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Washington

TAYLOR BRANCH

Dueling diplomats

A shocking event occurred at a board meeting of the American Foreign Service Association. The board members represent U.S. diplomats all over the world. Not quite a union, not quite a guild, the association has for years been a loose confederation resembling a society of stamp collectors or ornithologists more than anything else. Members know an international incident from a minor provocation, and they know their Mahler from their Brahms. They can sit across a table from our enemies for years without budging an inch. They are droll, stoic, reserved, but delicate—knowing a thousand ways to act "cordial" toward a foreign country and a thousand slightly different ways to act "friendly." Yet reason and patience were abandoned during the board's discussion of The Great Mail Robbery.

"Will you shut up?" asked Glenn G. Wolfe, an elderly diplomat who held a seat for retired officers.

"I won't shut up because *you* tell me to shut up," retorted John D. Hemenway, the A.F.S.A. president. "You're a very rude man, Mr. Wolfe."

"You constantly interrupt me and tell lies about me," said Wolfe. "Don't even talk to me about being rude."

"You're a rude son of a bitch," declared President Hemenway.

Eyewitnesses differ about what happened next. Some say Hemenway struck Wolfe a glancing blow to the eye. Others say Wolfe cuffed Hemenway about the shoulders. Still others say there was a feeble but evenhanded scuffle.

President Hemenway's voice rose above the fracas: "I'll hit him back! I will indeed!"

"He called me a son of a bitch!" shouted Wolfe, reaching for a plastic water pitcher. He flung the pitcher in the direction of President Hemenway, splattering water on the conference table. Ice slid across the floor.

At this point, some board members sought to arrange a truce. "He's an old man," one said to the president.

"All right," said Hemenway, trying to calm himself. "He is an old man. You're right. You're right."

"He called me a son of a bitch," said Wolfe, recalling the outrage.

This roused President Hemenway again. "You are indeed," he said to Wolfe. Hemenway uses the refined "indeed" in moments of stress. "You are a rascal. You are a . . ."

"That's enough!" interceded a board member. "Come on. Stop it."

"Anyone who calls me a son of a bitch is going to be shot," sputtered Wolfe.

"Is going to be shot?" asked President Hemenway.

"You're damn right."

"Well, that's a neat one," sneered Hemenway. "That's a neat one."

". . . And he could care less if I had a stroke," Wolfe complained.

"Yes, I could," Hemenway said irritably. "Go away. Go away."

"That man has without a doubt no respect for anybody."

"Call me a McCarthyite again, Glenn."

"You're damn right you are," Wolfe obliged.

"Oh, am I indeed?"

Wolfe paused and then muttered angrily: "He called me a son of a bitch."

So went the fisticuffs, which became one more charge in a recall petition against Hemenway. A coalition of diplomats alleged that Hemenway "first insulted and then struck in the face without provocation a retired F.S.O. board member, more than twenty years his senior and over fifty pounds less than his weight."

In August, the Washington chapter of the Foreign Service Association voted to submit all the charges to a plebiscite of the worldwide membership. It was a historic moment for the foreign service. Hemenway's detractors way called them sycophants of Henry Kissinger and stooges for the State Department establishment. The two factions literally grappled for control of the microphone, and losers occasionally yanked the plug. Hemenway asked reporters to witness his crucifixion, but his opponents barred the door and did him in privately. In retaliation, Hemenway immediately initiated recall proceedings against his colleagues on the board. There is no prospect for a negotiated settlement. It is total war.

This is not normal behavior for the foreign service, but the diplomats have been in decline for nearly thirty years. They bore the brunt of the loyalty purges in the McCarthy era. President Kennedy complained that he could never get a straight answer from the men in striped pants, and he likened the State Department to a bowl of jelly. Scholarly articles lament the State Department's loss of influence in foreign affairs, but all the formulas to change things have gone for naught. Power has flowed steadily to the White House, Pentagon, and the C.I.A. Secretary of State Dean Rusk defended the Vietnam war wearing the placid gaze of Buddha, although he was hardly the major force behind the war. Secretary of State William Rogers was ignored. Secretary Kissinger has not been ignored, but his power has almost nothing to do with the Department of State. Kissinger has run the department out of his hip pocket, relying on a few chosen subordinates. He has kept sensitive matters secret from the diplomatic corps, which he does not trust.

All this has taken a toll on the foreign service. The glory days are gone. Overseas diplomats no longer live like little kings, with three servants and a tea maid. They are little more than ordinary bureaucrats with pretensions. "This," snickers Hemenway with a florid gesture toward the State Department building, "is the crème de la crème?"

