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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 1979

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by Joseph V. Montville

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Kudirka
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by Ken Hill

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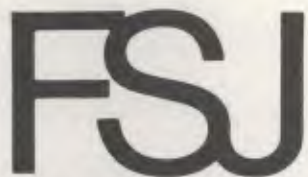
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ACTION NOW!

Within the next month, the administration and the Congress will make decisions which could substantially affect every major aspect of Foreign Service life, remove critical functions of the Service, alter the structure of the personnel system and raise pay levels. The voice of the Service can help promote a stronger, adequately compensated, and united corps of career Foreign Affairs professionals.

The new AFSA leadership seeks to draw on the full strength of our diverse Service, FSO/R/S/IO, first to shape the time-sensitive decisions before us now, and second to advance the entire range of members' interests.

There are three issues primarily involving State but also affecting AID and ICA which require immediate attention:

Transfer of Trade Functions to Commerce/STR. The White House announced July 19th its intent to transfer over 100 commercial officer positions to Commerce from State and to award the Special Trade Representative (STR) major new responsibilities for trade policy. This decision affects not just economic officers, but also support personnel. The decision rests upon a serious miscalculation about the importance to US commercial policy and interests of keeping career trade professionals working in the same department with those who implement the rest of our foreign relations. An AFSA Task Force is already attempting to change this decision. We are working with Congress and others to assure the most professional approach possible to international trade. You can help by joining our active effort.

Restructuring the Foreign Service. The outgoing and incoming AFSA presidents both testified before the combined House International Operations and Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittees July 9th. Our position retains maximum flexibility for dealing with the much improved but still flawed Foreign Service Act of 1979. Members of the new Board began active consultations with Committee staff our first morning in office. We are convinced that the Foreign Service can have a major impact on the shape—or very existence—of a new Foreign Service Act, if we can speak decisively with a single voice in September. Our cables, notices and meetings will have served to keep AFSA members involved in our ultimate position on this measure—one which we hope will have the support of the various special interest groups which have also testified.

Pay. We know all levels of the Service are inadequately compensated and think our case is strong enough to do something about it:

- **Staff Corps:** The Hay Associates Study for management rejects the notion that staff corps salaries are inappropriately higher than the Civil Service and the private sector. AFSA must put together a package we can justify to Congress that compensates for the special demands of overseas service.

- **Officer Corps:** The Hay Study supports full pay parity with the Civil Service. Management's initial position before the interagency task force studying the issue fell well short of that goal. We believe the Hay Associates Study justifies a higher package that could mean considerable

pay increases for many employees and have continued to refine the proposal which appeared in the July *Journal* (see article on pay parity).

- **Senior Officers:** The federal pay ceiling and inflation are seriously hurting senior officers. AFSA's position, based on the strong recommendation of its senior officer task force, has been to oppose performance pay for members of the SFS as unnecessary to stimulate already good performance and inconsistent with the provision of objective policy advice. Its rejection, however, would deny to the Foreign Service the only means found thus far to provide senior officers with additional compensation. Without performance pay, senior FSOs will receive less than their Civil Service colleagues for equal or more difficult work. The new AFSA Board is re-examining our position on this issue and solicits members' views.

AID will undergo major changes in the next few months affecting all AID employees:

- *The Position Reclassification* in AID/W is under way. Members of the AID Standing Committee have been meeting with management on this and will continue to keep fully involved in the process.

- *IDCA, ISTC, OPIC, AID.* The new organizations will become a reality on October 1 and will affect jobs and policies. We will push IDCA to consult with AFSA in the same manner as AID has when changes in personnel procedures are discussed and we will keep employees informed.

- *AID Pay Study.* The Agency is committed to a separate pay comparability study (Hay maintains their study on State is only valid for State) and should undertake one shortly.

The new leadership of AFSA thanks the membership for the mandate you gave us to unite the Foreign Service in the country's interests and our own. Now is the time for all of us to get involved.

AMBASSADOR THOMAS WATSON

The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) has noted the nomination of Thomas Watson as Ambassador to the Soviet Union. While it is the policy of the Association to support to the fullest extent possible the assignment of career officers of the Foreign Service to ambassadorial positions, the present Board of the Association believes that Mr. Watson's experience as an innovator in a worldwide, high technology corporation and his distinguished contribution in public service and education qualify him for this very important diplomatic

The Association regards two important principles to be involved here. The first and most important is that 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 Association regards this concept as vital to the proper conduct of American foreign policy. At the same time, the present Board of the Association believes that circumstances may at times warrant the decision to draw upon uniquely qualified and distinguished Americans

(Continued on page 39)

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FORD EXPORT DIVISION

"People who want to understand democracy should spend less time in the library with Aristotle and more time on the buses and in the subway." — Simeon Strunsky

Home Leave via the **Bus**

BETTY AND BILL ANTHONY

Home leave can be a disappointing experience—expensive and unfulfilling. But in the early fall we traveled by bus from Washington to California across the plains and back to Washington via the south over five weeks, and were so pleased we would like to share the experience.

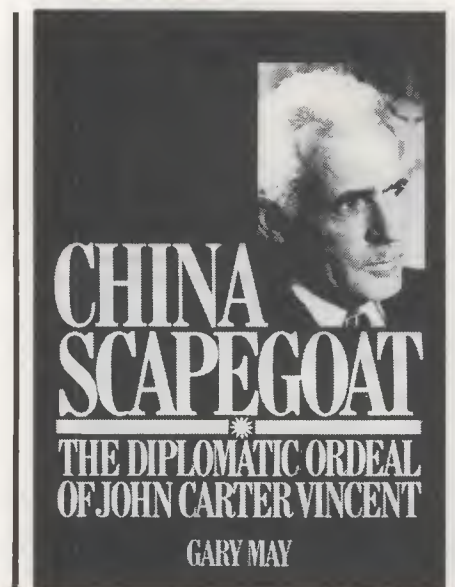
The following is not a travelogue. However, for those considering a bus tour of the United States we have a collection of pros and cons, some tips on how to do it, and a word about the cost.

Long bus travel is not for everyone. On one stretch our driver had to warn a mother to keep her bored child from bothering other passengers. On the other hand we saw one family where three sets of little fingers were knotting macramé all the way across Nebraska. We also caution against taking a long bus trip alone. It is nice to have a familiar shoulder for a nap, and companionship while exploring new cities or coping with luggage, tickets and schedules.

Without exception we found the drivers excellent. They drove prudently, on schedule, and were extraordinarily courteous and considerate to the passengers. One driver returned to the terminal when a passenger reported his seatmate hadn't gotten back on the bus. Another drove a mile off the route to drop a passenger in a small town near the Donner Pass. The drivers were proper in enforcing rules such as no alcohol, no smoking except in the last three rows and then only cigarettes—never cigars or pipes, and in central California marijuana was added to the taboos. They were also humorous. A midnight relief driver in Nevada jollied up his tired passengers by announcing, "This is your driver speaking. We will be cruising at an altitude of four feet. If you have any problems or questions I'll be at the front of the bus (pause)

Bill Anthony retired in the spring from ICA Montreal after 24 years service in a variety of information officer positions—Tehran, Tel Aviv, Kabul, Ankara and Saigon, with Washington interludes. He and Betty found their retirement site in Black Mountain, N.C. while on this bus trip.

The heroic story of an honorable man disgraced in a dishonorable time



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most of the time." They spoke clearly and distinctly, possibly for the specific benefit of the many foreign travelers, and were very tactful, such as when two inebriated would-be boarders were advised to take the next bus in the hope they might sober up before its departure.

We had no bus breakdowns. Once, and of course it had to be in the southwest, the air conditioning failed. But it was repaired at the next scheduled stop. Otherwise, the drivers controlled the heating and cooling according to the wishes of the passengers.

This pleasant relief from the chores of driving and vehicle maintenance, and the opportunity for both of us to view the scenery simultaneously and to chat with other passengers head our list of pluses.

Another strong plus is the close-upness bus travel gives to the scene. The buses take you where the people live and work. Terminals are located downtown. The buses approach them through nice suburbs and bad slums. In a small Idaho town we saw the forming of a high school homecoming parade. We learned to identify sorghum, soybeans and sugarbeets in the fields. We glimpsed pronghorns feeding alongside cattle on the Wyoming range. We could read roadside signs such as "Wyoming is What America Was," "Get the US Out of The United Nations," and "No Skateboarding on the Highway."

More pluses include schedule punctuality, fairly comfortable seats with a smooth ride, generally good visibility and tinted windows, no perceived personal danger, and some choice in routing and scheduling. And we weren't "stuck with the bus." We rented cars for touring Yellowstone and the Monterey Peninsula, and of course

we could have flown onward should the bus have become intolerable.

The biggest minus, a problem from the beginning, was getting information on routes and timetables. We never decided whether the information specialists and ticket agents assigned to customer contact were incompetent, poorly trained or worn down from dealing with the public. At a meal stop in Pennsylvania we got by chance our best resource: a map showing Greyhound's routes across the country along with routes of other connecting bus lines in the United States. We never saw another one. Trailways had a similar map for its own routes. Both companies print timetables, but at most terminals across the country the selection was limited or non-existent. When we did find a fair collection we took enough to share with other passengers. At the beginning we were not able to get an overview of how vast a trip was feasible for our available leave time. On the early portion there was a sense of winging it.

Had we known then what we know now we could have been better informed. To prepare this article, we wrote directly to Greyhound and Trailways headquarters. We explained we needed a map of their continental US system and relevant schedules for a cross-country routing. We mentioned the half-dozen places we definitely wanted to visit. Greyhound replied with their excellent "Map of the United States of Greyhound," their own set of travel tips, and five timetables that would have saved us a lot of trouble had we had them before actually traveling. Trailways sent us their "National Route Map" and said they were sending schedules—not received several weeks

Picasso Stayed Here.

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later. Addresses: Executive Vice President-Operations, Greyhound Tower, Phoenix, Arizona, 85077; and Customer Service, Trailways, 1500 Jackson Street, Dallas, Texas, 75201.

Another minus was the "hype" from the bus companies. Trailways' posters advertised bus travel instead of "High Anxiety Due to Flying." There are different kind of anxieties, such as getting your luggage stored in the underside luggage compartment of the bus you are traveling on, or because of unreserved seats obtaining a preferred seat by arriving early. Our Ameripasses had to be "written up" before each journey. The larger the terminals the longer the waiting lines at the ticket counters and the boarding gates. Fortunately, the lines were usually orderly and the other passengers friendly and patient.

Be prepared for some dirty, littered waiting rooms and rest room facilities. Pay toilets with one free one are the most common, but there are a few sparkling new terminals with good facilities. The buses themselves have toilets with varying degrees of cleanliness.

The buses of course didn't always go when we wanted to. To travel 400 or so miles a day we often had to get to the terminal dismally early or leave so late as to arrive well into the night.

Fellow passengers often were a delight. There were young people traveling with packs, some elderly folk and many middle-aged, probably lower middle-income if they must be classified. There was a lot of diversity which brought on some interesting conversations. We also talked with Swiss, Germans, Australians, and New Zealanders, and interpreted such road signs as "Night

Crawlers For Sale" and in Idaho explained what a "spud" is. Foreign travelers, by the way, can obtain their "Ameripasses" at a substantial discount abroad and have their trip planned for them.

Perhaps the most important tip we can provide for bus travel is to go light. We were comfortable with one medium-size suitcase each which went into compartments beneath the bus and with one each, easily opened, small carry-on piece. Porters or red caps were very rare. We often walked with our luggage two or three blocks between terminals and hotels. Taxis were always available and in small towns the bus terminal is often their base. Wear clothes with pockets for tickets, baggage stubs and reboarding passes.

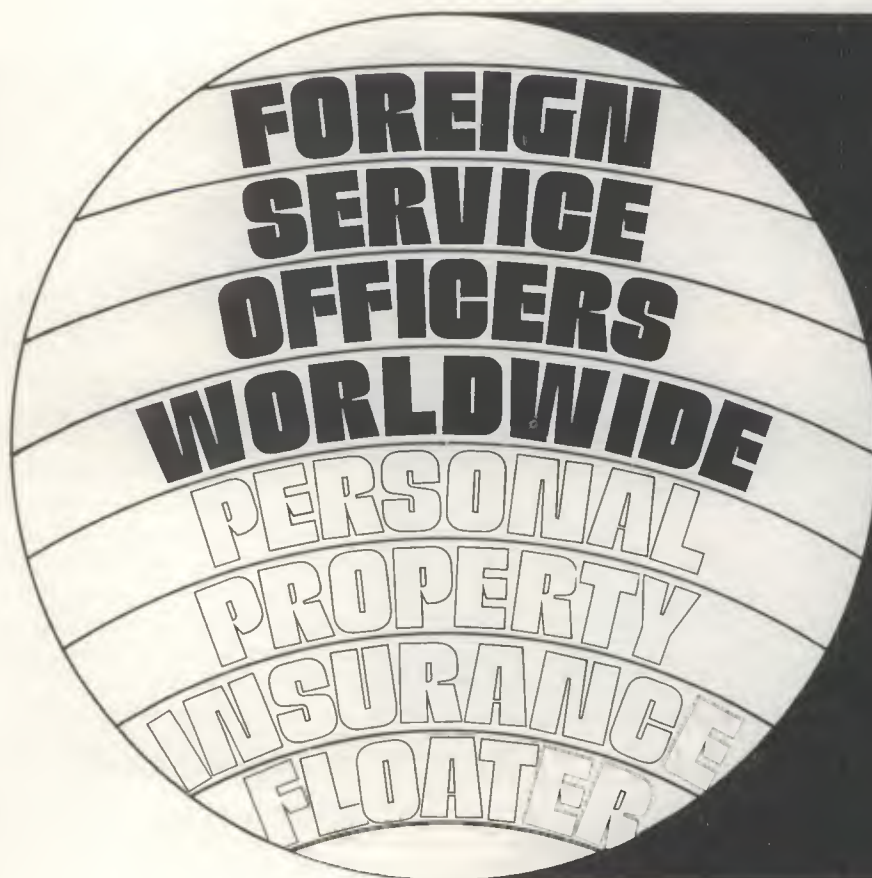
By all means take a road atlas. It helps in following your present route and, unlike state maps, allows plotting of routes onward. We found a calendar handy, and also a travel clock.

We didn't do nearly as much reading or handwork while riding as we had anticipated. Interesting scenery and fellow passengers diverted us.

Carry fruit and munchies. Scheduled meal stops are sometimes only 30 to 45 minutes and often restaurants at the terminals or nearby are already crowded before you and two dozen other passengers descend on them. Some of the restaurants were quite good and efficient and offered regional dishes, such as grits. At some terminals there were only food dispensing machines. Occasionally the bus driver pointed out good eating places.

During the day we liked the seat either immediately

(Continued on page 29)



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RUSSIAN ENCOUNTER

NINA COLLADAY

Until the frowning officer on the motorcycle in the middle of the road ordered the taxi to turn around and go back to town, there hadn't been time enough to be afraid. Everyone knew the Russians would one day invade Estonia but it seemed ironic that I, an American woman alone in a taxi except for the driver, would be the first to meet them on this lonely road near Rannamoisa where my three small children, with the nurse and maid, were waiting for me.

It was June 17, 1940.

If only the government official's baby hadn't been christened the day before I would now be safely home, but such little things decide the course of our lives. Home was a dacha for the summer, about sixteen kilometers from Tallinn, an

enchanted, gingerbread wooden house set high on a hill, surrounded by birch and pine trees, with a sandy path leading down to miles of pure, sparkling white sandy beaches and the blue Baltic.

On the previous Friday night Monty had arrived from Tallinn with a tragic story. Busy all day preparing the diplomatic pouch for the courier to take to Helsinki, he accompanied the man to the airport and on returning to the legation learned that the plane had crashed shortly after take-off. Everyone on board was lost, including two French couriers and our own, as well as the pouches they carried. This news hit me harder than all the rumors that had been floating around for two years, because Monty had often been courier and I had accompanied him, to shop and visit friends in Helsinki. We might very well have been on that plane.

On Sunday afternoon, June 16, we went in town from the dacha to attend the christening, leaving the children with the maids. I intended to spend the night in our apartment, go to market in the morning, then catch a bus for Rannamoisa.

Coming down the hill from St. Mary's Cathedral after the ceremony, we noticed an unusual number of cars going past us up the Toompea toward the Dom and Parliament. "All official cars," Monty said thoughtfully, "with big brass in every one. I wonder what's up."

At the reception in the hotel afterwards, while everyone was drinking toasts to the new baby, a soldier slipped unobtrusively into the room and whispered to one of the guests, who got up quickly and went out with him.

"General X of the General Staff," Monty said, "Now I know something serious has happened. I'll have to leave right away and find out what it is. Meet me at the apartment if I don't get back before this bash is over."

He didn't return, so I went alone to the apartment and tried several times to call the legation, but the line was dead. What had happened? Whatever it was there was nothing I could do about it, so after vainly trying to read, I went to bed and fell into a troubled sleep.

The shrilling of the telephone woke me. There is no night in that

Nina Colladay, wife of FSO-retired Montgomery H. Colladay, graduated from Columbia, with a year at the University of Madrid on a scholarship, has since studied at the University of Basel and the University of Arizona. She accompanied her husband to Warsaw, Basel, Tallinn, Winnipeg, London, Dublin, Sao Paulo, Port of Spain and Valencia. The Colladays now live in San Diego.

far northern summer, and the sun was shining brightly through the open windows in spite of the clock that said two in the morning. A faint, faraway voice on the phone said.

"This is Tolischus of the New York Times in Stockholm. I've been trying to reach your husband at the American legation all night, but the line seems to be dead. Can you help me? The Russians invaded Latvia and Lithuania last night but I can't get any information on Estonia. Do you know if they have entered the country yet?"

The phone fell out of my nerveless hand—oh God, so it's happened at last—the armies may be in Rannamoisa this very minute I've got to get out there with the children but how—

The insistent voice on the phone was still talking so I pulled myself together and told the correspondent what I knew, then tried the legation again but the line was still dead. Of course it had been cut, how stupid of me not to have guessed. Wild with worry now, I took to pacing the floor, my footsteps echoing eerily in the empty apartment, and leaning out the window watching for Monty. Finally at six o'clock he turned the corner and was soon with me. He received a stormy welcome.

Soviet troops had left their base at Paldiski at midnight, he said, and were expected to enter the city about nine, three hours from now. The cabinet and general staff, in session all night, had decided not to resist in order to avoid bloodshed, which would have been useless anyway. There was no hope of foreign aid and Estonia had only a small army of 8,000 as opposed to the immense Russian forces.

"The road from Paldiski goes right by the side road leading to Rannamoisa," I said, "and I've got to get out there somehow to be with the children. Can you come with me?"

"You know my job is here," he said reluctantly, "to follow what's happening and keep Washington informed—I can't leave. You'll have to be a good soldier and go alone. Can you do it?"

I could do it.

After freshening up and eating a hasty breakfast, we went off together. The first bus for Ran-

namoisa was scheduled to leave Vabadusevaliak (Freedom Square) at nine, so I stopped at the market and hurried back to the legation to see if anything had happened. Nothing had. Down then to the square, now crowded with silent people. The news was out. A policeman told us all buses had been cancelled and the road to Rannamoisa closed to traffic. That's what *he* thought—I intended to get through. By this time it was nine-thirty with no sign of the troops. I might still be able to make it in a taxi, but would need special identification, so once more to the legation where a secretary typed out a *laissez-passer* in Russian on a special typewriter, stating that I was the wife of an American diplomat in Tallinn, and requesting

"Without a glance at
me or my precious
paper the officer spat
deliberately in the dust
at my feet, jerked a
thumb over his
shoulder and said
something in Russian
to Sigismund."

permission to travel the coast road to reach my children.

Back to Vabadusevaliak—find a taxi with a driver who spoke Russian and could translate into German for me, if worst came to worst and we should meet the troops. Up and down a long line of a dozen or more taxis with drivers who either shook their heads or turned away. Desperate now, tears streaming down my face, I begged.

"*Meine Kinder sind dort, das baby nur zwei Jahren—bitte, bitte hilfe—*"

At last one man stepped forward. "I've seen Russians before," he said, "I'll take you to your children. I speak Russian and Polish as well as German."

