its advice, regarding the draft act;
- Approves the outgoing Governing Board's efforts to obtain from the Department's management specific improvements in the draft act;
- Approves the general outline of the testimony prepared for the July 9, 1979 hearing;
- Recommends that the incoming Governing Board vigorously seek further improvements in the act, while keeping the membership informed and seeking its advice on the AFSA position.

The meeting adjourned at 1 p.m. to the Foreign Service Club for a luncheon featuring light-hearted remarks by the outgoing and incoming presidents. (Copies of the minutes of the annual meeting are available from the AFSA Counselors' office.)

Foreign Service People

Marriage

Fajardo-Schifferdecker. Joan Fajardo was married to FSO Arnold Schifferdecker on May 26 at the bride's home in Wilmette, Illinois. They will make their home at 5034 Dana Pl., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016.

Births

Davenport. A son, Francis Marion IV, born to FSO and Mrs. Frank Davenport on June 16, in Seoul.

White. A daughter, Sara Ruth, born to FSO and Mrs. Thomas J. White on April 29 in Hamilton, New York. Mr. White is Vice Consul in Jerusalem.

Death

Lindley. Ernest K. Lindley, special assistant to Secretary Rusk and member of the Policy Planning Council from 1961 to 1969, died on June 30 in Washington. Mr. Lindley was a noted Washington correspondent for many years, with the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*. He was also the author of several books, received many journalistic awards, several honorary degrees and the Department's Superior Service Award. He is survived by his wife, the former Jean Rasch Gehman, 2207 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, three sons, Jonathan, of Alexandria, Christopher, of Rochester, N.Y., and Mark, of St. Louis, a brother, Stanley, and seven grandchildren.

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