Hemenway is the strangest of many developments in the foreign service of late. Who would have *ever* thought that Lester Maddox, of all people, would offer the president of the American Foreign Service Association the number-two spot in his against Ford and

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Carter? Maddox w[illegible] Hemenway [illegible] with Thomas' widow. "She provided the tears," says Hemenway, "and I provided the facts."

but Hemenway decided to stay on and tilt against windmills at State.

Hemenway has the possessed look of a Daniel Ellsberg and speaks his mind so bluntly as to cause shudders in the State Department. He has testified against the confirmation of many high State Department officials on the ground that they are hacks. He has publicly called Henry Kissinger an incompetent czar in bed with Wayne Hays, who until his recent troubles ran the State Department as if it were his own personal playground. Who but a nut would say such things about men with such power over State and with such vengeful habits?

Hemenway's rise to power began five years ago when Charles Thomas committed suicide in despair over being kicked out of the foreign service. Thomas had claimed that the establishment railroaded him by putting false, derogatory information in his file. A cry went up for due process. The State Department position was that foreign service officers cannot enjoy the protections of ordinary bureaucrats because they are special. They are an elite, on call for duty anywhere. Under pressure, however, the department convened a special board to look into the Thomas case. The board found that Thomas had in fact been railroaded. As a conciliatory gesture, the State Department restored Thomas to the rolls of the foreign service for posthumous duty.

This was not enough. The State Department management found itself facing the ugliest specter of all—a union. Organizers from the American Federation of Government Employees fanned out in the department, pointing out the heavy price diplomats were paying for the idea of being special. To head them off, the State Department arranged for the Foreign Service Association to become the official bargaining agent for the diplomats. A.F.S.A., for fifty years a club for those who traffic in foreign affairs, suddenly became a company union. The defeated union organizers predicted doom and said they would be back. How, they asked derisively, could A.F.S.A. hope to stand up to the State Department when its officers are dependent upon the department for the things diplomats care most about—promotions and good assignments? A sweetheart deal, they said, noting that A.F.S.A. officers tend to get promoted much faster than their peers.

Hemenway took up the union's themes with relish. He tortured the State Department by waving the ghost of Charles Thomas in collabo-

Hemenway had himself been kicked out of the foreign service after a fifteen-year career. He said the system was corrupt, that he had been railroaded like Thomas. The State Department established a grievance board to examine Hemenway's case, and the board ruled that he had been cheated out of his job and his pension. State decided to ignore the board, having reserved this option. After similar results in other cases, the grievance system collapsed. Board members resigned, noting that the appeals were meaningless if State abided only by those decisions it liked.

In 1973, Hemenway ran for president of A.F.S.A. He lost, then spent two years convincing the Labor Department that State had used its influence to prevent fair elections. Labor agreed to supervise the 1975 elections in order to insure their integrity. Hemenway ran for president again and won.

Then the battle commenced. Hemenway would issue statements critical of Kissinger; the A.F.S.A. board would pass a resolution censuring him for "intemperate remarks" not in keeping with board policy. Each board meeting became a dogfight, with Hemenway a minority of one.

The crunch came over grievance legislation. For four years, a Senate coalition of liberals and conservatives had pushed a bill calling for grievance boards with final powers, which would hold open hearings and take testimony under oath in cases when a foreign service officer claimed he had been railroaded. The State Department opposed the bill. Each year Wayne Hays killed it in the House, stating that he himself was serving as a fair, informal grievance board for the State Department.

The Senate bill passed again last year, with A.F.S.A. support. Hays was under the gun. But at the critical moment in House-Senate negotiations, Lars Hydle, Hemenway's chief antagonist on the board, assured Hays that the board would support a Hays/State Department compromise. It changed the Senate bill in some important respects, stating, for example, that the State Department could ignore grievance-board findings if it wanted to.

Hemenway was outraged. He sent letters to Congress saying the board had no authority to change A.F.S.A.'s position on its main issue without consulting the membership. The board sent letters to Congress saying that Hemenway had no authority to dispute board policy. All decorum vanished. The Hays bill passed. "It's corrupt!" cried Hemenway. "It's un-American! It's Wayne Hays!"

This set the stage for The Great Mail Robbery. Hemenway prepared a mailing to the A.F.S.A. membership calling for a series of referenda designed to strengthen his position. Hydle and several helpers intercepted the mailing in the State Department pouch room. Hemenway accused them of theft and of tampering with the mails. They accused Hemenway of trying to use A.F.S.A. stationery and franking privileges without board authorization. Hemenway wound up paying for the mailing out of his own pocket. He complains that the board majority not only controls the A.F.S.A. budget but also receives compensation from State, whereas he receives no salary as A.F.S.A. president and has mortgaged his house to continue the fight.