We got quickly into the taxi and were off. In answer to my question, the driver said his name was Sigismund. "Did you know you have a famous ancestor?" I asked, to keep my mind off what lay ahead, "Sigismund was a king in the six-

teenth century."

"*Nie, prosze pani,*" he said, reverting to Polish in his surprise, "my father was a blacksmith, my grandfather too, but there aren't many horses around any more so I learned to drive a cab."

Right there my heart flipped over. Drawn up by the side of the road, guarded by Russian soldiers in rumpled tunics, was an ugly tank, its guns pointing at us. Sigismund slowed down and looked at me questioningly but I motioned him to keep going, saying to myself, they wouldn't dare shoot an American woman—unless, of course they shoot first and ask questions afterwards.

Further on we passed more tanks with tired-looking soldiers, none of whom paid any attention to us and my courage rose with every kilometer we put behind us. Halfway to Rannamoisa we met the first troops head-on, a single line of open trucks full to bursting with soldiers, guns, bayonets. Sigismund, to whom Russians were an old story, panicked, jammed on his brakes and yelled.

"*Die Russen Soldaten! Wir müssen zurück gehen!*"

"*Nein! Nein!*" I yelled back, "*Vorwärts—und schnell!*"

In the narrow road choked with dust from the churning wheels the soldiers looked enormous, all leaning forward at the same angle with guns ending in bayonets over their shoulders, the travesty of a frieze of warriors with spears on a Greek or Etruscan vase.

And then—there was the officer on a motorcycle with upraised arm. We stopped. I got out and strode toward him, determination in my heart and probably fire in my eyes, but on reaching the grim figure in the deafening roar of trucks rattling past, hardly able to breathe because of the dust, all my brave intentions of keeping calm, dignified, a little haughty, to show him he couldn't push an American woman around deserted me and I heard myself saying faintly,

"*Amerikanski!*" and fainter still, "*Diplomaticzni.*"

Without a glance at me or my precious paper the officer spat deliberately in the dust at my feet, jerked a thumb over his shoulder and said something in Russian to Sigismund, who translated, "He says the line is double ahead

around the next corner and there isn't room enough for a fly to get through, that unless we want to spend the rest of the day sitting beside the road we'd better turn around fast and go back to Tallinn."

Looking in the direction he

with a bulging bosom and bottom to match, whom he introduced as Madame Nikitin. Had he just made an honest woman of her after living in secret sin all this time or (and this was probably nearer the truth) was she a party member sent from Moscow to help in the take-over

"The big boss Zhdanov, in charge of the whole take-over of the three Baltic states, is here now and everyone is afraid, wearing their oldest clothes, hoping to be inconspicuous and keeping out of sight."

pointed, there indeed was the double line of trucks rushing toward us with alarming speed, so in ignominious silence we backed up to the nearest farm to turn around. In his haste, Sigismund killed the engine twice but finally got going, and once headed for home threw caution to the winds and took off in a cloud of dust as though all the devils of hell were after him.

It was now with a thrill of terror I realized what a fine target I made, silhouetted in the back window of the fleeing taxi, with hundreds of Russian guns pointing at me. It took all my nerve not to dive down to the floor out of sight, but I managed to remain stubbornly upright, shouting to Sigismund over the up-roar to slow down and to increase speed gradually until we could out-distance our unwelcome companions.

Twenty thousand soldiers poured into Tallinn that day, taking over hotels, theaters and schools as barracks. They were orderly and "correct," made no arrests, molested nobody (except for throwing out everyone in the requisitioned buildings) and went about their business as though it had all been arranged ahead of time, as indeed it probably had, with the connivance of the Russian minister Monsieur Nikitin and Madame Nikitin. For the Russian legation was now a *ménage-à-deux*. M. Nikitin had never been seen with wife or mistress until one day shortly before the invasion when he appeared at a reception accompanied by a stout woman

and keep tabs on him day and night? We never found out for sure, but the speculations were hilarious.

Torn with anxiety about what might be happening in Rannamoisa I roamed the streets all day unable to rest or eat, occasionally dropping in at a cafe with the hope of meeting friends. Many were there, their faces sad with the realization that Tallinn and all Estonia were doomed. Russian planes droned low overhead, their insistent whine almost unbearable to nerves stretched to the breaking point.

And still the trucks kept coming, until we wondered how the little city could hold them all. Late in the afternoon they contained women wrapped up in black shawls—camp followers, someone said. By evening the flood was reduced to a trickle and a friend who owned one of the few private cars in town offered to drive me out to Rannamoisa. We were stopped several times and told to draw off the road while big, black Ziv limousines swept by, headed for the city. In spite of my anxiety I was amused to see an elegantly clad officer, his breast covered with ribbons and medals, lolling in solitary splendor in the back seat of each, looking for all the world like a capitalist on his way to a party.

It was midnight of the second day before Monty arrived, in a taxi he kept waiting while we walked up and down in front of the dacha in the pale glow of the midnight sun, now just under the horizon. In two hours it would be broad daylight. There had been demonstrations all day, he said—ragged, dirty people

milling around and shouting, "We want bread! We want work! Down with the tyrants!"

In our more than two years here we had never seen such people. There was bread for all and Poles had to be brought in to help with the bountiful harvests. There were no tyrants. Clearly, this was a "rising of the masses" engineered by Moscow as a prelude to taking over the government, and these people were Estonian-speaking Russians from the border, brought in to stir up trouble. There would be more of these demonstrations, and our problem right now was what to do about the children and me—stay in Rannamoisa and trust to the safety of its isolation, or move to the apartment in town where we would be near the legation in case of trouble? We decided it would be safer in Rannamoisa.

We were wrong.

Monty returned several days later, on Saturday, June 22, again at midnight and with a taxi waiting. This time I broke down.

"No, I can't stand it any longer, it's pure hell here alone with the children and maids, not knowing what's going on—let us go back with you."

"It's worse hell in Tallinn at the moment," he said. "Here you are safe, but the big boss Zhdanov, in charge of the whole take-over of the three Baltic states is here now and everyone is afraid, wearing their oldest clothes, hoping to be inconspicuous and keeping out of sight. I would guess that from Rataskaiva to Lubijalag there isn't a necktie to be seen on any Estonian. Yesterday there was another, and worse 'rising' of the masses, taking place at the same time and in the same manner as ones in Kaunas and Riga, as our legations there informed us.

"It started in Vabadusevaliak in the early hours of the morning and lasted until late at night. Estonian police had been ordered off the streets into barracks and disarmed, but one group of young cadets held out, barricading themselves in their barracks, refusing to give up. They were overcome and shot.

"The crowd went on to the prison, forcing the release of all political prisoners, most of them well-known communists who became leaders of the mob, which then went boiling up the Toompea

to the Castle. Soviet tanks were stationed around corners on side streets, making sure the crowd didn't get out of hand. I tailed along behind with a couple of friends from the British legation—we were cautious and stayed near a tank behind the Cathedral. At six-thirty the Estonian flag was hauled down and a few minutes later the hammer and sickle floated from the top of the Castle.

"That night the crowd was allowed to run wild, still under the leadership of the released prisoners, who made the most of it to settle old scores. Screams, yells and shots rang out all over the city until midnight. Several government officials were hauled out of bed and taken away, and a cabinet minister committed suicide when a stray bullet hit the wall of his bedroom. This morning everything was quiet again, buses ran on schedule, police were back on the streets and strangest of all, the Estonian flag was back on the Castle. If it stays this way, I'll come out and bring you and the children to town, but we must be sure. Have patience a little longer."

So again the children and I were alone, but not for long.

Two mornings later, a strange clanking sounded from the sea, and hurrying out of the house I saw a Russian warship dropping anchor offshore. Without waiting for breakfast, I raced through the woods to the village to call the legation but the line was dead, so hurried back to keep watch on the ship through binoculars. No signs or sounds of activity, but after lunch, from my refuge under a pine tree in the front yard, I heard the gate click. Peering out from under the low branches I could just see two pairs of boots, one a peasant's, the other a Russian officer's. My heart pounding like a trip hammer, I stood up and walked slowly to the front door of the house and turned to face them, standing as tall as my five feet two allowed. And waited.

The officer bowed and handed me a paper written in Russian and German notifying all residents of Rannamoisa except the Russian minister, the Old Peoples' Home and the family of the American diplomat (us) to vacate their dachas within twenty-four hours, taking only what they could carry. Russian sailors would be billeted here.

The peasant, whom I knew slightly, grinned. "Now we're all equal," he said, "and don't have to call you *gnadige Frau* any more."

"You'll keep a civil tongue in your head," I snapped, "or I'll tell Comrade Zhdanov on you, he's a friend of ours. Now tell the officer that we don't care to stay here, but will leave when it's convenient."

Marta the cook was sitting by the window in the kitchen crying and plucking aimlessly at her skirt. "Stop, that," I said, "you'll upset the children and there's nothing to be afraid of. We're going back to town, so start packing the kitchen things, there's a lot to do."

It was a mile through the woods and this time I beat my record to the village, arriving at the little shop to find a crowd of people around the phone. When my turn came, I had just time enough to say breathlessly, "We've got to leave here, the Russians—" Click! Big Brother was listening.

Fraulein and I spent the rest of the day packing, helped by the children who were always ready for excitement or change. Even the baby packed her own little suitcase, but Marta still sat by the window staring into space. No time to worry about her—enough to wonder what would happen next, and if Monty had understood my interrupted message.

He arrived that evening in a rickety old taxi—the last free one in all Estonia, he said. Everyone was going somewhere, for the Soviets were turning people out of their homes in droves. We piled bedding, books, toys, food, maids and children in somehow. Reaching the apartment, he left at once for the legation while the rest of us fell exhausted into bed. I didn't even hear him come home.

Our apartment was actually two joined together. Children and maids had bedrooms on one side, ours were in the connecting apartment. From one side, nothing could be heard from the other.

About six the next morning, fraulein woke us. Marta had gone berserk during the night, she said, drinking up all the liquor she could find, staggering around screaming curses at the Russians and flourishing a kitchen knife.

"The children?" I gasped.

They slept through it all. Fraulein locked herself in with them and

stayed awake all night, but Marta was quiet now. The three of us crept cautiously through the two living rooms, down the corridor leading to the kitchen and stood listening. Silence—or was that someone snoring? Monty went ahead and opened the cook's door where a shocking sight met us. Marta, fully dressed, lay spread-eagled on the bed, the knife still in her hand. There was vomit and excrement everywhere and the stench was dreadful. He carefully removed the knife, beckoned us outside, took the key from the door, locked it and called a doctor.

Poor girl, I thought remorsefully as I heard her story afterward. Before coming to us she had worked for a family on the Karelian Isthmus in Finland. When the Russian armies came the family fled, leaving her to fend for herself, and how she managed to escape through enemy troops that long way to Helsinki and across the Bay of Finland to Tallinn was anyone's guess. Seeing the Russian officer in Rannamoisa had triggered the memory and she simply cracked up. We couldn't blame her, but except for fraulein's quick thinking it might have ended in tragedy for us.

Now more than ever we longed to go far away from these horrors to some quiet place where we could live peacefully. It would be two long, anxious months before that wish would be granted.

Arrests and deportation of all who might become a threat to the Soviet masters began in earnest, never publicly, never during the daytime and always without warning. A knock on the door and the man of the house was whisked away into oblivion. That was all, a small but necessary part of security in preparation for the coming elections, announced for July 14 and 15.

The elections would be simple: all parties were rejected on technical grounds except the Peoples Party, directed by communists. Promises were made—no collective farming. Also threats—saboteurs would be shot on sight. Everyone must vote, bringing his identity card to the polls to be marked in proof that he had obeyed the law. To nobody's surprise the vote was *da* in favor of the Peoples Party, and July 20 set for the as-

sembly of the newly-elected parliament. Large posters appeared all over town proclaiming, WE WANT UNION WITH SOVIET RUSSIA. On July 21st the parliament unanimously adopted a resolution requesting this union, and a delegation was appointed to go to Moscow.

When the delegation returned a victory parade took place, starting from Vabadusevaliak, circling the square, passing under the windows of the American legation and on through the town. Before it started, a Russian officer warned us, politely but firmly, not to open the windows or take pictures. Down in the square, townspeople were roped off at a considerable distance from the marchers, and heavily armed soldiers were stationed at frequent intervals. No safety precautions had been overlooked.

The parade consisted of marching men carrying monster portraits of Lenin and members of the Politburo. One group of six bore on their shoulders a black-draped coffin with large white letters on the side reading, KAPITALISM. How my fingers itched for a camera! A delegation of firemen, policemen and private citizens brought up the rear, all staring stonily ahead and many with tears running unashamedly down their faces.

Because fraternization had been discouraged and the press had become a mere echo of Soviet pronouncements, I met my Estonian friends every morning by "accident" at different cafes. It was my only source of news. Whose husband had been taken away during the night? Who had been summoned for questioning? Who had been evicted and where had they gone?

Walking alone around town made me uneasy at first, especially as I had begun to notice a man in civilian clothes who was obviously following me. "We're all being watched and our phones tapped," Monty said, "so don't worry. He's protecting you too—the Soviets have been extremely careful not to offend us, they're anxious to avoid incidents with the United States while they're getting established here. If anything happened to you they'd have a lot of explaining to do. So relax and enjoy your freedom, but be careful."

This idea intrigued me. How many ordinary, unimportant people

like me, outside an Eric Ambler spy story, could boast a private NKVD bodyguard?

The soldiers congregated around the little shops in the middle of town, humble affairs displaying such oddly-assorted goods as second-hand furniture, old Russian silver, brass samovars, cheap eau de cologne, ladies' stockings (cotton), sturdy underwear and sleazy nightgowns. It was a glorious aspect of capitalism they hadn't been told about. We heard the Russian women with the army wore these nightgowns to dances, thinking they were evening dresses.

Troops were still coming sporadically into the city and the ruthless

"Looking me up and
down with an
expression of absolute
loathing
she mimicked,
'Amerikanski—
diplomatichni'—
and spat in my face."

search for quarters went on. Evicted families with no place to go moved in with already overcrowded relatives or with equally hard-pressed friends and there was constant agitation, families drifting from place to place, more and more crowding into smaller and smaller space. A few lucky ones succeeded in escaping to Stockholm in small boats at this time, but the Soviets soon caught on, shot a few and posted guards along the coast.

We spent a memorable day with General Laidoner and his wife at their dacha in the country. Ever since he had liberated Estonia from Russian domination in 1920 he had been the most powerful and best loved man in the country. Now the Laidoners were expecting arrest and deportation at any moment and this would be our last meeting. Madame Laidoner said as she showed us their bags, packed and ready in the hall. President Päts's daughter, who acted as her father's hostess was also there with her husband and two small children.

She too was ready for that knock on the door in the night. A short time later, General Laidoner and his wife disappeared, President Päts and his family were placed on house arrest, then they too disappeared.

A lively black market developed between the Estonians forced to remain and the few foreigners. The Estonians wanted dollars and offered fantastic bargains to get them. A new Packard convertible, for instance, ermine and sable coats, a Bechstein grand piano. We refused them all, for an excellent reason. Cold cash (why was it always called cold?) had become a problem for us. Late one Saturday evening at a party we heard that the president of the Eesti Pank, the national bank of Estonia, had disappeared from his home. At once Monty went to the legation and cabled Washington, suggesting that Estonian funds in American banks be frozen. On Monday morning, as expected, when a representative from the Russian embassy claimed the money for the Soviet Union he was informed it was not available to him. In retaliation, the Soviets blocked our credit, refusing to exchange dollars or honor bank drafts, so our small supply of ready cash had to be carefully hoarded.

We had problems. A burly man pushed his way into the legation. He was president of the Peoples Party, he said and had come to take over the legation for his headquarters. "Estonia is now part of the Soviet Union," he went on arrogantly, "and only one mission is allowed. You have no right to be here, only the embassy in Moscow is legal."

"It's quite true that only one mission is allowed," Monty said, "but we are also a consulate and will continue to transact business until notified to the contrary, by the proper authorities." Disgruntled, the man left.

It was my turn next.

Hearing loud voices in the front hall of our apartment, I went out to find an immense woman in Russian uniform lounging against the wall near the open door, arguing with the cook.

"She says she's been allotted living space in one of our rooms," Marta translated, "and wants to

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Congress and the 'Issues Extortionists'

JOSEPH V. MONTVILLE

The work of a member of Congress is getting harder, the hours longer, the pressures greater and more contradictory, the financial and human cost higher and the rewards fewer. Good people who should be re-elected easily have been defeated. Others have decided the strain is not worth it any longer and retired in mid-career.

A record 59 members voluntarily left Congress at the end of 1978. The previous record of 53 had been set only two years before. In last November's election, 35 Senate seats were up and 20 were won by non-incumbents. Seventy-seven newcomers joined the House of Representatives. In the Senate which convened in January, more than half of the members were freshmen or sophomores, having served only four years or less. Just about one-half of the House members have been elected since 1974.

Transients and independents owing little or nothing to an increasingly irrelevant party system work their diverse ways in a Congress influenced by hard-driving lobbies backed now by a proliferation of political action committees paying millions of dollars into carefully selected campaign funds. Intensely emotional single-interest groups badger and threaten politicians.

The domestic economy is beset by a debilitating, high structural inflation rate reflecting the relentless use of market power by entrenched corporate, professional, financial and trade union interests. Real income is declining for most Americans who see eluding their grasp many of the goals in housing, health, education and well-being they expected to gain routinely only five or ten years ago.

As if this were not enough, the

United States may be suffering from a low growth condition characteristic of many, if not most, mature industrialized democracies in the world with which existing political institutions, and particularly the centrifugal Congress, may prove unable to cope.

The decline in orderliness in the legislative branch is laid to the emergence of the autonomous politician by many observers. David Broder has written that the process began in the late 1970s when ambitious candidates—following the example of John F. Kennedy—learned they could bypass the party system and win. Now, eager office seekers do not consider being screened by their parties, they organize to capture a nomination with a full-time extended primary campaign.

For many of the newer breed of politicians, winning elections is a matter of marketing, and their methods resemble those of commercial firms. After the last election, *Time* wrote that incumbents often keep detailed computerized mailing lists so that they can make direct and efficient contact with voters according to specific issues of interest to them. Challengers, on the other hand, use computer analyses of detailed public opinion polls to find their opponents' weaknesses and only then design their own positions on the issues.

Beyond this "research," modern candidates frequently hire high-priced professional image-makers who draw up advertising campaigns to sell whatever they find the voters seem interested in buying. Like the detergent manufacturers, candidates use television advertising for which they spend 60-70 percent of their campaign

funds. Direct TV marketing of a candidate eliminates the need for party rallies, battalions of volunteers and massive efforts to get the party faithful to vote. And as with most TV programming, voters become increasingly the spectators in a political process—rather than the participants. Political advertising, unfortunately, is having the same effect as other aspects of commercial TV promotion—the viewers—and voters—are tuning out. Only 34 percent of the electorate voted in the 1978 off-year congressional elections, the lowest level since the 32 percent in 1942 when Americans had an understandable distraction. The previous low had been 30 percent in 1926.

In his major new work, *Leadership*, James MacGregor Burns writes with concern:

In competitive societies the investing, calculating, transacting, risk-taking quality of politics may attract individualistic, entrepreneurial types of personalities who bring to politics the ethics and the practices of laissez-faire capitalism—with crucial implications for policymaking and political leadership.

The political parties no longer serve a mediating function between the citizenry and the government. In the past, parties ensured a form of electoral order. They provided leadership training, refined the issues in political debate and fostered constructive partisanship. With the Goldwater candidacy and Watergate having undone the Republicans and the Vietnam war having split the Democrats, the parties have not been able to withstand free enterprise, self-centered politics. And ironically, reforms aimed at purifying the party system contributed to the parties' collapse—the exponential growth of primaries and the funding of campaigns by political action committees instead of the traditional fat cats.

With the opportunities provided by the multitude of primaries for which the voter turn-out is minimal in most elections, zealous single-issue groups can have a devastating effect on candidacies. (Only 28 percent of the electorate voted for Jimmy Carter in 1976. Governor Byrne of New Jersey won with 15 percent in 1977. Mayor Koch was elected by 12 percent of New York City's voters. And Senator Henry Jackson won the New York primary in 1976 with six percent of the eligible vote.)

