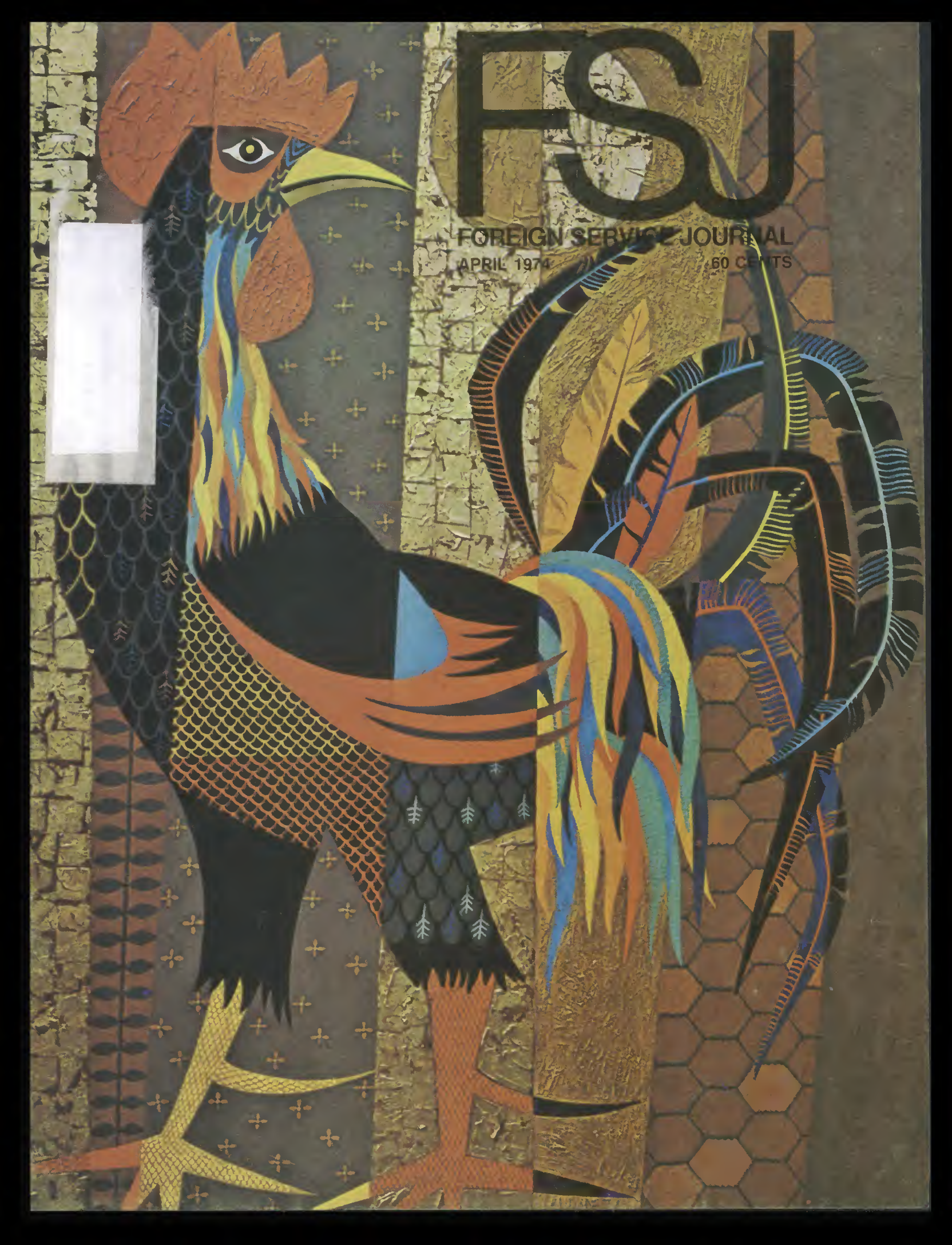




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JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD., 46 Keyes House, Dolphin Sq.,
London SW1 01-834-8023/9. *International Representatives.*

© American Foreign Service Association, 1974. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington D. C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional post office.



The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the journal of professionals in foreign affairs, published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization.

Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development or the United States Government as a whole.