Hemenway has sued Hydle in civil court over the mail robbery, which led to the Wolfe fight and to the mutual recall petitions. The war drags on. Hydle says Hemenway is a strange bird with no support; Hemenway says his supporters are too intimidated by State Department management to speak up except by secret ballot. Hydle says Hemenway has made a laughingstock of A.F.S.A.; Hemenway says it was already a laughingstock. Hemenway's enemies say he is merely a right-wing nut on a tear. Hemenway says that Joan of Arc was a nut, too.

The foreign service is a vulnerable elite without much power or prestige. The Hemenway furor dramatizes that indignity. Still, the business of diplomacy must go on despite the petty bureaucratic quibbling. There is a new Administration coming, for example, and a number of diplomats are subtly preparing. For instance, they have gradually ceased referring to the present Secretary of State as "Henry," reverting to the more formal "Dr. Kissinger." Diplomacy is, as they say, the art of adjustment. ###

CORRECTION: *In his column in the September issue of Esquire, Taylor Branch wrote that Mitchell Rogovin "won't say exactly when the [Central Intelligence] Agency recruited him, but he was aboard by 1961." In fact, Mr. Rogovin was never "recruited" by the C.I.A. and was therefore not "aboard" in 1961. In the early Sixties, however, while serving as an attorney for the Internal Revenue Service, Mr. Rogovin had dealings with the C.I.A., and in July of 1975, he was retained as special counsel to the director of the Agency. Esquire regrets the error.*

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Pike Urged To Drop Bid For Reports

The governing board of the American Foreign Service Association has urged Chairman Otis G. Pike (D-N.Y.) of the House intelligence committee to drop his request for reports of dissenting foreign policy advice given by State Department officials.

In a move that backs Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's refusal to turn over to the House intelligence committee a report of a subordinate's disagreement with U.S. policy toward Cyprus, the board, after a vote of 7 to 0, sent a letter to Pike.

That letter, dated Oct. 16, along with another letter from the AFSA board to Kissinger, was released yesterday by the association. The letter to Kissinger urges the secretary "not to transmit to the Congress information on individually attributable policy recommendations offered by career officers of the Foreign Service."

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Between the Lines

Manipulated Foreign Service

Foundations Throw Weight—and Money—Around

By
EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Washington — When President Nixon sets out to put into effect his promised revolution in the management of the State Department, he will have to cope with the department's built-in and highly-effective techniques for lobbying the Congress and resisting change.

Roosevelt

Clearly, the door is left open to outside manipulation of the Foreign Service when Government officials accept ties with tax-exempt foundations and private companies. They do this to entrench themselves in power or to put across policies which they favor.

A case in point is the simultaneous revelations that the Donner Foundation gave $33,000 to the American Foreign Service Association and that 14 State Department employes and a New York real estate magnate with State Department connections gave generous campaign contributions to Rep. John J. Rooney (D-N. Y.). Rooney, of the House Appropriations Committee, exercises control over spending by the State Department and related overseas activities.

Donner Grant

The Donner grant was received by the American Foreign Service Association under a new policy installed this year by a so-called "young Turk" group of activist foreign service officers aggressively determined to free "the Service" from the last vestiges of control by the Congress.

As part of this program, in 1968 the American Foreign Service Association has received more than $100,000, including gifts from John D. Rockefeller, 3d, William Averell Harriman, Mrs. William Rivkin, the widow of a well-known lobby lawyer, and Mrs. Christian Herter, widow of the former Secretary of State who was on the World Peace Foundation.

Significantly, William Bray, 3d, a "young Turk" member of the board of the American Foreign Service Association, was granted six months leave of absence from the State Department without pay to carry out this aggressive policy. His entire salary is being paid by John D. Rockefeller, 3d, during this period.

Picked Up Tab

The influence of the Donner Foundation is seen by the fact that it picked up the tab for a conference held in Washington Nov. 14 and 15 by the American Foreign Service Association. This was announced by the conference chairman. The underlying theme of the conference was the retention of power by "the Eastern Establishment" through personnel selection.

A string of Government consultants attended, such as Arthur Larson, former head of the U. S. Information Agency, and Adam Yarmolinsky, who helped staff key policy posts in the Kennedy Administration.