This article was prepared to guide the discussion at a round table during the annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology in Washington, May 24-26. A Congressional Fellow in 1975-76, Mr. Montville is a founding member of the ISPP and an associate editor of its quarterly journal, Political Psychology. He is also an alumnus of FSI's intensive course in political economy. At present he is chief of Near East Research and analysis in the bureau of intelligence and research, Department of State.

The fractionalizing trends in elective politics have been exacerbated by the mushrooming of political action committees spawned in the election law reform of 1971, amended in 1974 and 1976. There were over 1800 PACs operating by November 1978, and 1200 of those had been formed by businesses and trade associations since 1975. All PACs, including those of labor unions, contributed more than \$40 million to House and Senate elections in 1978.

Beyond the obvious financial motivation of individual business PACs, there is a growing trend toward right wing single-issue PACs—the anti-abortionist, the gun lobby, right-to-work groups. They have learned that campaign contributions have considerable influence in the American political marketplace.

The single-issue groups do not depend primarily on money for their effort, however. The militance of their membership or volunteers is the source of their strength in the face of low general voter turnout. David Broder has written that the single-issue groups have taken a leaf from the freelance politician and also bypassed the party system, taking their case directly to the people. The result, he says, is that:

Independent, autonomous officeholders are confronting independent, autonomous interest groups in a kind of unmediated power struggle that leaves the national interest in shreds and helps persuade voters to express their dissatisfaction in the most dramatic way possible—by not voting.

Senator John Culver has said single-issue politics has "disturbing implications for the nature and quality of political representation in this country." Splinter lobbies increasingly force loyalty tests on elected officials and candidates on a wide range of peripheral issues. The politician is not being judged on his overall record but by a single test. Broder reports officeholders are demanding protection from what one has called "issues extortionists." They want some defense against the cross-fire of non-negotiable, special-interest demands. Broder thinks only the revival of the party system can restore some order to the growing electoral anomie. But there are socio-economic reasons which may

make this solution extremely difficult to bring about.

The 1979 annual economic report of the president stressed the depressing fact that US productivity has been in steady decline in the last few years. From 1950 through 1965, productivity rose at an annual rate of 2.5 percent, providing a regular surplus to be divided among the factors of production. However, between 1965 and 1973, the rate dropped to about two percent per year. From 1973 through 1977 productivity rose only one percent per year, and in 1978 it dropped to .8 percent.

Accompanying the decline in productivity has been persistent high inflation. Businessmen, workers, farmers and professionals and those who benefit from government programs have been raising their take at rates far higher than the annual productivity gain. The prognosis is for continued high inflation with its destructive social effects unless the claims made on the economy by the various organized interests are scaled down.

Unfortunately, as Daniel Bell has written, when anti-inflationary policies are proclaimed, particularly when the economy is declining, every group seeks to escape the necessary cut in its standard of living or its wealth, so that the pressures toward a greater corporate organization of society (and the ability to use that corporate power for wage indexing or tax advantages) increase.

Common Cause charges that eleven governmental practices or policies feed inflation but are maintained because of special interest pressure. These include price fixing for airlines, trucking, dairy products, health services under Medicare, maritime operations and artificially high wages for construction workers on federal projects.

The heaviest burdens fall on the unorganized sections of the poor and middle classes. In the words of socioeconomist Adam Smith, "It does not make for a sense of community."

Further, Smith writes, taxes go up with inflation, tax revolts cut the services supplied by cities and states. "The library closes earlier, and the high school roof will not be repaired until next year at the earliest." The standard of living, in

other words, is falling.

Neal Peirce recently reported that tax-poor cities and states are delaying basic infrastructural repairs at a serious rate. Across the country, aging water mains, sewer lines, storm drains, bridges and roads are being neglected. Boston is losing half of its water through leaks in mains and Houston 30 percent. Most of New Orleans' sewers need replacement; some were bought—secondhand—from Philadelphia in 1896. Of the 564,000 bridges in the United States, approximately 105,000 are obsolete and/or dangerous. New York's West Side highway simply collapsed to the roadway below several years ago and its sister F.D.R. Drive on the East Side of Manhattan resembles the West Side structure shortly before it fell.

More ominous even is the potential for tension and violence in a situation of badly skewed income distribution in a declining economy. The unemployment rate in the United States for black teenagers is nearly 40 percent. Unemployed youth, particularly those already disadvantaged, fall further behind in a society and economy which has no honorable place for them. The predictable psychological consequence is angry counter-rejection of society, usually in a destructive way.

A more indirect form of social or political hostility caused by declining real income and simultaneous high inflation is right-wing activism. Former Senator McIntyre, defeated unexpectedly in New Hampshire last November, has said rightist groups are having increasing success using "the scare technique." Sloganeering and oversimplification, he states, are having an impact and will continue to do so as long as high inflation increases the widespread popular sense of injustice. Individual politicians become the hapless objects of the resultant hostility.

The phenomena characterizing the American political landscape take on new meaning in light of one of the most stimulating and insightful theories in political economy of recent times. Professor Mancur Olson, a Harvard-trained economist at the University of Maryland, is attracting considerable attention for his work on the

political economy of comparative growth-rates. Olson proposes a persuasive explanation for the declining economic performance of the mature industrialized democracies which is roughly summarized as follows.

The sources of growth are the increases in resources and other developments which are the immediate occasion of increases in output—new capital, labor skills, or new technology. Rates of growth differ from country to country because in many societies there are structural obstacles to growth which are the result of social action. These obstacles endure because of the political influence of those who benefit financially from them. Essentially small common-interest groupings, they unintentionally but effectively delay or deflect and sometimes dam up the flow of economic progress.

The common-interest groups in a market economy come about when individuals and firms associate to obtain market power or political influence, or both. They include labor unions, professional associations, farm organizations, trade associations, lobbies, cartels and also those informally or tacitly collusive groups that are not formally organized.

Each group provides important economic benefits to its members—higher wages, higher profit margins, price supports, favorable legislation, tax-loopholes, tariffs, restricted entry, etc.—in other words advantages which offer protection from competition and free market forces. There are other incentives and sanctions which hold the groups together—dues check-offs, favored access to agricultural extension services, professional journals, inexpensive mutual insurance, and testimony in malpractice suits, for example. Individuals who ignore or work against such group interests may be denied professional respect and esteem or even excluded from social and professional contact.

Common-interest groups contribute to a lowered growth rate when they use their influence to resist innovation. Featherbedding and overmanning on railroads or newspaper presses are examples. Business firms might use their trade associations or cartel to block or delay an innovation of one firm

which would work to the financial disadvantage of the other firms in the field.

The variety of steps common-interest groups promote to inhibit innovation and block entry into their fields means that the most efficient allocation of resources in an economy does not take place. This makes for a lower absolute level of income and lower rate of growth than otherwise identical economies with fewer barriers to efficient resource allocation.

Herein lies a persuasive explanation of why Germany, Japan and Italy experienced such a rapid rate of growth after World War II. Their common-interest organizations had been weakened or banned by totalitarian governments and foreign occupation, and resource allocation after a free and stable legal order was established took place at a high level of efficiency. The high rate of post-war French growth may also be explained by the fact that the decades of foreign invasion and political instability it had endured before hindered the development of effective common-interest organizations and collusions.

This logic explains why Great Britain which has been immune from dictatorship, invasion, and political upheaval longer than any other major nation has had a lower growth rate in this century than other developed countries, even though it had a higher growth rate than other countries during its Industrial Revolution. Great Britain has the populous and powerful network of common-interest organizations the argument would lead one to suspect in a secure and stable democratic country.

Although the United States does not show the degree of institutional sclerosis of Great Britain, the effectiveness of its common-interest organizations in limiting growth and productivity and resisting counter-inflation policies is amply demonstrated. Since World War II, in fact, the United States has been one of the slowest growing of developed democracies. During 1960-75 the United States ranked eighth of nine such countries in growth of real output.

Professor Olson sees an "internal contradiction" between our desire for democratic stability and peace, on the one hand, and our

desire for realizing our full economic potential, on the other hand. He believes that if the evolutionary process in mature democracies is understood, its disquieting outcome could be changed substantially, certainly without their having to experience war or violent revolution.

One logical possibility is to outlaw or tax the restrictive, entry-blocking practices of common-interest organizations. Special interest legislation that distorts resource allocation could be repealed. This, of course, is easier said than done. The more common-interest organizations and collusions a society has accumulated and the more they have resisted innovation, technological advances and other changes that would force them to compete, the harder they will be to break. In the US case, the common-interest groups are well represented in political campaign contributions, influence in legislative committees, and connections in the bureaucracy.

While Professor Olson believes that as the social costs of the distortions rise, a given society will be able to reform itself democratically to eliminate the distortions, he does note, however, that there could be violence in such a society in reaction to perceived social injustice before the necessary changes are made.

The Olson theory is designed basically to explain the differences in comparative growth rates of mature democracies. However, the professor's work makes particularly interesting reading in light of our previous knowledge of the extraordinary rise not only of economic common-interest groups in the United States, but also the growth of ideological single-interest groups, all at a time when the political party system and the Congress itself seem unable to mediate among these groups to produce a national consensus.

The question is—will the Congress find a way to cope with the challenge? Are the congressional tensions members are experiencing now perhaps the precursor of a process which may lead to a new and more mature style of government, or are they just the beginning of a decline in the system as we have known it?



"By the same token, exhibitions of indecision, disunity and internal disintegration within this country have an exhilarating effect on the whole Communist movement."—George F. Kennan

One day in the life of Simas Kudirka and the State Department

SMITH SIMPSON

Prologue

A widespread feeling exists that something is basically wrong with our diplomatic performance. With the initiative in international politics seized by others in vital areas, we are viewed at home and abroad as being outmaneuvered to the imperilment of our national interests and indeed our national safety. A subtle, indefinable weakness appears to be at work and we sense the desperate need of taking remedial action.

But what action? Before the question becomes so politically charged as to excite a flood of confusing gibberish in a presidential campaign, we should take a hard, professional look at our diplomatic establishment and the quality of its performance.

Does that mean we should engage in the conventional pursuit of "restructuring" the State Department and Foreign Service? Or does it mean we should think in terms of something infinitely more subtle and profound?

As a department and Foreign Service officer I was early convinced that some organizational innovations and rear-

rangements were needed to improve our diplomatic effectiveness, and some have been made, but far more basic corrections were needed in the minds and attitudes of officers. I became persuaded that it is these that account for our inadequate overall performance. The State Department has failed to educate and train incoming officers to a point at which they properly conceptualize their responsibilities and has failed to keep educating and training them in sufficient quantity throughout their careers to perfect the skills and performance demanded by world politics.

How do we come to grips with so shadowy a challenge as this? Its very nebulousness has caused all reformers over the years to shy away from it. A possible approach is by analysis of specific instances of failure. One such instance is offered here, which, by antedating the present administration, suggests basic rather than simply contemporary causes of inadequacy.

Originally investigating this instance on the heels of its occurrence, so as to interview the officers involved and observers while their minds were fresh and documentation could be easily obtained, I found it difficult to publish the analysis. The performance of colleagues was in question and I succumbed to the temptation to shelve it. However, our diplomatic performance has become progressively more inadequate relative to the nation's needs and neither general hand-wringing over this situation nor tinkering with the Foreign Service Act of 1946 has got us

anywhere. Basic, specific reforms must be undertaken and they can be distilled only from basic, specific failures. Unless we professionals possess the will and courage to engage in this distillation and to circulate its results, the nation will continue to indulge its dissatisfaction in expressions of general unease, importuning oratory and political claptrap, inviting a round of circus-like scapegoating such as recently overtook the Central Intelligence Agency. To concentrate attention upon issues, I use no names in this analysis. Participants are identified only by title or positions held. What is important is diagnosis of disease, not identification of bodies.

The day was November 23, 1970. The place was off Gay Head Bluff, Martha's Vineyard, in territorial waters of the United States. A US Coast Guard cutter, the *Valiant*, was moored alongside a Soviet ship, the *Sovetskaya Litva*, for an exchange of views concerning Soviet fishing practices which were depleting marine stocks in the Atlantic off New England. Similar meetings with Soviet fishing fleets had been held off both our coasts pursuant to fishing agreements between the two countries. The groundwork for this particular discussion off Gay Head had been laid by the American embassy in Moscow. It was no impromptu event.

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Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian crew member of the *Sovetskaya Litva*, alerted a visiting party from the cutter of his intention to defect and later got himself to the cutter where his presence was accidentally discovered by one of a Soviet party paying a return visit. A Soviet spokesman for the party — apparently a KGB agent — conveyed to the Coast Guard skipper (whom I will hereafter call “the skipper”) his awareness of the defection but made no request for Kudirka’s return, apparently in deference to well-known US policy on political asylum and the fact that the ships were in US territorial waters. However, he intimated that the Soviet side would be apprecia-

pressed that ship’s reluctant captain to make — now obeyed. He permitted Soviet crewmen to board and search the cutter, locate and seize the hapless defector, savagely subdue him, wrap him in a blanket, bind him with yards of cordage and remove him. The ships were now unmoored, the skipper having taken this precaution in the event of a reversal of the admiral’s order, and the Lithuanian was returned to the Soviet vessel on a lifeboat — ironic term — generously supplied by the cutter.

The denial of asylum being completely at variance with long-established US policy, the ensuing furor raised questions of what policy and operational controls the

promised to call back advice as soon as he had a copy of the Boston message, which was provided him within a half hour by the Department’s operations center.

3:15 — The section chief, as promised, called the Coast Guard. Mindful of attempts by the Soviet government to fake defections in the past so as to gain intelligence information or to create embarrassments for the United States, he advised that “the possible defector should not be encouraged.” This advice, while proper, was of negative tenor and of no great assistance for it left unanswered what should be done if Kudirka defected *without* encouragement, which was the possibility the alert signaled. The section chief then concluded his call with the request to keep him posted, adding that if defection occurred it would have to be handled according to circumstances. “Handled” is an operational term, referring to how a policy should be carried out, but the policy itself was not stated. The section chief never advised, at this time or later, that if the defector appeared to be genuine, he should not be returned (Slip No. 1 in the State Department). This “keep me informed” approach sealed the State Department to a reactive diplomacy.

4:00 — Coast Guard headquarters, preparing to close down for the day (its working hours ending at 4:00), called the section chief to report that no further news had been received. It had not called Boston to make certain, before closing, that it had the latest available information, nor did the section chief request it to do so (Slip No. 2 in the department). He described that day as having been, like all days, hectic, with Kudirka’s but one of many problems he had had to deal with.

6:00 or thereabouts — The section chief left for home, without having advised any superior of the alert (Slip No. 3) or having sent (or even considered sending) a department officer to Boston to preclude any possible foul-up — to keep in touch with the situation, render policy guidance on the spot, ensure prompt communication with the department and reduce the risk of misadventure in what can always be a tense and tricky situation (Slip No. 4). “There was no one I could send,” he said. Furthermore, it would have been “unprecedented”

“So he did not raise the issue with any superior. But it would have been an effective way of taking charge and restraining an admiral in Boston from going off on his own tangent.”

tive if Kudirka’s return were volunteered by the Americans.

In a series of radio-telephone conversations with superiors in Boston, the skipper received orders from the admiral in charge of the Coast Guard district to return Kudirka if so requested by the Soviets. Horrified by this and well aware of what punishment would be meted out to Kudirka if this were done, and with the defector emotionally pleading for asylum, the skipper stalled for time. From the admiral’s chief of staff came a strong intimation that the skipper might find it expedient to elicit from the Soviet captain a formal request for Kudirka’s return, as this would “make the record look good.”

Two hours later, the admiral repeated his order. The agonized skipper, having received a formal request for Kudirka’s return — a request which KGB agents aboard the *Sovetskaya Litva*, by this time aware of the American confusion and indecision, seemed to have

State Department had exercised. The following sets forth the State Department’s role in the affair:

1:15 — Coast Guard headquarters in Washington received a telephone call from its Boston chief of staff (the admiral being ill at home, although in telephonic communication with his chief of staff) advising that cutter officers had been signaled by Kudirka of an intention to defect. So inadequate were communication lines and practices between Coast Guard and the State Department — notwithstanding the presence for some years of Soviet fishing fleets and earlier discussions off our coasts — that an hour and a half were consumed in a search for the proper office in the State Department to alert. Logically, it turned out to be the office of Soviet affairs.

2:45 — In that office a senior Foreign Service officer heading the bilateral political relations section (hereafter called “section chief”) was notified by the Coast Guard of the prospective defection. He

to do so, and he "could not imagine anyone in the office agreeing to it." So he did not raise the issue with any superior. But it would have been an effective way of taking charge and restraining an admiral in Boston from going off on his own tangent.

While the department's report to the president on this affair states that the section chief informed a colleague (who was to stand duty that night) of the Coast Guard message, the duty officer confided to me that he had not been briefed as to the specific facts or the applicable policy. He had just recently joined the office of Soviet affairs, had never before been confronted by a defection case and was

"The Coast Guard duty officer, reporting that no further message had arrived from Boston, promised to submit a 'Situation Report' the next morning."

specific in his statement to me that there had been no discussion with him of US policy in defection cases, of possible complications or problems to anticipate and what to do if any of these materialized. However, he was a Foreign Service officer, of mid-career rank, with eight years' experience, including a year in embassy Moscow (as a publications procurement officer), and subsequent tours in Paris and Brussels in connection with NATO affairs and in the State Department's bureau of intelligence and research. He had just recently joined the office of Soviet affairs.

This failure to brief a duty officer — especially a newly arrived one — certainly merits identification as Slip No. 5. The section chief did not even ask to be kept informed in the course of the evening or, if he did, the duty officer did not hear him say so (Slip No. 6).

7:45 — The duty officer at Coast Guard headquarters alerted a state watch officer (posted in the department's operations center) that

Kudirka had reached the *Vigilant*, requested to stay, and "was being returned at this time at written request of his ship's master." This electrifying report that defection had occurred and the State Department's instruction (to be kept informed of developments) had been disregarded did not electrify the duty officer to whom the message was relayed at his home. Although unfamiliar with the background of the message, the watch officer had the sensitivity to detect the possible need of action and he suggested that the duty officer call the Coast Guard. Instead, the duty officer procrastinated (Slip No. 7). For an hour he did nothing. This was all the more extraordinary since the message was phrased in the continuing present—"was being returned." During this hour he could have saved Kudirka, for the message failed to take account of the struggle which a defector would put up for his freedom and possibly his life.

The duty officer for the bureau of European affairs (of which the Soviet affairs office is a part) was notified at this time by the watch officer, but never seems to have entered the scenario thereafter, apparently assuming that the responsible office was "on the ball." He did not so much as check with the duty officer for Soviet affairs to inquire what the report was about (Slip No. 8). Such an inquiry might have activated the latter by generating an exchange of views. The latter simply holed up, paralyzed either by ignorance of all the essential facts, by a lack of elementary operating training or by an astonishing deficiency in the instinct to act, or all three.

9:00-11:00— Sometime within this period the duty officer called his department's watch officer to inquire if further information had come in. None had. Again, the watch officer suggested he call the Coast Guard. This time the duty officer did so, was informed that the Coast Guard duty officer was asleep and, still indecisive, phoned back the watch officer for advice whether he should insist upon speaking to his Coast Guard counterpart. Advised he should, he had the Coast Guard duty officer roused, thereby narrowly averting another slip.

The Coast Guard duty officer,

reporting that no further message had arrived from Boston, promised to submit a "Situation Report" the next morning. The duty officer could still have spared Kudirka his ordeal and his government ensuing embarrassment of global reach had he requested and insisted upon a call to Boston but, in his irresolute way, was content with the promise of a morning report (Slip No. 9), which, to anticipate the narrative, was never made. Nor did the duty officer call his superior, the section chief, for guidance (Slip No. 10). He did not himself call Boston (Slip No. 11). Nor did the section chief, as a precaution, call the duty officer the entire evening (Slip No. 12). So the duty officer retired for the night as the luckless Kudirka was being brutally beaten and kicked, trussed in blanket and cordage in the presence of the horrified skipper, crew and fisheries negotiators, thrown aboard the cutter's lifeboat and delivered to his masters.

What are we to make of this eerie and disastrous sequence of events? Where were all those qualities claimed by the establishment to constitute the hallmark of the career Foreign Service officer and to distinguish him generally from political appointees — unique knowledge and superior knowhow, acute and trained sensitivity, a good sense of initiative and timing and professional skill? Except by the watch officer, none of these were demonstrated. On the contrary, a most excruciating ineptitude, commonly associated with the worst of political appointees, was exhibited — and one of the officers involved was of senior rank.

The diplomatic establishment is forever pleading that the reason it cannot turn in a more airtight performance than it does is because foreign relations are international in nature, dependent not upon our will alone but on that of other governments as well. But here was one foreign policy situation clearly within the department's control and it was, just as clearly, bungled. Presidents have long been exhorting the department to cease being what John F. Kennedy called "a bowl of jelly" and to "take charge." Here was a situation in which, patently, the department could have done so. It proved to be what President Kennedy had termed it.

All the more disturbing was that this had occurred in the office charged with managing our relations with a government whose dynamic diplomacy exploits every vacuum, every weakness, every mistake presented by its rivals.

The outrage of the president, congressmen and the public over this incredibly slipshod performance was instant and tidal. With an oath directed at "that god-damned State Department," the president ordered reports from it and the Department of Transportation (in which the Coast Guard is situated). As dismay spread around the world, the US reputation for knowing its policies and interests and being able to act effectively in

"The outrage of the president, congressmen and the public over this incredibly slipshod performance was instant and tidal."

accordance with them took a nose dive. As this came in the midst of our disastrous involvement in southeast Asia, the dive was all the steeper. But when the president received the departments' reports any follow through he might have had in mind evaporated. Either he was swamped by other problems or he may have been stumped by the thicket of unfamiliar questions which the situation posed.

The State Department itself, always reluctant to confront basic questions concerning its performance, dismissed the Kudirka affair as an unpleasant episode not symptomatic of systemic weakness. It appointed no board of inquiry, as did the Coast Guard. It issued no reprimands, as did the Coast Guard. And it took no remedial steps save the most obvious: (1) issuing the Coast Guard and other government agencies a statement of US policy on political asylum (which it had failed to do before despite the patent opportunities of defection provided by

offshore Soviet fishing vessels), (2) defining for the Coast Guard channels of communication with the department, and (3) inviting Coast Guard representation on interagency bodies dealing with asylum cases.

These steps took care of locking the Coast Guard stable *ex post facto*, but the basic questions requiring address slipped like quicksilver through the department's fingers. As the furor subsided so did its concern. A brilliant, illuminating flash of lightning had streaked across the sky, revealing a startling sequence of inexcusable slippages, but when the flash was over all excitement and curiosity vanished. Other problems, other crises, other brush fires closed in. Events conspired with a chronically meager staffing pattern to produce days too hectic and burdened for officers to think beyond their immediate work-load. The latest cable, the latest telephone call, took its customary priority. "Keep me informed, and if you don't call back I'll assume there is no problem" resumed its sway as an operating principle — a reactive stance, not one of positive assumption of responsibility and leadership. Kudirka and his unhappy experience, which should have taught so much, wound up teaching nothing at all.

Were the slippages in this case only personal, as one would like to think, so that other officers would, in all likelihood, have acted more responsibly? Or were they systemic? Even if simply personal, they raised enormous questions of systemic nature:

- What weaknesses in the selection system permit incompetent, indecisive officers to be commissioned?

- Are officers reasonably adequate when commissioned but inadequately educated and trained when inducted and thereafter?

- Does the system fail to instill an adequate conceptualization of diplomacy and diplomatic functions and responsibilities?

- Do deficiencies in the promotion system permit unqualified officers to move up the ladder to mid-career and even senior ranks?

- Do conditions of service contribute to producing overworked, jaded minds, overly vulnerable to

negligence and to incapability of distinguishing the relative importance of situations and taking effective charge of those of highest priority?

- Do such systemic factors seal the United States in to an excessively cautious and essentially reactive attitude in international politics?

To come to grips with these shadowy questions requires a close familiarity with the diplomatic establishment and, frankly, I have been holding back the publication of this analysis in the hope that someone other than myself would pick up this, or a similar, case and assume the invidious task of analyzing the conduct of colleagues which our general situation requires. But the national interest commands that some such analysis be produced without further delay.

Consider first the selection of officers. There is no system for the selection of stationary State Department staff apart from that of the general civil service. Stationary officials other than civil servants acquire temporary sojourn in the department when some president or influential congressman wants them to have a government job, or occasionally a political appointee or friend in the department wants a special assistant. No special orientation or training in the dynamics of diplomacy is provided such appointees or civil servants.

Commissioning in the Foreign Service has traditionally involved a written and oral examination. The written tests the range of a candidate's general knowledge and culture and his IQ. It does not test any conceptualization of diplomacy. The oral examination, superseded this year by a so-called "assessment procedure," has permitted a probing of personal qualities, but since the interviewers have been drawn from the diplomatic establishment and that establishment pervasively thinks of itself in pedestrian fashion, as a collection of bureaus, offices, "cones" and "jobs," with no synthesizing conceptualization of diplomacy as a dynamic international political process, they have naturally examined candidates as though they were simply entering a bureaucracy, without reference to political aptitudes and action mentality. With recruitment itself directed not to

the political arena, but to colleges, students of events rather than activists predominantly came before the oral panels.

Fortunately, the department's recruitment has been substantially supplemented by self-starters who have come forward as candidates on their own impulses, after trying careers in private business, in the military and in government. The average age of all candidates currently hovers around 29. Still, they constitute a mystifying mélange of people prepared and people unprepared for international politics and therefore prophesy an extraordinary range of performance behavior. This has been aggravated by the waiver of the written examination, under the pressures of Equal Opportunity, for candidates from four ethnic groups: American Indians, blacks, Hispanic-Americans and Asian-Americans.

To give two examples from a recent Foreign Service class of what this is doing to the Foreign Service:

- Officer A graduated from a polytechnic institute with a BS in management and from a university with a masters in mathematics education. He taught math and science in public schools for eight years. He thus had no background, educational or employment-wise, in foreign affairs and none in US government and history, including US foreign policy and diplomatic history, international law and international organization. In the whole international area, he was as complete a novice as a high school senior.

- Officer B began his college education at a university but dropped out. After drifting through Central and South America as a tourist and student and through Europe as a tourist, he settled down in the United States as a bricklayer for a year and a half. This was all the preparation he had for representing and explaining this country and its policies abroad, answering questions concerning our history, culture, politics and social problems and engaging in the wide-ranging complexities of international politics.

These two officers came from ethnic groups exempted from the written examination. Such exemption, thus, results in the department commissioning officers wholly unprepared in foreign affairs. Rather

than obtaining learned diplomatic officers, it is inducting the most superficial imaginable. We must recognize, however, that other candidates not so exempt and with better academic backgrounds, still possess serious gaps. Those strong in Americana are weak in foreign affairs and vice versa. Nearly all, exempt or not, are illiterates in diplomacy, untutored in international strategies and tactics, which constitute the essence of international politics. Even if exemptions from the written examination were not being accorded ethnic groups, the department's claim that the Service gets "the cream of the nation" has become a meaningless shibboleth. "The cream" is no longer good

"All in all, the basic officers' preparation is a resounding hosanna to superficiality and amateurism."

enough for the needs of a world power.

No psychologist has ever been co-opted to assist oral panels in threading their way through a mystifying mélange of applicants, either as a panel member or adviser. Since the panels have consisted simply of rotating Foreign Service officers of varying degrees and kinds of experience, with no training in the interviewing art, the weaknesses of candidates have often gone undetected or, at best, superficially explored. In view of the exactions and dangers of modern diplomacy, this is serious remissness indeed and is surely related to the psychological problems which have overtaken the Service, aberrant behavior (reported in the media), alcoholism, disinclination to serve in hardship posts ranging from Moscow to Africa, and indeed to serve abroad at all. This dissipation of zeal for overseas duty, commitment to the nation's needs and discipline have worked to the detriment of our diplomatic per-

formance. Contrasting with the higher degree of commitment and discipline in the diplomatic services of other governments, it is inevitable that our effectiveness must have relatively declined.

For some years, candidates have not been subjected to any special stress in the course of oral interviews, so that no one could judge how well they might be expected to react to particularly difficult or embarrassing—still less to hazardous—situations, or even to relatively simple ones like Kudirka's. Quite the reverse, for examiners, succumbing to the current easy-going, socializing psychology of our society, have felt that the interview itself is enough of a strain, and so have been making it as pleasant and relaxed as possible. In a hard and dangerous world, this has not only exposed the diplomatic establishment and the nation to risks they should not be exposed to but gives candidates a totally false impression of the highly demanding calling they aspire to enter and the unflappable self-control it exacts. One detects, indeed, in the attitudes of three of the officers involved in the Kudirka affair precisely this relaxed, easy-going mentality, devoid of political sensitivity, discipline and teamplay. Thus, the selection system has joined hands with deficiencies, and may have subtly sowed debilitating attitudes where none originally existed.

If nothing in the selection process in recent years has remotely suggested the Herculean challenges awaiting successful candidates or tested anything approximating the sensitivity and resourcefulness demanded of them, this particular defect may be somewhat mitigated by an experiment introduced this year of replacing the hour-and-a-half or two-hour oral interview by a day-long "assessment procedure" borrowed from major corporations. This simulates a "day on the job." The candidate is given a stack of material with which he might be expected to be confronted in a typical workday. He must dispose of this, deciding the questions posed. Lacking tutelage in international politics, he will of course come up with some superficial or even cockeyed decisions, but at least this type of test should help to screen out the indecisive and

unimaginative. It is difficult to conceive the two principal officers involved in the Kudirka case taking such a test without raising serious questions concerning their qualifications.

At the same time, it would be a serious mistake to adopt any entrance test which aggravates the American penchant for approaching foreign affairs as a collection of "problems" on which one concentrates one by one and makes decisions to the exclusion of broad political considerations. One must keep in mind the essential nature of diplomacy, which is not to keep one's in-box contents flowing into one's out-box, but to keep a political process flowing, with an eye to foreign policy objectives. The principal limitation of the innovation is that it is a desk-job test and smacks too much of the widespread anti-humanist, managerial belief that papers, desks and "decisions" are more important than people. It may well reinforce the debilitating conceptualization of the diplomatic process as a mere collection of in-boxes and out-boxes, offices, "job," cones, paperwork and "problems," rather than a *political* process of international maneuver to obtain certain strategic goals.

One has to remember, also, that in international as in national and local politics, people of more profound political instinct are imaginative and resourceful in personal relationships rather than in executive-desk type of in-box and out-box work. The essence of diplomacy is personal persuasion in a cross-cultural, cross-historical context—in which tact and personal agreeableness are important factors—not managing a desk or an office of one's own compatriots and certainly not in a business-oriented type of organization. Some combination of a decisive-minded, management type test with a vastly improved oral examination might provide the ideal solution.

The socializing, make-them-feel-at-ease philosophy which has metamorphosed American education and has come to characterize our oral examination, pervades the five-and-a-half-week, so-called basic officers course given to all newly commissioned officers. So much in this case that officers are commissioned *before* not *after* completing the course, during

which *no* examinations are given to test the degree to which material has been absorbed. Indeed, this is not a "course" at all but a fleeting, superficial exposure to a grab-bag of subjects most of which are unsynthesized with either the substance or the objectives of the diplomatic process.

The first priority of the "course" has been to introduce officers not to diplomacy—that is abjured as too "remote" and "high-flown" for new officers (even though their average age is 29) — but to "the work" of the State Department and Foreign Service (a purely bureaucratic concept), to orient officers to the terms and conditions of their employment (including the department's medical and insurance program, employee-management relations, the career development system and the like) and to make a gingerly thrust at some of the core skills they need in oral and written communication, reporting and analysis of information they gather, negotiating (a one-day simulation) and the supervisory-management skills required of a junior officer.

The second priority has been to develop a faint understanding of the relationship between "individual job assignments" and the overall formulation and implementation of US foreign policy, of diplomatic social practice, of some questions of international law which rise to the level of the department's legal adviser (rather than the broad questions which diplomatic and consular officers may be expected to face) and the roles of the White House, executive departments and Congress in policy formulation and implementation. The general outlines of US foreign policy were once sketched but are not now. Even when sketched important areas have been omitted such as those relating to defection and asylum, basic though these are to what the United States stands for in the world. The interests and activities of the federal foreign affairs community are touched upon, but not synthesized in a total conception of American strategies and tactics. Not even the role and resources of the Central Intelligence Agency were covered in any meaningful way until recently, when the buffetings to which the agency has been subjected by Congress and the press have knocked sufficient

humility into its head to get down off its high horse of exaggerated secrecy. This part of the "course" has never included the Coast Guard.

Whether this introduction to the Service provides any grounding in US foreign commitments, (including our defense treaties) and the reasons for them or the policies and commitments of other important governments, depends upon the conductor of the course and since there is a constant succession of conductors, both substance and quality in these areas differ astonishingly.

Even when there is some slight grounding in such vital matters, there is none at all in others equally critical, including the Soviets' political, economic and military strategies and tactics, or in the crucial question of the sources of anti-American feeling around the world, in international law generally (although we profess a consummate dedication to it), in international organizations and the resources and problems they present to us, or—most startling of all—in diplomacy generally, although this is the profession the officers are entering and the principal means by which governments are seeking their objectives. Occasionally, a conductor (such as the present one) explores some diplomatic functions, such as protocol, negotiation, *démarches* and interviewing skills, but there is never an analysis in depth of the diplomatic process and the role it plays in our national security and welfare and that of the international community. Hence, apart from negotiation under the present conductor, there are no case studies of a problem-solving nature in the dynamics of the international political process, comparable to those, for instance, which good schools in business management employ to prepare aspirants to business careers. Nor is there the slightest suggestion of the contributions which a complex of sciences is making to the analysis of our world—cosmography, anthropology, social biology, social psychology, sociology, ecology and the like—especially of the underdeveloped areas. All in all, the basic officers' preparation is a resounding hosanna to superficiality and amateurism. Needless to say, the sounds which the American

diplomatic performance generate include many eerie and discordant ones—as in the Kudirka case—and this accounts in no small part for our slippage in world esteem.

Apart from the one exercise in negotiation, the department propagates the false conception that diplomacy is hazy, largely individual, instinctive, felt-understood in encounter experience, incapable of analysis and verbalization, to be practiced by people off the seats of their pants, rather than a sharp, brisk, politico-economic-cultural-military competition of ideas, moves and counter-moves—demanding of practitioners the highest degree of learning, alertness, complex calculation and systematic

task clearly and did it well, such things would be covered all the time and this extraordinary erraticism of content and quality would disappear.

Confronting the same problem, the military establishment has overcome it by reducing courses to writing, ensuring that basic subjects are covered thoroughly, in a professional manner, while permitting instructors to contribute their own experience, insights and personality to instruction. The department's casual, relaxed approach to its instructional responsibilities is symptomatic of a profound misperception of diplomacy, the modern world and its own role and cannot but profoundly influ-

“Like medicine, diplomacy concerns people's lives, not only those of individuals, as in the Kudirka case, but, again, on a very large scale, with successes and failures affecting whole populations.”

teamplay. This false conception has vast psychological ramifications, invading the entire diplomatic establishment and creating a fertile incubation culture for Kudirka-like slippages and worse. This is why even in so relatively simple a matter as dealing with the Soviets on a defection question or the siting and construction of embassies in our respective capitals we are outsmarted. They know the game and too many of our officers do not.

Not being conceptualized as professional in nature, the preparation of officers is cast in the image of its conductors. These being Foreign Service officers and therefore constantly rotated, orientation content is subject to equally constant and bewildering mutation as each conductor experiments, adding here, subtracting there, according to his individual experience and perceptions. Human rights, for example, are now much emphasized in the basic orientation, as youth problems were in President Kennedy's time. If the department viewed its

ence the performance of officers and therefore its own competence relative to our military establishment, our intelligence agency and other governments.

Of equally psychosomatic effect, the course propagates the notion that past experience is of no relevance. No warnings, by case studies or otherwise—apart from anecdotes by course conductors—are given of mistakes committed in the past by either our diplomats or those of other governments to sharpen appreciation of hazards and pitfalls. None of the critical analyses of the department published over the years is required reading—to stimulate thinking of some breadth and depth of the kind of an organization they are stepping into, what inadequacies to anticipate and compensate for and what changes to work for. The excuse is given that all of these studies are “out of date,” but all together they constitute a palimpsest of American thinking—and non-thinking—on foreign policy making and di-

plomacy, throwing light upon perennial problems in these two areas. Thus, a wholly passive, irresponsible, even disdainful, attitude toward the organization as a whole and its problems is induced.

Not even biographies and memoirs of diplomats are required to be read to stimulate a professional search for clues to the nature of diplomacy, what functions it performs relative to the nation's security, and what to do or avoid doing in their own careers to achieve a satisfactory quality of performance in the shortest possible time. Such reading would provide some transfer of conceptualization and experience from officer to officer and from generation to generation, badly needed in a system of constantly rotating officers. Incidentally, also, it would inculcate a professional attitude sadly lacking in the diplomatic establishment, as was all too vividly attested by the loose-jointed, unprofessional way the office of Soviet affairs handled the Kudirka case.

Orientation, thus, is little more than a transient situational disturbance in the lives of the officers and a perfect exegesis of Santayana's admonition that those unaware of the past are condemned to repeat it. It is also an exegesis of the complementary Simpson axiom that those ignorant of the past do not know what good things to perpetuate. It confirms the American insistence of living in a fool's paradise of the present, chopping up history into little daily bits, and disregarding the perspectives of the past, leaving too many of us unable to detect basic trends. It is as though those associated with the course over the years were followers of Rousseau and believed that “our existence is nothing but a succession of moments perceived through the senses.”

Might this suggest that while we get to know a lot, we understand little and perhaps explain why World Bank officials say that in their travels they go to American embassies for the most up-to-date information but to others—the British, French and West German—for insights and perspectives into what the information means. It helps also to explain our failure to understand and to attract following in countries respectful and even reverent of the past.

How these deficiencies penalize officers is common observation. One reason—perhaps the principal reason—the China-born officers who became “China Hands” in the 1930-40 period ran afoul of the State Department, as they did also of the “red-baiting” McCarran - McCarthy - Hurley - Nixon - Chambers - Budenz crowd, lies here. They were simply not adequately trained for their exacting profession and their free wheeling helped to do them in. It is the duty of the State Department to provide every entering officer with the best possible foundation and discipline, with risks of his committing errors reduced to a minimum. It is fair neither to the officers nor to the nation to dig for officers what T. E. Lawrence called “a shallow grave of public duty.”

One needs only to compare this approach to the rigors of foreign affairs with the preparation exacted by the legal and medical professions to see the enormity of its misperception. To be admitted to the practice of law one must have capped a liberal arts education with three years in a law school and further demonstrate, through a rigorous bar examination, a grasp of the substance and procedures of jurisprudence. For the practice of medicine, requirements are even stiffer, since human life is involved—four years in medical school on top of general college work (in which stated pre-med courses are required) and a concluding internship in which further searching examination is made of knowledge, judgment and general capability. Diplomacy, like the law, concerns justice and order and involves maneuvering, bargaining and hard negotiating with these ends in view but on a global scale, encompassing different cultural, economic, political and legal systems. Like medicine, diplomacy concerns people's lives, not only those of individuals, as in the Kudirka case, but, again, on a very large scale, with successes and failures affecting the lives, health and fortunes of whole populations. The State Department, instead of measuring up to such formidable responsibilities and requiring, *before commissioning*, a rigorous education and training, coasts along with the most relaxed and

minimal standards conceivable.

Even a business-like brokerage, which might seem to be relatively simple—merchandising stocks, bonds and units in various types of investment funds—approaches its challenge responsibly. First-class firms put their candidates for account executive through a grueling 29 weeks of courses, after which come stringent *examinations* by the New York Stock Exchange, the National Association of Security Dealers and the Chicago Board of Trade. Are foreign policy making and diplomacy really so much less demanding, with so much less of an impact upon the nation and the global community?

Or take something simpler than brokerage: customer service of a public utility. The Philadelphia Electric Company puts applicants through a 13-week training to prepare them for work in that department. This provides not only a searching study of all possible customers' problems but psychologically jacks up the applicants' appreciation of the importance of what they will be doing if selected. Just what is the State Department trying to prove by a five-week-plus orientation? That diplomacy is simpler and easier than serving customers of a large electric utility, or its candidates are all that better prepared for their monumental tasks—or that foreign affairs constitutes a kind of Willy Loman occupation, “riding on a smile and a shoeshine?”