The two-day conference was chaired by Joseph Esrey Johnson, president of the tax-exempt Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who is referred to by insiders as "the permanent unofficial Secretary of State." Joseph Johnson was formerly with the State Department's policy planning staff and was one of the architects while there of the United Nations. A member of the American Foreign Service Association who attended the conference told this writer that it was Johnson who suggested foundation funding for the association.

A Lobbying Front?

The implications are plain: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Donner Foundation and other New York foundations are using the American Foreign Service Association as a lobby front for major legislative changes to be proposed in 1969 affecting the structure and role of the American Foreign Service.

Significantly, the American Foreign Service Association has proposed that power over personnel selections, promotions and firings should be vested solely in a board of the Foreign Service, which would be a semi-independent agency. Not unexpectedly, the association proposed that Joseph Johnson be the board chairman.

Outside influences are at work, too, in the case of contributions made by State Department officials to Rep. Rooney's reelection. Of significance in this affair is the role of Norman K. Winston, the New York realtor who owns several companies and has been given honorific jobs by the State Department. Winston was the largest donor to Rep. Rooney's campaign committee, while the wife of Idar Rimestad, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, is listed as giving $500. Rimestad, who is formally charged with all of the State Department's budgeting, financing and contracts, is the department official who works closest with Rooney.

The moral is that if there is to be any real change in the present system, new men must be brought in who will resist outside interests and pressures. Freedom from conflicting outside financial relationships are a prerequisite for disinterested public service.

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'Young Turks' of Foreign Service Seek to Modernize U.S. Diplomacy

By Warren Unna
Washington Post Staff Writer

The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), spear-headed by a group of "Young Turks" from the State Department, yesterday published a manual for the next President that it hopes will modernize U.S. diplomacy fast enough to meet the problems of the 1970s.

"If the next Administration doesn't move almost immediately—certainly within those first 100 days—the System's going to move in and we'll all become Hamlets unable translate our ideas into action."

That's the dour opinion of Lannon Walker, AFSA board chairman and a foreign service officer currently assigned to Secretary of State Dean Rusk's executive secretariat.

Walker and his colleagues, with financial assist from John D. Rockefeller III, have just completed an 18-month study on management and personnel problems in U.S. foreign affairs.

Adding the endorsement of the professional diplomats to all the blueprints for reform which have gone before, they say they do not pretend to be revolutionaries, merely members on the inside determined to make U.S. diplomacy and diplomats more effective.

"No one in the system today has the time to do the hard-nosed management work. We want to give the next President and Secretary of State time to concentrate on foreign affairs," declared Charles W. Bray III, another foreign service officer who voluntarily took a year's leave of absence in order to shepherd through the modern diplomacy study.

It was noted that Secretary Rusk, when he completes his eight years in office, will have spent about 500 days—1-1 3 years—of that period attending international conferences. And this doesn't include an uncalculated string of hours in testifying before Congress.

The AFSA study, which has been distributed to key Congressional committees, Senators and Congressmen, as well as to the three presidential candidates, is intended to forewarn the next President before he starts appointing new men to the same old jobs with their built-in pitfalls.

One of the principal recommendations is for the creation of two new top State Department posts: A Foreign Secretary with Cabinet rank who could become a more powerful alter ego in dealing with domestic agencies and foreign governments than the present Under Secretary; and a Permanent Under Secretary to give career continuity to management and replace State's current No. 3 job of Under Secretary for Political Affairs.

The AFSA manual also calls for bringing State's onetime appendage, the U.S. Information Agency, back into the fold and making its director an Under Secretary of State.

It also calls for a single Foreign Service where appointments from State, AID and USIA would be regulated under a single Board of Foreign Service acting as independently as the present U.S. Civil Service Commission.

The AFSA manual also recommends abandonment of the "country team" system inaugurated under the Kennedy Administration in which various U.S. domestic agencies form a sort of board of directors panel in Embassies abroad, chaired by the U.S. Ambassador.

The AFSA report emphatically does not recommend the creation of new organizations, preferring instead to make more effective those now existing.

How effective the AFSA and their "Young Turk" leaders will be remains to be seen. They acknowledge that their main obstacle will be the one which has cursed bureaucratic change for generations: "Inertia."

Working independently of the AFSA has been former Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton, who is regarded as a likely Secretary of State in any Nixon Administration.

Scranton, who rose to become an Assistant Secretary of State during the Eisenhower Administration, is known to have cautioned Nixon not to repeat the "mistake" of the Kennedy Administration in naming most of the top subordinates before actually naming the Secretary of State who is to head the team.

The AFSA report was prepared by a committee headed by Graham Martin, former U.S. Ambassador to Thailand, and composed of representatives from the State Department, AID and USIA.

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