When, at various times, I have challenged this relaxed, unprofessional preparation of Foreign Service officers, the objection has been made that the recruits would rebel against a thorough and tested preparation. “They are fed up with courses and examinations.” I have been admonished. “They have had enough of studying and examinations. They want to get going.”

What would candidates for the legal and medical professions be told if they said after finishing college or graduate school they were fed up with studying and examinations and just wanted to “get going,” practicing law or medicine? What would first-class brokerage firms or the Philadelphia Electric Company say to applicants who “rebelled” against rigorous preparation? They would say: “Then you are not for us. Try something

else.” The State Department says: “Come on in anyway. We'll teach you on the job.” The Kudirka case shows dramatically this can be so much malarkey. Few officers acquire on the job everything they need to know to be learned, sagacious, responsible diplomatic officers of a world power. Few can be intelligent and useful in any profound sense who are simply the product of what John Dewey called their own “undergoings.” One needs to recognize that there is a wisdom of centuries not submissive to the fluctuations of time, assignments and daily chores.

The fact that on-the-job training is by fits and starts, by catch-as-catch-can fragments, from supervisors who learned the same way, straps a Kudirka-like time bomb to every Foreign Service officer. Piecemeal, job-related thinking becomes so fragmentary, limited and pedestrian as to become superficial, a sure way of fusing habit and tradition with anachronism, exaggerated individualism and repeated errors in our conduct of foreign affairs. This is why no government department is so beset by folklore and mythology, by-guess-and-by-God notions and clichés as the State Department. It explains why there is no pervading esprit de corps, team play and sustained organizational morale in our diplomatic establishment. To anyone familiar with the casual and disorganized fashion in which that establishment was run before World War II, the Kudirka case is dispiritingly reminiscent, revelatory of how old attitudes, mental processes and operational norms perpetuate themselves in a totally different and far more complex and dangerous age.

On-the-job training also exaggerates the American penchant of viewing foreign affairs not as international politics and therefore in terms of strategies and tactics, which are the dynamics of diplomacy, but as so many “problems.” We thereby run the risk of losing sight of the broad political environment in which problems arise and must be resolved. Governments having an overall strategy acquire the momentum we have seen Soviet diplomacy acquiring in Africa and the “arc of crisis” from Afghanistan to the Persian Gulf while we try to separate out from

(Continued on page 32)

Justice on Payday

KEN HILL

In the remaining weeks of this congressional session, the Foreign Service has a unique opportunity to achieve pay parity with the Civil Service and end a decade of unjust and inadequate compensation. The Foreign Service pay issue has been reopened by a provision of federal law commissioning a new examination of our compensation system. The results of the study, conducted by experienced, independent management consultants, verify significant unfairness in the current system and correlate closely with the findings of an earlier survey conducted by the Office of Management and Budget. It is unlikely that our chances of winning pay parity will be this good again soon. It is essential, therefore, that the best possible effort be made this time around.

The August issue of the *Journal* reported AFSA's initial position on a study of Foreign Service compensation by Hay Associates, a leading management and pay consulting firm under contract to the Department of State. The completed study reached the department in late May. It found that several Foreign Service classes are substantially underpaid by comparison with positions of equal re-

sponsibility in the Civil Service and private industry. Middle grade FSOs were shown to be particularly disadvantaged. Although senior officers share the same pay cap with their Civil Service equivalents, the senior FSOs were found to suffer substantially when their salaries were judged alongside those of comparable positions of overseas executives in selected multinational companies. The salaries of the staff corps were found to be somewhat higher than those of comparable Civil Service positions, but justified since overseas duty requires personnel with exceptional sensitivity and understanding. In a comparison of overseas allowances as a percentage of salary, Foreign Service allowances were found to be 4-20 percent less than those of the selected multinational companies.

Hay Associates found clear linkage points between the General Schedule and the Foreign Service at GS-18 and both FSO-1 and FSO-2, between GS-15 and FSO-3, between the median GS-14 and the median FSO-4, and between GS-11 and FSO-6. Linkages for other FS classes could be interpolated from Hay's data base. The Hay findings on linkages were summarized in a Department Notice and a telegram to the field (State 159355). These linkages contrast with those in effect since 1962: FSO-4 is currently linked to GS-13, FSO-8 to GS-7, and FSS-10 to GS-4. A glance at a

pay card will show that FSO-3 falls between GS-14 and 15, FSO-5 is between GS-11 and 12, FSO-6 comes between FS-10 and 11, and FSO-7 is between GS-8 and 9.

Hay Associates proposed two options to remedy the inequities it found to exist between FS and GS pay systems. Both options incorporate Hay's proposal that Foreign Service salaries should move across a 46 percent spread from the first to the final step within each class, as compared with 21 percent for officers and 30 percent for the staff corps under the current FS system, and 30 percent for GS grades. This increased spread is intended to compensate for the overseas factor of the Foreign Service. Both Hay options also envisage the establishment of a Senior Foreign Service as proposed in the department's draft legislation submitted to Congress in June. Thus, neither option addresses new pay arrangements above the FSO-3 level (FS-1 under the proposed pay structure).

Hay Option One projects a new 10-class FS pay schedule in which FS-1 to 10 would equate to GS-15 to 4, omitting GS-8 and 10. Thus, a current FSO/R-3 would equate at step 1 of GS-15, FSO/R-4 to GS-14, FSO/R-5 to GS-13, FSO/R-6 to GS-11, FSO/R-7 to GS-9, and FSO/R-8 as at present to GS-7. A new officer class would have to be established between current FSO/R-6 and FSO/R-5 to equate to

Ken Hill is a Foreign Service officer currently on assignment in the Department of State. He is a member of AFSA's task force on compensation and chairman of the Open Forum committee on professional concerns.

HAY OPTION 1

10 Classes; extend GS steps 15 percent

GS	GS/FS		FS	CONVERSIONS		
	Minimum Salary			Minimum Salary	FSS*	Minimum Salary
15	38,168		1	3	1	34,642
14	32,442		2	4	2	27,453
13	27,453		3	5	3	22,137
12	23,087		4	(New FSO Class)		
11	19,263		5	6	4	18,179
9	15,920		6	7	5	16,265
7	13,014		7	8	6	14,561
6	11,712		8		7	13,041
5	10,507		9		8	11,685
4	9,391		10		9/10	10,473/9,391

*Hay Associates did not project a full range of possible conversions from present FSS grades to future FS grades. The FSS conversions shown here reflect current AFSA thinking about FSS-GS linkages in a new salary schedule. It is anticipated that staff corps salaries would not only be protected from any losses under any new system due to "grandfather" provisions but they could also receive short and long term increases.

GS-12. While minimum salaries for each FS class would be the same as that of the equivalent GS grade, Hay would add 15 percent to the GS in-grade salary spread so that maximum FS salaries would reflect the overseas dimension of Foreign Service work.

Hay Option Two outlines a nine-class FS system which would obviate the need for establishing a new officer class by linking FSO/R-5 to GS-12 and a-half. FSO/R-3 and FSO/R-4 would still be roughly equal to GS-15 and GS-14. However, in this option which Hay presents only as an interim step to get eventually to Option One, only half of the 15 percent increase over the GS salary spread would be applied to the FS maximum in-class salaries for the four highest grades. The other half would be added on at the minimum

level of each class. Thus, salaries in each class would be somewhat lower in the initial steps than their supposed GS equivalents.

The Hay findings confirm what many in the Foreign Service have long claimed, that middle grade officers in particular have been underpaid for years by comparison to positions of equivalent responsibility in the Civil Service and private industry. Nor is it any surprise that senior officers are disadvantaged when their salaries are compared with those of executives in the selected overseas multinational companies. More importantly, the Hay findings correlate with many of the conclusions reached by the OMB, acting for the president's pay agent, in an examination of Foreign Service pay conducted in 1973-74. The latter study, which did not look at the overseas factor,

was never implemented pending completion of job reclassifications (see articles on Foreign Service pay compensation in the *Foreign Service Journal*, May 1977).

Long active in seeking pay parity for the Foreign Service, AFSA encouraged and supported Senator Claiborne Pell's call last year for a new study of Foreign Service compensation as a means of getting the pay comparability issue, stalled by the reclassification stalemate, moving again. Senator Pell introduced a provision into the department's FY 79 authorization bill calling on the secretary of state to conduct a "thorough review" of the "suitability" of the current Foreign Service compensation system based on links to the General Schedule established "years ago," and to report results and recommendations to the Congress. This provision became federal law (Section 413, PL 95-426) after passage by both houses of Congress and enactment by President Carter. The department, in consultation with AFSA, chose Hay Associates to conduct the review. The firm had outstanding credentials for the task. Its methodology had already been proven in similar studies for the Office of Personnel Management (OPM, formerly the Civil Service Commission), the Defense Department, foreign governments, and private industry. Hay's 133-page report on the current Foreign Service compensation system is indeed thorough and well documented.

AFSA is developing a proposal based on the Hay findings which would provide for full pay parity through linkage with the GS scale from GS-15 to GS-4, excepting the GS-8 and GS-10 grades. A new Foreign Service officer class equivalent to GS-12 would provide increased compensation for those already selected as tenured FSO-6s.

By linking the FS pay system with the General Schedule, the AFSA proposal would ensure that the minimum salary of each pay class would be equal to that of its GS equivalent grade and step. The proposal would also ensure that, at least in the lower grades (GS-11 and below), staff corps and officers would receive the annual step increases within class that Hay recommended to compensate employ-

HAY OPTION 2

9 Classes; extend FS-1 through 4 steps by 7.5 percent; FS-5 through 9 by 15 percent over GS equivalents

GS	GS		FS	CONVERSIONS		
	Minimum Salary			Minimum Salary	FSO	FSS*
15	38,168		1	35,305	3	1
14	32,442		2	29,990	4	2
13	27,453		3	23,375	5	3
12	23,087					
11	19,263		4	17,818	6	4
9	15,920		5	15,920	7	5
7	13,014		6	13,014	8	6
6	11,712		7	11,712		7
5	10,507		8	10,507		8
4	9,391		9	9,391		9/10

*See footnote, Hay Option 1 Chart.

ees for the "overseas factor." This would mean 12 to 14 annual step increases within each class up to a level 15 percent higher than the current 10th step for the staff corps, and a level 24 percent above the present final step for officers. (Though most officers do not remain in class for 12-14 years, under the new structure legislation, management proposes to make greater use of multi-step increases.) Above GS-11, the AFSA board is considering asking for the "overseas factor" in the form of an allowance (perhaps on the order of 15 percent) paid only to personnel serving overseas.

A special note on staff corps salaries is necessary. It is undeniable that the Hay study did not find the salaries of the staff classes to be as seriously out of line with the pay for comparable positions in the Civil Service, as it did in the case of some of the officer classes. *However, it is anticipated that grandfathering provisions will provide all current Foreign Service personnel pay increases under any new pay system.* In addition, staff corps employees would benefit substantially from the wider in-class salary spreads envisioned in both the Hay and AFSA proposals to compensate personnel for the "overseas factor." These bands mean rapid annual increases up to a new within-class high that is 15 percent above the level staff corps personnel presently reach, and then only after passing through the twelve "longevity" years of steps 8-10.

The department has also worked on a draft Foreign Service salary schedule. While the draft is not a proposal and is intended for discussion purposes only, it may offer some indication of the department's thinking concerning the possible shape of a proposal. The draft resembles the low Hay Option (Two). It has two *approximate* points of linkage between GS-15 and FS-1 (current FSO/R-3), and between GS-11 and FS-4 (current FSO/R-6). Importantly, however, it ignores the link Hay established in both options between median GS-14 and median FSO/R-4. While the draft pay plan would allow for a 46 percent salary spread within each class, along the lines proposed by the Hay report, it would do so over 14 steps, meaning most officers would never see the extra pay.

Furthermore, the minimum salary of each class would be lower than for those of the *approximately* equivalent GS grade rather than equal minimum salaries at each level as proposed in Hay Option One. Surprisingly, there is also no explicit reference to the need to add 7.5 percent later on to the four highest FS grades.

At this writing, an interagency task force composed of representatives from the Department, ICA, AID, OPM and OMB, under OMB chairmanship, is working to formulate recommendations based on the Hay study. It is anticipated that the task force will submit recommendations to the president for approval before the secretary delivers them to Congress as he is required to do by the legislation which set the pay study in motion.

Whatever proposal is finally submitted to Congress, Foreign Service hopes must rely on the current strong sense of right to influence a just and fair position. Although they have completely unrelated origins, there are growing signs that the pay and restructuring issues are linked in the minds of key congressional figures, and the department's thinking may be influenced in that direction too. Congress may begin consideration of the proposal by early September, along with the personnel structure proposal which was sent to the Hill in June. Support from the leadership of the department as strong and unequivocal as that given the structure proposal will probably be crucial if fair compensation for the Foreign Service is to have a chance in the present atmosphere of fiscal restraint, particularly with respect to the salaries of federal employees.

AFSA is gearing up to make an all-out effort to win passage of a pay system reflecting full pay parity. But however important official and AFSA efforts will be, members of Congress will also be sensitive to constituent reactions to the proposal. Foreign Service employees and their families and friends may wish to write their Senators and Representatives about the importance they attach to full Foreign Service pay parity with the Civil Service. As noted above, this opportunity may not come around again soon. It clearly deserves our best possible effort.



FSJ BOOKSHELF

A Communitarian Vision

JAPAN AS NUMBER ONE, *Lessons for America*, by Ezra F. Vogel. Harvard University Press, \$12.50.

The very title of this book will "blow the minds of many Americans," says our leading *guru* on things Japanese, Edwin Reischauer. But the purpose of Ezra Vogel, Harvard sociologist and Asian authority, is not that melodramatic. His book does not essay a description of Japan's economic powerhouse or an update of the "Decline of the West" but provides instead a readable and documented study of some things Japanese society does very well where we might learn from them.

What are these successes? The Japanese are constantly engaged in a "group-directed quest for knowledge" and useful information on everything from cybernetics to sports. Their bureaucracy culls out the best people who are given broad authority to preside over a careful national effort to increase foreign trade, combat crime, eliminate pollution and cope with whatever comes along. Moreover, political appointees are limited to only two senior officials in each agency, and as in the British system the head of government is no amateur but a political leader with long experience at the cabinet level. Japanese society and politics are organized into groups of all kinds which are closely connected and work together to give everyone a fair share of the nation's political, economic and educational opportunities and rewards. Japanese education produces highly literate students who are especially good at science and math and who are admitted to the best universities solely on the basis of merit. Employees of large companies are loyal, proud and happy in their work. The Japanese systems for handling welfare and controlling crime are not only effective but personalized and relatively cheap.

Vogel concludes that the Japanese "have dealt more successfully with more of the basic problems of post-industrial society than any other country." He thinks we could learn a number of lessons from them. We should develop an

elite corps of government specialists with authority to deal with national problems. They would, for example, encourage strong and internationally competitive industries and not weak ones like the textile industry, and they would work closely with private individuals in "aggregating the interests" of society as a whole in fields like international trade, energy and pollution. More important, American society needs a "communitarian vision" (in the words of Harvard Business School's George Lodge) which would balance our stress on individual rights—the model of the cowboy—with concern for the interests of the group and society at large. In other words "we must restrain the use of adversary relations if we are to avoid the divisiveness that makes cooperation for mutual benefit untenable." Vogel notes that Japan has about 10,000 lawyers compared with about 340,000 here.

This is the place where things get sticky. The author injects the caution that the Japanese model should not lead us to stifle individual rights or creativity, or to ignore opposition or minority viewpoints, or to stimulate nationalist and anti-foreign attitudes. But our two societies place different stress on the roles of the group and the individual. Group interest beginning with the nation as a whole is a powerful force in Japan, and even the new, democratic Japan carefully nurtures the ethnic and cultural identity of the Japanese people and their strong sense of responsibility for doing what is best for the group. This approach leads to effective solution of many domestic problems like the relation between government and business or the control of crime, but it sometimes impairs Japan's ability to deal easily with the outside world, as its aggressive trade policies and unfeeling attitude toward its Korean minority and the Vietnamese boat refugees indicate.

Vogel is telling us that we can cope better with the challenges of the modern world if we develop more effective community approaches. He is no doubt right in saying that we should have better economic planning, elevate our educational standards, strengthen our bureaucracy and do a better job in dealing with welfare and crime.

We can learn from the Japanese in all these matters, and by no means all of them raise hard choices between group and individual. But the group spirit that has worked so well in Japan since World War II is not something that could easily be instilled in Americans. We still have a lot of the cowboy in us.

—RICHARD B. FINN

The Inscrutable East

YELLOW EARTH, GREEN JADE: *Constants in Chinese Political Mores*, by Simón de Beaufort. Harvard University Press, \$8.95 Cloth; \$3.95 Paper.

As the subtitle suggest, this 76-page essay treats the question: Is the Chinese People's Republic primarily *Communist* or *Chinese*?

It is both, concludes a French authority on Chinese culture and politics. Age-old customs and revolutionary changes, Confucius' words and Mao's thoughts, coexist and overlap in China today. Mao's writings refer as much to Confucius' precepts as to Stalin's. "Taoist" influences—viz Sun Tzu, the great strategist of the sixth century B.C.—permeate Mao's military thinking. Mao ridiculed the archaic "eight-legged essay" but he wrote poetry in the classic style.

This deeply informed, far-ranging, beautifully written study of cultural and political continuities in China should interest and profit Americans. We have long been fascinated by China. Our views of the People's Republic of China have fluctuated wildly: from ostracism to acceptance to enthusiasm to skepticism. This lucid work should help us to understand an intricate, insecurely balanced political system. It helps us understand why China has a long way to go before it reaches super-power status.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

For World-Centered Education

SCHOOLING FOR A GLOBAL AGE, edited by James Becker. McGraw Hill, \$12.50.

Twelve years ago, to develop understanding and appreciation of other nations, other cultures, and other peoples, the Johnson administration drew up an International Education Act which, for a variety of reasons, never passed the Congress. This year, with less fanfare, the Congress passed an amendment to the National Defense Education Act (Section 603) which appropriated two million dollars in fiscal

1980 for the development of community based programs for "Education for Global Perspectives." At the same time the president appointed a national commission to make recommendations for further programs in language and area studies. Section 603 and the hearings of this commission have increased interest and acceptance of cross-national educational concerns whether they are called global, international, multi-cultural or comparative.

We are fortunate, therefore, to have *Schooling for a Global Age*, edited by James Becker, an excellent handbook for those who wish to introduce global education programs in schools. Twelve prominent experts in international education examine several methods which can teach students from kindergarten to adult education to comprehend and function in an interdependent world. The authors look at existing programs from various perspectives such as the psychological development of the students, the political realities of educational institutions and the tasks of the curriculum developer.

For those of us who have spent most of our professional lives moving between and among cultures, the most useful part of the book is the 100-page annotated bibliography. And yet even this bibliography demonstrates the ethnocentric obstacles which make progress in this field slow and laborious. Not only are most of the items cited published only in this country, but vast areas of the political culture which tend to slow movement toward a global perspective are ignored. Little attention is paid to powerful educational and cultural influences such as television, and interest groups such as the military, the trade unions and sports organizations who are oriented to nationalism. Furthermore, before intercultural teaching can become effective among inner-city and minority group children their own self-concept must be improved.

Nevertheless this is a most useful handbook for all educators and professionals in international affairs. One must hope it will stimulate efforts that will result in a movement in the 1980s to provide a more world-centered education at a time of increasing interdependence.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

HOME LEAVE VIA THE BUS

from page 8

behind the driver or across the aisle, for the view. But these have less leg room and we tended to choose seats one or two back if we intended to nap.

Don't worry about there being room for you on the bus. We never saw anyone left behind. The companies' policy is to add buses to handle overflow.

You get your choice of seats by being first in line. Getting to the departure gate early and waiting can be a bore but seat preference is important.

It is customary to leave a hat, coat or jacket on the seat when disembarking at meal or rest stops in order to reclaim your place. But don't leave a purse, camera, or other valuable item.

Don't expect to telephone the bus company at night in smaller cities for schedule information. Along with other problems on getting information we found terminals often closed at night when no traffic was moving.

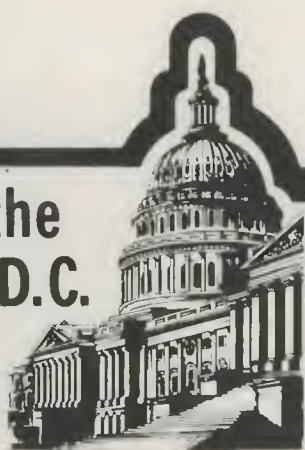
Definitely monitor the loading and unloading of your luggage. Luggage handling was efficient and generally accurate but we heard horror stories from other passengers and had some near misses ourselves. Once we just prevented our suitcases from being unloaded in the wrong city, and another time they almost were transferred to a bus going to another destination with a similar name, a mistake of the ticket agent. If there are several buses departing at the same time to your destination, insist on your luggage being on your bus so you can check that it is not unloaded at an intermediate stop. Keep your eye on the loading and unloading process at every stop.

During the trip we spent two nights on the bus, to speed up getting through Nevada and a part of Texas. With only a couple of special exceptions we did not book hotels in advance. We had a copy of American Airlines' booklet titled, "Per Diem, 1978, Hotel-Motel Reduced Rates." This and using the Yellow Pages when we arrived, asking helpful company employees for recommended nearby hotels, and using our eyes as we approached terminals made it easy to find suitable accommodations, often at reduced rates. Traveling after Labor Day helped. We were flexible enough to decide on arrival whether we wanted to stay overnight to rest or to spend a couple of days sightseeing. And, of course, we spent a few nights visiting old Foreign Service friends.

We had bought Greyhound's "Ameripass," a booklet of coupons good for 15 days for any distance, at \$165 for each of us. Over the five week leave period we bought two sets of 15-day passes, spending our middle week in California "off the bus." Recent literature from Greyhound shows changes in the "Ameripass" rates to the passengers' advantage. It was our understanding on leaving Washington that "Ameripasses" were transferable to Trailways for any service not provided by Greyhound, and we used them that way in Wyoming and North Carolina. But we were told in Winston-Salem if we wanted to use our "Ameripasses" we must change from Trailways to a parallel Greyhound route, although this meant a two-hour delay and arrival in Washington after midnight. Instead we bought the Trailway ticket, forfeiting our last "Ameripass" credit with Greyhound. After the trip we wrote Greyhound and received the following

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statement of policy on convertibility of "Ameripasses": "Greyhound respects the passenger's wishes at all times; when it is to the passenger's advantage because of routing or schedules to use another bus company, Greyhound does not hesitate to assist the passenger in reaching his destination most comfortably." Greyhound is investigating the incident for us.

Special Tips:

- Dress casually and comfortably in clothes with good pockets.
- Take a carry-on bag for maps, munchies, etc. But travel light. Two pieces of checked baggage weighing not more than 100 pounds per adult ticket are allowed.
- Write the bus companies early for schedules and route maps.

As for the cost, it is not expensive. In addition to the "Ameripass" arrangement, and paying attention to hotel rates, we found the real costs came close to the "hypothetical experience" for which the government reimburses us for travel on home leave. Another impressive financial aspect is the new IRS view on home leave expenses. The *Wall Street Journal* of June 28, 1978, reported that an appeals court has found that "mandatory home leave" is part of our job and is an "unavoidable expense." (See June *Foreign Service Journal*, page 41, for clarification on this. Ed.) Travel, food and lodging for the Foreign Service employee is therefore deductible. Consequently, on every lodging bill we had the clerk indicate what a single would have cost. We will use this information on our next IRS return.



IN THE YEAR OF PEACE

NANCY MATTHEWS

In Cairo, as in many places around the world, in the month of June, it is graduation time. For the class of 1979 of Cairo American College, a 30-year-old school that serves the growing foreign community of the city, graduation this year was a very special experience. The ceremony, planned by the students themselves, took place at the foot of the massive 5,000-year-old pyramids of Giza in the heat of an Egyptian summer afternoon. The speaker, chosen and invited by the students, was Mrs. Anwar Sadat whose acceptance of the invitation reflects both the high esteem in which Americans are presently held in Egypt and her own special concerns with youth and education.

The colors of the day were scarlet and white. As the class marched in to the familiar strains of "Pomp and Circumstance," boys in red gowns, girls in white, the flag of the United States of America waved scarlet and white in the breeze at one end of the carpeted platform, the red, white and black flag of the Arab Republic of Egypt at the other. The table for dignitaries was decorated with scarlet gladioli. As the graduating class took their seats facing the audience, the pyramids rose up in silent witness behind them, golden in the slanting afternoon light.

Nancy Matthews is a Foreign Service wife and a contributor to the Journal. Her "Letter from Cairo" appeared in February of last year.

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The program began with the chanting invocation of a sheikh from Al Azhar, seat of Islam in Egypt. The valedictorian, whose father is with the American embassy, spoke of the unique experience of going to school in Egypt and reminded his classmates that the answer to their future is education. "We have what it takes to make it," he told them.

The salutatorian was a lovely Japanese girl with a 3.86 grade average whose well composed speech brought tears to the eyes of many of her colleagues. "Our own personal past has brought us here," she said, noting that learning to communicate with and understand each other in a place where 53 nationalities were students together was a marvelous personal and educational experience to take away and always remember.

The school band played and the small school chorus sang "Prayer for Peace." On the road above, camels with red blankets loped slowly along and some horses galloped by. People moved noiselessly in the distance and occasionally a shout could be heard. The sun began to slip down behind the pyramids, the shadows lengthened and the coolness of evening began to descend on the sun-drenched audience. There was an expectant hush as the time came for Mrs. Sadat's introduction. Smiling and gracious in a peach colored dress, she listened to the chairman of the School's Board of Directors describe her as a woman of many interests who stands beside, not behind, her husband.

Mrs. Sadat's theme was akin to that of the young Japanese girl. Speaking in her fluent English, she noted that all pigments of skin and values of humanity are rep-

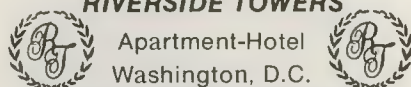
resented in this school in Cairo. "Individual differences do not detract from the wonder of the human personality," she said. "That is the moral victory that has crowned your endeavors." Mrs. Sadat awarded each student his diploma with a smile, a handshake and a soft word of congratulations. The class's pleasure in the experience was written in the smiles they returned. Cameras were clicking wildly from all directions.

Afterward there were refreshments in the garden nearby. Parents and friends were asked to wait outside while the graduates had a "few moments" with the honored guests. Mrs. Sadat cut the beautifully tiered graduation cake, iced in blue. Then someone asked her to sign her diploma and she graciously obliged. A line immediately formed and she was still smilingly signing diplomas and mortar boards as the full moon rose in the darkening sky. After some cake and fruit juice with the other dignitaries, including the minister of education, the governor of Giza and the charge d'affaires of the American embassy, it was time to leave. It seemed she did so reluctantly. She had obviously thoroughly enjoyed the afternoon, and so had the students. She walked to her car amidst the waves, goodbyes and thank yous of the graduates and applause from the crowd. The pyramids looked on.

After her car pulled away, as the parents entered the garden, there was a feeling that something moving and wonderful was over. No one present would ever forget it. The Class of '79 had an extra signature on their papyrus diplomas to remind them of a special day in Egypt in the spring of their lives.



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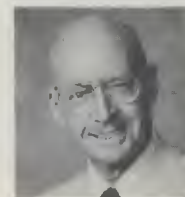
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Jack



Stoney



SIMAS KUDIRKA AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT

from page 24

the web SALT, Israeli-Egyptian relations, Rhodesia and other "problems" for individual treatment.

Under this system, learning tends to become excessively individualized. This is why the department, the Service, the basic officers course and diplomacy itself become, each, as I have had occasion to point out before, a kind of Rorschach inkblot, conceptualized not professionally but solely in response to the stimuli of individual experience.

Finally, on-the-job learning is the slowest possible kind. We are a world power and the state of the planet is such that we can no longer afford the luxury of officers assuming responsibilities of initiative and leadership only after years of service. The Kudirka case dramatically demonstrates that even with eight years' experience a mid-career officer can be so unanalytical and irresolute he cannot satisfactorily handle the simplest kind

of a situation and a senior officer of *eighteen years'* experience does not know how to manage even one subordinate, cannot clearly articulate an important policy for the guidance of others and cannot, therefore, coordinate State Department interests with the operations of another agency.

The fact that the diplomatic establishment has some well-rounded, competent officers is in spite of, not because of, its commitment to on-the-job training, and these officers are far too few. Only when the average, run-of-the-mill officer possesses a sharp strategic and tactical conceptualization of diplomacy and is trained to act in accordance with it can our democracy hope to contest successfully the kind of diplomacy waged by the authoritarian regimes which have replaced in modern times the Philips of Macedonia and Alexander the Greats of other times.

This brings us to the metastatic effects which working conditions exert upon the minds and attitudes of officers. These accentuate what the selection procedure and orien-

tation begin: the creation of a bureaucratic instead of a dynamic political mind. For decades the staffing pattern of the establishment has been too lean to permit the development of effective educational and training programs for a sizable proportion of officers, the adequate development of officers by supervisors, or even self-development through individual reading and sabbaticals. The absence of reflective and creative thinking in our diplomacy for which the nation has been pleading for years stems in part from this, for the effect of overly stringent staffing is that officers work with their minds to the grindstone, not infrequently required to perform clerical tasks, as were officers in our consular posts in Iran, and thus so preoccupied with daily chores as to lose sight of the large ends toward which chores are supposed to be directed.

As one of our officers writes from London:

The tight staffing pattern of the Foreign Service does not only make it practically impossible for an adequate

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In the Kudirka case, this kind of staffing left the section chief pleading he had no one to send to Boston to take charge on the spot and himself apparently too fagged out to keep on top of a situation brought to his attention during the day. In a wearied condition, he closed the door of his mind as well as of his office at six o'clock. He had earlier served a tour of duty at the Treas-

Year after year, Dean Rusk used to boast before Congressman John J. Rooney's subcommittee on appropriations that he was not requesting any personnel increases for the diplomatic establishment, despite accumulating needs and increasing workloads. "We are just

"Working harder" breeds slipshod pages of the Kudirka kind, as constant, day-long, week-in-and-week-out barrages of problems numb the senses, constrict attention span and inevitably induce mismanagement. In a broader sense, "working harder" over the years has also meant working harder at the same old lines of policy, the same old bureaucratic notions of diplomacy, in accordance with the same old shallow ideas of what the United States and the free world community need to do to ensure a preservation of their values and interests. Since some of the policies up to the time of the Kudirka affair had to do with Vietnam, "working harder" meant dig-

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ging the nation ever deeper into that swamp. With no time to back off for fresh thinking and fresh perspectives, overworked minds simply cannot respond alertly and creatively to either immediate or long range, subtle or overt challenges.

The Kudirka affair and Vietnam, each in its own way, were symptomatic of the department's inability to conceptualize diplomacy in sharp enough terms to relate diplomatic actions to resources. Equally symptomatic—and reinforcing this deficiency—is the absence of a diplomacy planning staff. A policy planning staff has existed since General Marshall introduced it in 1947 in the hope of inducing in the State Department the planning functions and mentality of the military's general staff. But there is still no planning staff for the execution of policy and therefore no coordination of resources—human and other—for the global implementation of the policies decided upon by the president and secretary of state. Such a staff could, among other things,

stimulate adequate educational, training and personnel development programs and conditions and press for a staffing pattern appropriate to the diplomatic needs of a world power. Every company of any importance has a management action planning system to enable it to operate by plan and anticipation rather than by simply responding to situations.

In the promotion of officers the department has been as inefficient and resourceless as in selection, education, training and staffing, because officers are doing, in too many cases unprofessionally, the evaluations on which promotions are given. Here, again, psychologists have not been enlisted to assist in resolving the problem of supervisors who cannot write professional, objective evaluations of subordinates. Without such evaluations, the department can too often fail to make the right promotions or assignments. It simply cannot weed out the incompetents, the vacillating, the indecisive, the people unwilling or unable to take charge and prevent them from going through

all the ranks even to ambassadorships. The other side of this coin is that officers have not been instilled in the basic course with the professional criteria which would make them willing to accept objective evaluation.

The Kudirka case, thus, is a lens which brings to a focus what has happened over the years to US diplomacy in Latin America, in Vietnam, Africa and the Persian Gulf and what characterizes generally our relations with the Soviet Union and will undoubtedly characterize our relations with the Peoples Republic of China. Other governments are as mystified by our fumbling conduct as was the skipper of the *Valiant* and they are as traumatized as he by our incompetence in meeting some of our simplest diplomatic challenges. They feel—and many Americans feel—as Wellington said he felt after reviewing untrained troops during the Peninsular campaign: "I don't know what effect these men will have on the enemy, but, by God, they frighten me." 

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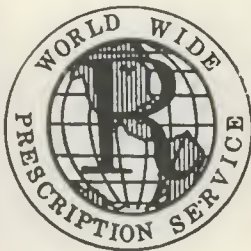
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RUSSIAN ENCOUNTER

from page 13

pick it out before the others get here."

I considered her appraisingly. She towered over me and it would be difficult to put on my haughty act with her, but I could try. "Niet!" I said, "Amerikanski! Diplomatchni!"

Looking me up and down with an expression of absolute loathing she mimicked, "Amerikanski—diplomatchni"—and spat in my face.

I literally saw red and without thinking of the consequences gave her a shove out the open door, slammed and locked it before she could say *tovarich*. Marta and I waited breathlessly but nothing happened and we never saw her again, but my peace of mind was shattered for good.

All the legations except the British (England was at war with Germany, and with Scandinavia occupied, all avenues of travel were closed to them) had sent families home and were closing up shop, filling the air with bits of

burning paper from the files being destroyed to keep them out of the hands of the Soviets. No orders of any kind had come for us and we were getting anxious. In answer to a cable of inquiry about our future, the department cabled permission for me to proceed to Berlin with the children, there to await my husband's transfer.

Germany had been bombing England for some time and the RAF was poised and ready to return the compliment. "Ignore the cable," I said, "I'm staying."

On August 22 the orders finally came, transferring us to Winnipeg. We must be out of the Soviet Union before September 5; furniture, library and light fixtures in the legation to be crated and shipped to Moscow, duplicate files burned, archives packed securely and taken by authorized courier to Berlin. The legation seals, according to regulations, must be mutilated and dropped into deep water. At the same time we were notified by Soviet authorities to be out of the Soviet Union by midnight, September 4.

Angus Ward, a giant of a man with red hair and a booming voice, came from the embassy in Moscow to help with the move. He informed the Soviet authorities that the legation in Tallinn would perform no services for them until the Baltic situation was cleared up and American personnel safely out of the country. Monty was delegated special courier to take the diplomatic pouch and archives to Berlin. They weighed over a ton and the Soviets refused to visa the courier letter, saying we were limited to a hundred kilos. Angus adjusted the beret over his red hair at a jaunty angle and went to headquarters.

"Go ahead and limit our courier to a hundred kilos," he roared, "but I will immediately cable Washington to limit all Soviet couriers to the same amount." The letter was visaed.

Our furniture was shipped a week ahead of our sailing date, and we stayed on in the denuded apartment, sleeping on the floor and eating off wooden crates. (It wasn't the first time and wouldn't be the last.) The cook had already

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left but faithful fraulein was still with us. The night before leaving, we fed the children their supper, carefully saved for them, and put them to bed, then remembered we had forgotten to save some food for our own supper. A search of the apartment unearthed a tin of baked beans and a bottle of champagne, so we dined royally after all on our last night in the Soviet Union.

Monty's final official act was to mutilate the seals. These seals, about the size of a silver dollar, were set in a hand press, the upper seal practically indestructible, the lower soft lead. By candlelight, since all office fixtures including light bulbs had been shipped to Moscow, he and Angus pounded with hammer and chisel until the seals could never again be used, even if recovered from the bottom of the Bay of Finland where he intended to drop them.

We had planned to leave Tallinn September 4th by train and travel through Latvia, Lithuania and the Polish Corridor (reversing our original trip) to Berlin, leave the archives at the embassy there and

make our way through Germany, Switzerland, France and Spain to Lisbon, where we hoped to get passage for New York on a neutral ship. Angus warned us, however, that we must make very sure of being out of the Soviet Union before September 5, because after midnight on the fourth we would no longer have diplomatic immunity, and anything could happen. An "accident" for instance, a train wreck with no survivors, although the archives would undoubtedly be rescued.

He reminded us of the plane crash of June 14, when two French diplomatic couriers and one of our own had lost their lives. A week after the crash, the Estonian foreign office had informed the French and American legations that witnesses had seen a Russian gunboat shoot down the plane and that an Estonian fishing boat coming to the rescue had been waved away by a Russian submarine that surfaced near the wreck. In proof, they showed pieces of the fuselage, riddled with bullet holes.

We willingly agreed to change

our plans and leave Tallinn by ship for Helsinki. It would be quite an undertaking, with three little girls and that ton of archives which had to be watched every minute: from Helsinki by train to Abo, then across to Stockholm, by ship, down the length of Sweden by train to Malmö and across the Baltic for the third time, to Sassnitz in Germany, and on to Berlin by train.

Just thinking about it made me tired but the children were full of excitement. The little one looked forward to her third birthday in Helsinki and the seven-year-old twins cheerfully offered to guard the archives.

We sailed at twelve noon on September 4th on the *S.S. Ruhno*, and as we steamed slowly out of the harbor looked back for the last time at the panorama of spires and towers that was Tallinn.

One thing remained to be done. At a point midway between Tallinn and Helsinki we hurled the seals overboard. They sank with a satisfying splash into deep water, as required by regulations.

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LETTERS TO FSJ

 Will you please print a few words from a voice not heard in the *FSJ* since my prize-winning *FSJ* Essay Contest article was published in the September 1955 issue.

I have been an interested and concerned observer of the Foreign Service during all the twenty-six years which have elapsed since my resignation. My observations have been rather painful in many respects. I knew the Service when it could still be called an elite group of professionals dedicated to the service of the country and perceiving themselves to be non-partisan but loyal to whatever president and secretary of state the winds of public opinion and politics set over them. They considered it their right and duty to argue against policies, or for their modification, when necessary—and they did. Once policy was set, they considered it their duty to carry it out—or to resign if conscience did not permit acceptance of the policy. They perceived themselves, in short, not in an adversary role to their superiors but as the serving right arm of the president in the field of foreign affairs.

Something happened along the way, after World War II. I have watched with dismay and sadness through the years as the evidence of elite dedication to the service of the country little by little seemed to fade. In its place came an attitude whose terms and images appeared to come strongly out of trade-unionism, as far as I can see. For a long time now, I have read about scarcely anything except "bargaining" with "management." I see little evidence of a sense of serving the country and very much evidence of a desire to get all the money, status and perquisites possible out of the government. An example, small in itself, is a recent demand for legislation to restore overtime pay for FSOs. It is difficult for me to comprehend this. The Foreign Service once considered itself as devoted to doing a job and its duty regardless of whether that duty could be accomplished in so many hours or took twice the normal time. The Service, alas, seems to have turned into a narrow

self-interest group.

I live in hopes. I read carefully the thousands of words contained in candidates' statements and the party platforms printed in the April issue in connection with the AFSA elections then underway. Amid all the trade union jargon, it was just barely possible to detect here and there some faint glimmerings of what might be a rebirth of a professional and patriotic spirit of service. One group actually asserted that the AFSA is "more than just a union" and again the same group actually spoke of "their interests and the nation's" (emphasis mine). Dare I take heart from these crumbs?

How mightily it would cheer me if the *Journal* or any of its readers could assure and convince me that the Foreign Service and the AFSA are anything more than a union and do really have as their primary aim to serve the interests of the nation!

PERRY LAUKHUFF

Amherst, Virginia

 I am making a film about John Reed (author of *10 Days That Shook the World*) and Louise Bryant (his wife) and would appreciate contact with anyone who knew either of them.

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 At the conclusion of my four years of service as a member of the AFSA Governing Board, I take this opportunity to thank the many who have assisted, contributed and cooperated, especially during the period when I served as Chairman of the State Standing Committee and as Vice President of the Association. Much was accomplished, yet much needs to be achieved, as is true in all aspects of life.

I am especially appreciative of those steadfast supporters who recently urged me to run for the office of President of the Association. The membership was given four fairly clear choices for that office and the choice has been made. I now ask my associates and supporters to rally to the new Governing Board, to participate in its

committee activities, and to support and contribute to its important work. Many critical issues face us in the months to come, and the membership should let the new Board know of its concerns and interests. I plan to do so. Only from stimulating reactions and suggestions from the membership, including creative, constructive criticism as appropriate, can any AFSA Governing Board do its best and properly carry out its mandate.

KEN ROGERS

Kensington, Maryland

 In the July *FSJ* issue at page 33 the outgoing AFSA Board concluded its Annual Report by stating that I had lodged a "frivolous and harassing" EMRC complaint against the AFSA Board which, the Report suggests, diverted the AFSA staff attorney from "helping individual grievants or the Foreign Service as a whole" for several weeks. AFSA had earlier denied my request to publish an objective account of the complaint and hearing. This incident exemplifies the very problems I have sought to correct through my EMRC complaint, on behalf of all members:

1. As established in the hearing, since November 1975 the Board has shaped members' views by its complete control of the *FSJ*. At that time the Board appointed a Board member to serve as liaison editor to the *FSJ*, with authority to write or to choose who would write articles on topics of the editor's choosing, to expand or abridge material, to emphasize or de-emphasize issues or points the editor personally deemed important or merely contentious, and to select or disregard material offered for publication, including letters to the editor. Through the liaison editor the Board has limited information flowing to the membership, inhibited free debate of issues, and denigrated members who disagreed with it, as it did in my own case in the July *FSJ* issue;

2. The outgoing Board has failed to take a vote or to otherwise systematically canvass the membership on vital issues such as the Bayh bill, the Civil Service Reform

Act and the current Foreign Service reform bill. Past Boards made policy decisions primarily by consulting committees controlled by Board members.

My EMRC complaint requests on behalf of all members, *inter alia*, that a two-page section of the *FSJ* be reserved for free debate on vital membership issues; that a referendum of the membership be held on these issues after full debate in the *FSJ*; that the Board be enjoined from interfering with member communications within AFSA or to Congress (a protection guaranteed by Executive Order 11636).

In a separate letter to the new AFSA President I have also asked the Board to voluntarily enact these democratic reforms and to appoint an ad hoc committee to formulate means for regularly consulting the membership as a whole.

JOHN J. HARTER

Reston, Virginia

 We all appreciate Hugh Wolff's valiant efforts to explain the increases in premiums for our Foreign Service Benefit Health Plans, (*FSJ* May, 1979). He has had to navigate through what are obviously rather murky waters and he did the best he could. His explanation still leaves unanswered several fundamental questions raised in my letter to you of April 7 but not published in anticipation of Mr. Wolff's piece.

(Ambassador Poullada's earlier letter said, in part: "In theory, the Foreign Service Plan should be a great deal less expensive than other plans since the government pays the entire health costs of employees while serving overseas. Yet our plan is now among the most expensive available.")

Cutting through the haze of double talk about the arrangement whereby the carrier paid to the Treasury a certain percentage to offset the government's contribution on behalf of employees overseas, we must ask the basic question: who agreed on the members' behalf to such an inequitable arrangement? As I understand the basic legislation providing for government payment of health costs abroad was a recognition of the hazards of foreign service. Why then should it be offset by contributions by the carrier which are in

turn reflected in higher premiums for all other members?

It seems to me that here is a case in which AFSA which represents the interests of all members should have negotiated very hard with management to prevent this circumvention of the basic medical benefits legislation of the Foreign Service.

Why should AFSA enter this controversy even though it is not associated nor part of the American Foreign Service Protective? Here we come to the second fundamental question. AFSA is the elected organization to represent the interests of the Foreign Service. But who elects the members of the board of AFSPA? Have you ever voted for a member of this board? Just who does this board represent? How can we be assured that in the negotiations with the carrier and the government the AFSPA board is really representing the best interests of the individual members. I think we are entitled to know precisely how the unelected AFSPA board protects the interests of the insured. It seems to be a very proper function for the elected representatives of AFSA to take on this task of oversight and vigilance on behalf of its members. How about it, AFSA?

LEON B. POULLADA
Ambassador, (Ret.)

Flagstaff, Ariz.

Editor's Note: At its meeting on July 3, 1979, the Governing Board established an Ad Hoc Committee to explore all possible means of working more effectively with the Foreign Service Protective Association on matters of concern to AFSA members. The chairman of the Insurance Committee, Hugh Wolff, was named to chair the new committee. Asked to comment on Ambassador Poullada's letter, Mr. Wolff wrote: "I believe that Ambassador Poullada's criticisms of the Protective Association are representative of the views of many AFSA members. Over the years, AFSA has tried repeatedly to work with the Protective Association on an informal basis but with only limited success. As for Ambassador Poullada's question as to who agreed on the members' behalf to the arrangement for reimbursing the Treasury to offset the Government's contribution to the cost of health insurance for overseas personnel, my report in the May *Journal* was quite clear. It stated that AFSA raised objection to the original scheme devised by State and the Protective As-

sociation (which would have had the carrier reimburse the Government for any overseas health *claims* covered by insurance) and that 'it was through AFSA's efforts that the premium reimbursement plan was adopted.' I do not believe that this arrangement was inequitable or contrary to the provisions of the Foreign Service Act. The Act authorizes the Secretary to contract for medical care for overseas personnel 'pursuant to such arrangements, insurance, medical services, or health plans as he may deem appropriate.' When the GAO made an issue of the Government's dual contribution to the cost of such health care, AFSA's intervention resulted in a less costly plan at the time. This action was, of course, duly reported to the membership in the *Journal* of December 1969."

 This is an SOS. Please, dear friends, one and all, if you come across a book fair, a church bazaar, any place or occasion where paperbacks are sold second-hand and cheaply, buy all that you can lay hands on, put them in the largest size of padded envelope that is sold at the post office, and send them to me by sea mail. They may take three to four months to get here (via the proverbial slow boat to China) but quantity is what we need. It's not expensive by sea mail.

We need anything that can be classified as literature—Hemingway, Faulkner, Bellow, Updike, Lessing—you name it. Also nonfiction—popular history, popular economics, ecology, etc. Any current novels or detective stores that you have enjoyed, even if they are not great literature. Anything that is easy reading, perhaps old *Reader's Digests*. Also any and all classics. We hear that there is no problem now about books entering China, especially if they are going to a "foreign expert," which is our classification.

The address should be:

E. B. BOOZ, Foreign Expert
Yunnan University
Foreign Languages Department
Kunming, Yunnan
Peoples' Republic of China

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

Association News

This portion of the JOURNAL is the responsibility of the Governing Board of AFSA and is intended to report on employee-management issues, conditions of employment and the policy and administration of AFSA, including its Board, Committees, and Chapters.

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EDITORIAL

from page 4

from the private sector for nomination to certain ambassadorial assignments. Such assignments provide an important means of bringing special talents to bear on foreign policy issues, of exposing leaders of American public opinion to the policy and operational complexities of the nation's foreign affairs, and of enhancing the responsiveness of the career diplomatic service to the concerns and interests of the American people as a whole.

In a country as vital to our national security as the Soviet Union, it has long been regarded as important that our ambassador be an expert, capable of analyzing Soviet politics and society and experienced in dealing and negotiating with Soviet officials. It is for this reason that the American ambassador to Moscow traditionally has been selected from the ranks of the career Foreign Service. In the present instance, however, we believe that Mr. Watson's record and personal qualities are such that his appointment is justified. We welcome this nomination and call upon the career service to extend its fullest support to Mr. Watson in this important assignment.

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.

AFSA GOVERNING BOARD RESPONSIBILITIES

(Approved at the August 7, 1979 Board Meeting)

President, Ken Bleakley
Governing Board
Congressional Relations
Public Affairs
AFSA Staff Search
FS Grievance Board
Appointments
AAFSW Liaison
Members Interests
Extraordinary Dangers

Vice President, Thea de Rouville
State Standing Committee
State Keypersons
Consular Concerns
State Issues, including:
• Staff Concerns
• Minority Concerns
• Restructure
• Pay Parity
• Performance Standards
• Employee-Management Relations

2nd Vice President, Frank Dimond
Organization and Management Committee
Membership
Chapters (Overseas Keypersons)
Secretary, Galen Fox
AFSA News
Meetings

Internal Media
FS Journal Editorial Board
Treasurer, Dale Coleman
Finance Committee
Club
Insurance
AID Rep. Jonathan Sperling
AID Standing Committee
AID Keypersons
AID Issues
ICA Rep. Fred Shaver
ICA Standing Committee
ICA Keypersons
ICA Issues
STATE Rep. Charles Hill
Professional Affairs Committee
Presidential Appointments
Awards and Memorials
Face-to-Face
AFSA Programs
Professional Role and Standards
RETIRED Rep. Spencer King
Retiree Standing Committee
Retiree Chapters (Keypersons)
Retiree Issues
DACOR Liaison
RETIRED Rep. Charles
Whitehouse
Scholarship Committee
BOARD APPOINTEE, C. Robert Moore
Elections Committee
AFSA Elections
Bylaws Revision
Referenda

NOTICE TO AFSA MEMBERS Referendum on AFSA Dues Increase

Ballots have been sent to all AFSA members for the referendum on the AFSA Governing Board proposal to increase membership dues. Details of the proposal were contained in the July 1979 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*.

Please note that the deadline for receipt in Washington, D. C. of voted ballots is 12 noon, Monday October 1, 1979. The ballot form itself should be read carefully to ensure that voting instructions are properly carried out.

—AFSA Elections Committee

JANET RUBEN DIALOGUE

The American Foreign Service Association and the Women's Action Organization jointly sponsored in July a newly formed series of dialogues in memory of former AFSA Board member Janet Ruben. With Ambassador Lucille Mair, Secretary General of the United Nations World Conference for the Decade for Women, and Ambassador Marshall Green as guests of honor, the Foreign Service Club was filled to capacity.



Retired Representative Archie Lang who will be out of the country for several months has stepped aside so that retiree interests can continue to be represented during his absence. Ambassador Spencer King has accepted appointment by the Board to take his place. The Board remains fully committed to the principles Archie articulated during his election campaign. We welcome the added strength the Association gains by adding the talents of Spencer King. He and Ambassador Charles Whitehouse will take a special interest in professional as well as retiree issues.

AID—MORE BUSINESS WITH FEWER PEOPLE?

During the month management circulated a "paper" purporting to show how AID could do more business with fewer people. It took a purely mechanical approach to organization, breaking missions into four arbitrary categories and prescribing fixed levels of staff for each. It suggested that sector activities be limited based on the size of the program, increased reliance on PVOs and multilateral organizations and greater management of activities from AID/W. Written responses at bureau levels have been highly critical of the proposal as being too mechanistic and not recognizing actual situations in the field. Best estimates are that it will be put on the shelf along with other bits of similar foolishness which surface from time to time. We will nevertheless remain vigilant on this matter and will keep you informed.

OMB TRADE REORGANIZATION PROPOSAL

AFSA announced July 27 its opposition to the proposed "Trade Reorganization Act of 1979" prepared by OMB and presented to the Congress in connection with the MTN legislation. As representatives of the largest single group of foreign trade specialists in the government, we welcomed the intent of the proposal to revitalize and strengthen trade policy and export promotion as a means to the end of a stronger national economy.

However, we stated AFSA's strong belief that the Act fails to address the underlying problems which have, over the years, inhibited the growth of US overseas trade and overseas operations.

The Senate Committee is right in calling this offering a "lame turkey." AFSA supports the Senate and the House in forging a coherent policy that is based on the real problems facing the US economy.

THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND WHAT?

President Carter promised to bring respect for the English language back to the federal bureaucracy, but rarely has our tongue been so debased as by the attempts to rename the Department of Commerce "The Department of Commerce and Trade."

"Commerce" and "trade" mean exactly the same thing, which is why every foreign language with which I am familiar translates those two English words alike. Pity our representatives in Latin America, for example, if they have to explain why we created an agency called "*el Departamento de Comercio y Comercio*."

JOHN BOWEN

(Reprinted with the permission of the Washington Post.)

A minor aspect of the most recent bureaucratic lurch in pursuit of an improved US trade position has been to rename the Department of Commerce. The next illogical step is to have a Department of Farming and Agriculture, of Conveyance and Transportation, Power and Energy, Money and Treasury, etc.

Although the change of name will have no substantive effect on what is or is not accomplished in the Commerce Department, you can bet your inflated dollar this totally unnecessary name change will cost a bundle to implement.

D. D. GARDNER

AID POSITION DESIGNATION

The AID Standing Committee has focused on the Washington position designation exercise. Representatives of the Standing Committee met three times with the office of personnel to discuss our views and concerns. A first cut of the revised staffing pattern was provided to AFSA on August 3rd and identified 980 AID/W positions as FS, 33 of which were Staff. The AID Standing Committee has generally expressed satisfaction with the proposal but has requested more and higher grade positions designated for Staff. Discussions will continue over the next two months with the system expected to be in place by October 1.

Once the new classification system comes into being, AID will face the issue of conversion of GSs to FSs. This could present a very real threat to the professional integ-

rity of the AID Foreign Service because of possible wholesale conversions of middle and upper grade GS employees to FS status. Although many of these individuals have had previous overseas experience, a number have spent their entire career in AID/W with experience in the developing world being limited to the occasional TDY. The fitness of these officers to immediately assume positions of responsibility in missions is questionable and AFSA is writing to management to express our concern in this regard. We are raising with management the problem of numerous conversions of the 04 and 03 levels blocking promotions once again at these grades. We would welcome members' comments on these issues and, even more, your participation in presenting our case to management.

MORE ABOUT RETIREMENT

The Employees Coalition on Federal Retirement Policies is made up of sixteen federal employee and retiree organizations which have joined together to resist efforts to mandate Social Security coverage for those persons now covered under all public retirement programs, including the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. As an active participant in the Coalition, AFSA is helping underwrite a definitive study by a prominent firm of actuaries to evaluate the probable impact of such a merger on both the public retirement programs and the Social Security fund.

The Social Security Amendments of 1977, enacted by the Congress as P. L. 95-216, required that a study and report on this subject be completed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by December, 1979, and it seems likely that the matter will become the subject of debate both in and out of the Congress soon thereafter. An authoritative, independent actuarial examination of all of the fiscal implications is a fundamental requirement in the Coalition's efforts to preserve the present structure of the federal retirement systems.

Two other proposals are taking form which, if enacted by the Congress, could have a direct impact on everyone retired from the federal government service. The first, which has been discussed previ-

ously in this space, would reduce the present semi-annual cost-of-living adjustments in federal annuities to once a year. As yet no legislation to accomplish this has been introduced, but the issue is still very much under consideration.

The second plan would drastically reduce the Social Security payments now being received by many federal retirees. In the Health, Education, and Welfare section of the president's budget message submitted earlier this year, the proposal was made that Social Security benefits be reduced by \$1 for every \$3 of pension income "received from federal employment which is not covered by the Social Security program." Only that portion of a federal annuity which exceeded the average Social Security benefit (now calculated at about \$3,600 annually) would be considered in computing this offset. Nevertheless, it could still result in a significant reduction in income for many Foreign Service retirees presently receiving monthly Social Security payments. Again, no legislation to accomplish this offset has as yet been introduced: if and when it is, it would come under the initial jurisdiction of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Future developments on any of these important issues will be reported as they occur.

NEW PERSONNEL REGULATIONS

Climaxing over two years of intensive negotiations between AFSA, representing Foreign Service employees in State and AID, and AFGE-1812, representing Foreign Service employees in ICA, with management officials of the three foreign affairs agencies, agreements were recently reached on new personnel regulations which establish suitability guidelines for employment and revise disciplinary procedures.

The texts of these new regulations will appear in volume III of the Foreign Affairs Manual as Sections 622 (Suitability) and Section 760 (Discipline). They are extremely valuable for employees in that they clearly lay down in writing in one place all the pertinent in-

formation in these areas. The regulations spell out in considerable detail the criteria for suitability and an employee's rights when facing disciplinary action. The many revisions and changes proposed by AFSA and accepted by management during the course of the negotiations have resulted in what we believe will be a good system which serves to protect innocent employees and is in the best interests of the Service as a whole. For the person who wishes to initiate a disciplinary action as well as for the affected employee, the regulations now provide a clear description of the appropriate steps to be followed, together with the limitations and results of such action.

VETERANS TO STATE STANDING COMMITTEE

State Standing Committee Chair Thea de Rouville announced the appointments of Barbara Bodine (EEO), Bob Stern (State Department Reorganization), and Mat Daley (Junior Officer concerns) to join the elected State officers on the Committee. These three veteran AFSA activists bring particular functional expertise to the Committee as well as broad experience on FS matters. They form the base of an expanded State Committee structure which actively solicits further participation.

Standing Committee Addresses Critical State Issues

As Washingtonians fled to the beaches and the mercury remained above 90, the State Standing Committee was in active dialogue with any members of management or Congress it could find on the following issues:

- Removal from State of much of the Trade and Commercial function
- Foreign Service reorganization
- Pay comparability
- Precepts for Boards reviewing selection out
- Expanding special allowances for overtime
- Other agency inputs into OERs
- Lateral entry regulations
- Composition of selection boards
- Flexitime

VETERANS TO AID STANDING COMMITTEE

There is a tremendous amount of work involved in keeping the AID end of AFSA going. Fortunately for AFSA, several veterans of past AID/AFSA activities have joined your current elected representatives on the AID Standing Committee. Tom O'Connor's absence is noted daily, and we all owe him a tremendous debt of gratitude for his efforts over the past three years. The Standing Committee meets every Thursday at 12:30 p.m. and all AID/AFSA members are welcome to attend in Room 3644 New State.

FOR FULL PAY ADJUSTMENTS

By letter to the Office of Personnel Management and in personal appearance before the President's Advisory Committee on Federal Pay, AFSA made strongly worded statements in support of full pay adjustments in October necessary to keep federal white-collar employees even with salaries in the private sector. We also stated our commitment in support of lifting the present executive salary cap of \$47,500 and said that ultimately the issue of separating executive and judicial salaries from congressional salaries must be faced squarely.

When speaking to the President's Pay Advisory Committee, we specifically requested that the committee bring to the president's attention that, as demonstrated in the Hay Associates recent study, there is a serious compensation problem for the Foreign Service which must be solved.

This year's Bureau of Labor Statistics study indicated that a pay increase of about 10.5 percent is necessary if federal white collar salaries are to keep even with those in the private sector. However, it appears that the administration plans once again to cap federal civilian and military salary increases to 5.5 percent this October.

Heads Members' Interests

Tom Macklin has agreed to serve as chairman of the Members' Interests Committee. He and his expanded Committee are responsible for responding to Chapter queries and for reviewing management proposals which do not fall into one of the constituent committees. At present they are addressing:

- Fly American regulations
- Language and other training for the Staff Corps
- Housing regulations
- Radiation and other dangers

BOOKFAIR COMING!

AAFSW's 19th annual Bookfair will be held from October 13 through October 26 at the Department of State, 23rd Street entrance. Family night will be October 12, from 5:30 to 9:00, and the cafeteria will remain open until 8:30. Shopping hours are from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily, except Sunday, October 14, with hours from 2-5 p.m.

SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM Financial Aid Grants - 1979/1980

The initial list of 1979/1980 AFSA Scholarship Program Awards has been announced by the Honorable H. G. Torbert, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on Education. The names of the recipients, the scholarships which they have received and the colleges and universities which they will attend are as follows:

ROLF RICHARD ANDERSON, The George H. De Mange Memorial Scholarship, University of Virginia;
MARGARET A. BROGLEY, AAFSW Scholarship, Catholic University of America;
VIRGINIA M. BROGLEY, William Benton Scholarship, Barry College;
LOUISE M. CARWELL, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Rochester;
KRISTEN D. COOR, AAFSW Scholarship, Northern Arizona University;
MARK S. COOR, David K. E. Bruce Scholarship, Northern Arizona University;
MARY E. COOR, The Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Northern Arizona University;
PATRICIA L. DROPIK, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Minnesota;
SHARON L. DROPIK, Jefferson Patterson Scholarship, Kalamazoo College;
PAUL S. DWYER, AAFSW Scholarship, Tufts University;
MICHAEL J. FARRAND, AAFSW Scholarship, Georgetown University;
WILLIAM PATRICK FARRAND, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, College of William and Mary;
HARRIET A. HIRSHORN, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Antioch College;
JAMES L. HOLMES, III, Margaret F. Berger Memorial Scholarship, University of Virginia;
MARY ALICE HRETZ, Maurice L. Stafford Memorial Scholarship, Eastern Michigan University;
RICHARD E. HRETZ, JR., Timberlake Scholarship, Xavier University;
RUTH ANN HRETZ, William Benton Scholarship, Xavier University;

BRENDA JONES, AAFSW Scholarship, San Jose State University;
FRANK P. KING, Howard Fyfe Scholarship, Mankato State University;
FRANCES M. KIRK, AAFSW Scholarship, Hood College;
ANTHONY A. LEVINTOW, John Foster Dulles Scholarship, Oberlin College;
MARSHA F. LEVY, AAFSW Scholarship, Rhode Island School of Design;
MICHELLE M. LYONS, AAFSW Scholarship, East Carolina University;
CHRISTINE X. MACKELL, Arthur B. Emmons Memorial Scholarship, Georgetown University;
JEFFREY P. MAISH, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Arizona;
JAMES C. MCCLURE, Merrill Trust Scholarship, Abilene Christian University;
JAMES W. MCNEILL, III, AAFSW Scholarship, University of South Carolina;
KEVIN M. MCNEILL, AAFSW Scholarship, West Virginia Wesleyan College;
ANA MARIA PAULIN, Julius C. Holmes Scholarship, University of Massachusetts;
CAROLYN R. PHILLIPS, Isabel Preston and John Calvin Hill Memorial Scholarship, University of Tennessee;
PATRICIA R. PHILLIPS, Charles B. Hosmer Memorial Scholarship, University of Tennessee;
JOHN R. POGUE, AAFSW Scholarship, George Mason University;
WILLIAM F. POGUE, Mathilde Vossler Keeley Scholarship, George Washington University;
KAI JOHN REINERTSON, AAFSW Scholarship, George Mason University;
KARI CHRISTINE REINERTSON, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, George Mason University;
KARLA M. REINERTSON, Barbara Chalmers Memorial Scholarship, Bemidji State University;
KRAG C. REINERTSON, Edward T. Wailes Memorial Scholarship, University of

Colorado;
RENATA X. RICK, AAFSW
 Scholarship, Onondaga
 Community College;
ANNE M. SCANLON, AAFSW
 Scholarship, Indiana University;
PATRICK J. SCANLON, Wilbur
 J. Carr Memorial Scholarship,
 University of Southern
 California;
HARRISON B. SHERWOOD,
 JR.,
 Gertrude Stewart Memorial
 Scholarship, Kenyon College;
PAULA K. SIMMONS, Edward
 T. Wailes Memorial Scholarship,
 Art Institute of Pittsburgh;
MICHELE M. ST. DENIS,
 Gertrude Stewart Memorial
 Scholarship, University of
 Southern California;
INGRID A. WILLIAMS, Vitenam
 Memorial Scholarship,
 University of Southern
 California.

The AFSA Committee on Education consists of the Honorable H. G. Torbert, Jr., Chairman, Mr. Robert L. Barry, Dr. Mette Beecroft, Mrs. Dawn Jones, the Honorable Hans N. Tuch, and Mr. Robert L. Caffrey.

AFSA expresses once again its appreciation to all those who have supported the Scholarship Program, and, in particular, to the Association of American Foreign Service Women for its continued effort on behalf of the program.

AID NEGOTIATIONS

The AID Standing Committee managed to get Staff included in the notice on long-term training and we are generally satisfied with the guidelines as presently written. We have once again requested observer status at assignment board meetings and are awaiting management's reaction. Flexitime was approved on a three-year trial, and Alex McKinnon of the Standing Committee will be participating in the development of implementation modalities.

ABOUT OUR COVER

The *Journal* is pleased to feature a painting by noted Bolivian artist Raúl Mariaca on this month's cover. Peter DeShazo, cultural affairs officer at La Paz, writes: "Mr. Mariaca has exhibited his works in group and one-man shows in Europe and Latin America and for the past twelve years has been an employee of ICA."

AFSA MERIT AWARD WINNERS

The following biographies and photographs of Merit Award winners are in addition to the ones listed in the August *Journal*. Their biographies and/or photographs arrived too late for inclusion.



Karen Marie Flaten, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Robert A. Flaten, State. Lived in Strasbourg, Peshawar and Tel Aviv. Graduated from Washington-Lee High School, member of the National Honor Society, Science Honor Society and Tikos. National Merit commended scholar. Washington-Lee Choir, Madrigal Singers and Symphonic and Marching Bands, selected by audition for the Northern Virginia Regional Chorus and the All-Virginia State Chorus, earned varsity letters in soccer and track. Planning to attend Oberlin College, with special interest in music and psychology.



Randall H. Lee, son of Mr. and Mrs. Lynn M. Lee, AID. Graduated from Karachi American

School, valedictorian, senior class president, outstanding math student and outstanding journalism student for 1979, letters in football and basketball. Entered West Point on July 2.



Evelyn Terri Cohen, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Cohen, AID. Lived in Panama. Graduated from Winston Churchill High School. Valedictorian. National Merit scholar, commended. National Honor Society, National Scholastic Art Award, National Spanish Contest winner, PTSA Poetry and Prose Contest, first place essay, National Education Development Test Award, University of Maryland Chancellors Scholar finalist. Interested in travel, camping, sketching, painting, ceramics. Shakespearean drama and poetry, Spanish literature and art. Will attend University of Virginia, focusing on biology, Spanish and art.

Stephen Higginson, photograph below. Stephen's biographic material appeared in the August issue.



THE AFSA/AAFSW SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

Interest in scholarship programs is widespread, but how many Foreign Service families understand how the Committee on Education works and how the approximately \$55,000 granted this year by the Committee is given out. What criteria are used? Is every effort made to help those who most need money for a college education?

There are basically two programs run by the Committee on Education and these are a Financial Aid Scholarship Program and a Merit Award Program. The Financial Aid Program is for those who are having difficulty in providing a college education for their children for reasons of finance, and the standards for administering this program are purely objective. Those with a very limited amount of income available for education can be allowed up to \$3,000 per year per family. Thus if a family of three children were in great need, they would be allowed \$1,000 per child per year. Those whose income is slightly higher might be given \$500 per year. But as mentioned above these rules are objective and the Committee would not be called upon to come to any



Bruce Allan Aylward, son of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Aylward, State. Lived in Germany, Iceland, Canada, Taiwan and Australia. Graduated from Phillips Andover Academy where he captained the football team, played basketball and threw the javelin. National Merit Finalist and on the honor roll. As a junior won the Hackett Memorial Prize of tuition at the Colorado Outward Bound School. Will attend Stanford, undecided about a major.

decision on these sorts of cases. Mrs. Midthun, Program Administrator, completes all the necessary paperwork, with the aid of the College Scholarship Service need analysis reports, and the students in due time receive tuition checks made out to their college. The Committee would only become involved if there were some special case. For example, the Committee was asked to help with school fees for the children of one Foreign Service officer whose wife had been bitten by an insect, had had an allergic reaction to it and was even then in a coma. Obviously the school fees for three children would be crippling expensive and the Committee did make a small grant for the children's private school tuition.

The Merit Award Program, by contrast, is not based on a family's finances in any way. The awards are for students graduating from high school who have done outstandingly well in their scholastic achievements. This year 22 awards were granted. Last year there were only 20 but the 21st and 22nd were the result of an increase of \$500 given by the Association of American Foreign Service Women and AFSA.

How are the Merit Award winners chosen? Here again the procedures are clearly set out. Four panels are appointed and these panels will usually be headed by members of the Committee on Education with panel members from State, AID, ICA and the AAFSW.

I am sure that the panel members had no idea of what they were getting into when they agreed to serve. We were all given 25 sets of papers from would-be Merit Award winners and we had to grade them according to carefully set out criteria. The Merit Awards are based on the following points: grade point average, rank in class, SAT scores, extra curricular activities and an essay. The only leeway in marking is a few marks which can be awarded at the discretion of the one who is marking.

When the papers had been marked by all the panel members (about eight hours work), we had a meeting to sort out the top five applicants with three runners-up. The meeting which I chaired was at-

tended by Francis S. Bourne, FSIO; Harry J. Gilmore, FSO; Christiane Cutter, AAFSW; and Ray Ylitalo, Ambassador-retired.

When it came to selecting the top five students, it was surprising how often the same names appeared. However, the three runners-up caused some difficulty. Some people thought that those who had been in high schools overseas should be given priority, and others argued that this was a purely merit award. One panel member thought that winning sports prizes counted just as much as helping with a volunteer service organization. However we were all agreed on one thing and that is that all the applicants were a figment of the imagination if the media are to be believed. Here were 25 students all scoring As and Bs. In one case a boy worked 30 hours a week at an office overseas and was highly commended for his diligent work. In another a girl taught reading in South America as a volunteer, whilst another girl worked for the World Wildlife Fund answering letters and doing general office work. Where were the mixed-up youth of today? One student, a boy, had gone to a German school where he worked entirely in German and was told at the end of his first year "Now that you have mastered the German language you must continue to work even harder." Of all the children not one regretted their foreign service life. That is not to say that everything had gone smoothly for them. One wrote "While I couldn't make the baseball team due to lack of experience I am able to adapt to continually changing situations." Another said "School related extracurricular activities are few in Kigali, but I did gain a working knowledge of French." Some noted that their high schools abroad were not big enough to offer the wide range of activities that can be found in the States and some resented always being the new kid on the block, but they seemed to take it all philosophically. Most said that they had profited greatly by foreign service life. One boy even said that it was too tranquil for him to be in the same place for more than a few years and that he looked forward to his next post. Many found the

Continued on page 47

YOUR FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION WANTS YOU!

As our editorial on page 4 states, the foreign service currently faces three major challenges. These challenges are: 1) whether OMB will succeed in transferring the commercial and trade negotiating function currently performed by FS personnel to other agencies; 2) how State and AID will restructure the rules which define our careers; and 3) what pay increases FS personnel will be able to obtain. In addition, we need to strengthen the FS association's traditional role both as a professional association and as a defender of fair and equitable treatment for employees.

We need your help to make the impact we all seek. You can assist with any aspect of your FS association's tasks. Just fill out the attached form and send it to AFSA, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. If overseas, use the form to tell us you will help your local FS association chapter.

Your new FS association leadership is determined to represent you as fairly and fully as possible. Association constituents encompass active and retired FS personnel in State, AID, and ICA. They include:

- the staff corps and communicators;
- security officers and other administrative personnel;
- reserve officers;
- junior officers; and
- consular officers.

We are also committed to representing FS personnel with differing but not mutually exclusive career perspectives. We will work for your interests whether you:

- are upwardly mobile and resent blockage at the top;
- are reaching the peak of your career and want the right to retire with dignity and honor; or,
- have been or will be treated unfairly by the promotion and assignment process.

Much of your association's work consists in sorting out priorities between various FS interests and groups, something we do better when we hear from all our members. In some instances, we are involved in delicately balancing interests of our various constituencies. For example, we need to insure that expanding employment opportunities for FS families overseas do not adversely affect the employment prospects for career FS employees.

But many other issues involve securing benefits for the FS community as a whole. Pay parity is an issue where, with your help, the FS association can speak with a strong voice and be heard.

Working together, we can also address issues that significantly affect special groups of employees, such as OMB's proposed transfer of commercial positions from State to Commerce or AID's designation of positions. We all share a common way of life, and it is appropriate for us to help our colleagues on matters that mean much to them.

All of us can communicate more through our own *Foreign Service Journal*. We hope to provide more specific coverage of FS association concerns, with columns devoted to constituency issues. We will also attempt to focus ahead, so that the *Journal* gives you in time the information you need to support your FS association's common effort.

Consider joining the *Journal* voluntary staff, writing letters to the *Journal*, or writing an article (the *FS Journal* sometimes pays for articles on FS-related topics). Read your *Journal* and let us know if you feel we have overlooked or mishandled an important issue. Communication must be a two-way process. To get this improved communication process going, we are asking you to use the attached survey to evaluate your *Journal*.

Foreign Service Journal

2101 E St. N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Colleague:

I. You asked for my views on the *Foreign Service Journal* and here they are:

A. Classification of Articles

	Most Like (check 2)	Least Like (check 2)
--	------------------------	-------------------------

Personnel Management	_____	_____
Current Foreign Policy	_____	_____
History	_____	_____
Personality Profiles,		
Interviews	_____	_____
FS Family Problems	_____	_____
Travel	_____	_____
Poetry/Short stories	_____	_____
Book reviews	_____	_____

B. Advertising:

1. Ads helpful? ☐ Yes. ☐ No.

2. If Yes, most useful (check 2):

☐ Insurance	☐ Real Estate	☐ Schools
☐ Moving firms	☐ Mail Order firms	
☐ Autos	☐ Consumer products	
☐ Financial Institutions		

C. Coverage of Employee Concerns

	Stress more (check 2)	Stress less Check 2)
Issue		
FS Restructure	_____	_____
Pay parity	_____	_____
Taxes	_____	_____
AFSA finance, dues	_____	_____
Housing, travel regs	_____	_____
Professional standards	_____	_____
Assignments/Promotions	_____	_____
Future of AID	_____	_____
Spouse employment	_____	_____
Retirement	_____	_____
Hazards and dangers	_____	_____
Affirmative action	_____	_____
Future of State	_____	_____
Grievances	_____	_____

II. You asked for my help with the FS association's work.

- ☐ I am in Washington and can help with:
- ☐ *The Foreign Service Journal*
- ☐ The bread and butter issues we call "members' interests"
- ☐ Professional issues, such as the future role of State, AID, and of the FS within the foreign affairs community
- ☐ Promotions and assignment policy
- ☐ Pay and allowances
- ☐ Constituent concerns, particularly those of:

☐ AID	☐ FSRs
☐ Retired	☐ Junior FS
☐ Staff corps/communicators	☐ Consular officers
☐ Security/Admin	☐ Commercial officers

☐ Congressional relations, contacting the following on the Hill when necessary:

_____ (Congressman/senator)
 _____ (Staff)

continued on reverse

- ☐ FS Club, working to make it an attractive place
to meet old and new friends
- ☐ Our upcoming membership drive
- ☐ Other _____
- ☐ I am overseas, and can help by:
- ☐ Writing for the *Foreign Service Journal*
- ☐ Taking responsibility for:
- ☐ Communicating between post and Wash-
ington
- ☐ Organizing an active chapter at post
- ☐ Joining in the work of my FS association
chapter
- ☐ Writing the following on the Hill when neces-
sary:
- _____ (Congressman/Senator)
- _____ (Staff)

Signature _____

fold here

Name _____ Agency _____

Office Address _____

Post or Phone _____

American Foreign Service Association
2101 E Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

fold here

foreign service life exciting and would not have stayed in the same school given the choice.

We of Panel Number II eventually made our choices and the final task was for the Honorable H. G. Torbert (Chairman of the Committee on Education) to call a meeting for two members from each panel and decide on the 22 finalists.

Thus from a total of over 100 applicants 22 awards of \$500 were made. It is usual, nay, almost a requisite for a judge, to comment on the high standards of those taking part in a competition, even though he may have had to sit through three hours of "Moonlight Sonata" in 19 renditions that would turn even the tone deaf quite demented. However in this case the standard of the Merit Awards was excep-

tionally high. I felt an enormous sense of not having done enough for these young people who had taken the time to write the essays, fill out the forms and who by any standards were making exceptional progress in their schools.

There will be a small ceremony to honor these applicants at the Book Fair on family night (Friday, October 12th), and we chose Miss Elizabeth Esther Kiss to represent them. While Elizabeth's scholastic achievements make her the best student of the Merit Award program this year the fact that her parents live in Alexandria make it comparatively easy for her to attend. One paragraph in Elizabeth's writing caught my eye. . .

"My family is very close, and most of my unforgettable memories are of family activities: exploring historical sites, going to free concerts on the Mall, canoeing on the C&O Canal, picnicking in 35 degree weather in Shenandoah National Park. I hope I will be able to preserve my parents' *joie de vivre* in my own adult life."

Lesley Dorman will be making the award and she will no doubt comment on the hard work of AAFSW members in raising the monies for the scholarship fund. This year (in addition to AFSA's contribution of approximately \$30,000 for both programs) the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) contributed \$18,250 to Financial Aid Scholarships and \$6,750 to the Merit Awards, a total of \$25,000, a tremendous sum to donate from the proceeds of a Book Fair.

Serving on the Committee on Education is not an easy thing. Fortunately, the criteria for awarding scholarships are followed *de rigueur*, so that it is easier to detach oneself from a request to some extent. Also one person does not make the decisions, they are the joint thoughts of the Committee comprising Honorable H. G. Torbert, Jr., (Chairman), Robert L. Barry FSO (State), Mette Beecroft (Family Liaison Office), Honorable Hans N. Tuch (ICA), Robert L. Caffrey (State), and myself, Dawn Jones (Scholarship Liaison for AAFSW). A new member to represent AID will be named shortly. Clarke Slade acts as consultant to the committee and Lee Midthun as program administrator.

Foreign Service People

Deaths

Clore. Catherine Elinor Clore, 25-year-old daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Jim M. Clore, died in an automobile accident in Titusville, Florida on June 2. Miss Clore was born in Bremerhaven and accompanied her parents to The Hague, Bangkok and Tel Aviv. In addition to her parents of 4035 Trinidad Ave., Titusville, Florida 32780, she is survived by a brother, Jeremy, of Orlando.

Picard. Hugo C. Picard, FSSO-retired, died on May 23. He joined the Service in 1947 and served in Nanking, Mukden, Paris, Karachi, Tokyo, Vienna and Geneva before his retirement in 1972. He is survived by his wife, Mary Jane, 10516 Center St., Fairfax, Va. 22030.

Eddy. Isabel Ann Eddy, 13-month-old daughter of FSO and Mrs. John Eddy, died on July 11 in Miami, Florida. Mr. Eddy is the Deputy Chief of Mission at Embassy Bridgetown. Contributions in Isabel's name may be made to the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Bridgetown, Barbados.

Turner. Mason Turner, FSO-retired, died on December 20, 1978 in Woodstock, Vermont. Mr. Turner entered the Foreign Service in 1923 and served at Colombo, Paris, Malta, Tenerife, Callao-Lima and Perth before his retirement in 1946. He is survived by his wife, Decea A. Turner, 333 W. Lake Howard Dr., Apt. 302B, White Haven, Florida 33880.

Leahey. Paul J. Leahey, FSO-retired, died on July 8 in Corpus Christi. Mr. Leahey had worked for the Civil Service Commission and the Department of Labor in addition to his service with the Department of State. He was a member of the American Psychological Association as well as of AFSA. He is survived by his wife, Sylvia, of 3118 Nassau St., Corpus Christi, Texas 78418, three daughters, Virginia Berger, Diane P. Leahey, Loretta Leahey, four sons, Chris D., Daniel T., Thomas B. and Michael S. two sisters, a brother and a grandson. Expressions of sympathy may be sent in his memory to the St. Paul the Apostle Building Fund.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

The rate for these listings is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037.

SEASHORE RENTAL

COSTA DEL SOL, Spain. Two bedroom apartment in modern Andalusian village on seashore. Sand beach, tennis golf. Mountain/sea view. Near Motril, Salobrena, south of Granda. \$100-125 per week. For details, write Dayton Maxwell, AID/W, AFR/SFWA/SDP, Room 2637 N.S., Washington, D.C. 20523, call (202) 632-2971.

REAL ESTATE

NORTH MYRTLE BEACH. Thinking of a vacation or retirement home or any investment along South Carolina Grand Strand? For personal service contact Bill Dozier (FSO-retired), Sales Associate, Hussey Realty Company, 497 Main Street, Ocean Drive Section, North Myrtle Beach, South Carolina 29582, phone 249-1475.

Dunedin, Clearwater, Florida & surrounding areas. HOMES, INVESTMENTS, etc. HELEN CLARK REALTY-REALTOR, 353 Tilden St., Suite A, Dunedin, Fla. (813) 734-0390, evenings 733-9428.

TAX RETURNS

TAX RETURNS and representation. T.R. McCartney (ex-foreign service). Write: Business Data Corporation, P.O. Box 57256, Washington, D.C. 20037, for details.

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WASHINGTON UPDATE

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