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For subscription to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues); \$6.00; two years, \$10.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add \$1.00 annually for overseas postage.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Microfilm copies of current as well as of back issues of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL are available through the University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 under a contract signed October 30, 1967.

COVER: Rooster by Barbara Ebersole

Selling Embassies

THE REVELATIONS surrounding Herbert Kalmbach's guilty plea on February 26—that he had proffered ambassadorships in exchange for explicit levels of contributions—has once again brought to public light the urgent need to do something serious and constructive about a long-standing abuse. The fact is that every administration, irrespective of party, has seen fit to reward large contributors with ambassadorships whether they had any qualifications for the job or not. And if this has usually been done without the price tag being displayed quite so prominently as in Mr. Kalmbach's case, the principle nonetheless has been the same: contributors don't contribute for nothing, and one way you can pay them off is with an embassy.

This nation has been fortunate to have been able to draw on the talents of a large number of remarkable individuals from outside the career service who have made major contributions to American foreign policy. The Foreign Service is not the sole repository of talent in the field of foreign affairs in this country, and the nation should continue to be able to count on the services of distinguished non-career Ambassadors.

Political contributors are another matter. With a few exceptions, the best that can be said about the vast bulk of them is that while Ambassadors they did little damage to American foreign relations. Yet every officer knows of incidents where non-career Ambassadors of the major contributor sort have done real damage to our national interests. And for every incident which has come to the public light, there are several others which have not.

Finally, as citizens we, like the rest of the American public, have the right to expect that the processes of government will work with integrity.

AFSA believes, therefore, that the time has come to bring a halt to the practice of selling Embassies, which has done real harm to the caliber of American representation abroad. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, we have asked the Congress to pass legislation making major contributors ineligible for consideration for Ambassadorships. We have also suggested to the Committee that it adopt its proposed professional guidelines so that only the best qualified individuals, whether career or non-career, will become American ambassadors abroad.

The Appointment

JOE TWINAM

MIKE WAS, in honesty, surprised himself. But not displeased, and as usual he took it in stride.

Everyone else was amazed. But on reflection not displeased.

It happened in the Director's Weekly Meeting, with all the Deputy Directors for THIS and THAT there—and Mike, of course. Mike had been sitting in on all of the new Director's Meetings, and everyone was beginning to get the picture.

When the Director announced that Mike was to be the new Senior Deputy Director, all the Deputy Directors took it well. What else would you suggest? But to do them credit, they were nice to Mike about it later, whatever they might have thought. True, they didn't think so much of Mike, but they knew how the Director had come to regard him. Besides, Mike had throughout been decent enough to them. That counts for a lot in MANAGEMENT.

As the word spread throughout the Organization, the Rank and File took it pretty well too. Everyone knew the Director had been brought in to make some Sweeping Reforms, with the Chairman's full backing. Maybe Mike was the man needed to help the Director pull it off—at least the Director seemed to think so. The File was especially pleased, because somehow Mike didn't act like the rest of the Rank. The Rank, of course, didn't tell the File what they told themselves but not each other. Rank were after all Old Boys, and pretended collectively to File that Mike was too. Moreover, Old Boys come, of course, from various Clubs, and each Club was delighted that Mike, if he could not be from "The Club," was at least from No Club At All.

So everyone adjusted—and never knew about the confrontation.

That was between the Director and the *Acting* Senior Deputy, was who leaving anyway. When the Director told *Acting* that he planned to name Mike Senior Deputy, *Acting* had said, "But who the hell is Mike anyway?"

The Director replied, "I don't care if he isn't from your Club, or Mine, Mike is the most impressive guy in MANAGEMENT. In all our Meetings over the last few weeks, Mike has contributed 'most.'"

Acting was leaving, but he was also trained. So he didn't tell the Director that Mike's sole contribution had been, when asked by the Director for an opinion, to say "On balance, I agree with you." Besides, Mike had been to all the Meetings, while *Acting* had missed a few while lingering with various former secretaries at lunch.

So Mike was appointed.

And the next day the Director got down to the private pep talk, charging Mike with "pulling it all together" in MANAGEMENT. "There are a lot of socks to pull up around here, Mike. Why look, ever since I came aboard no one has even gotten around to fixing this blinking light in my office."

Mike jumped up eagerly and began, quite expertly, to fix the light.

Continued on page 25



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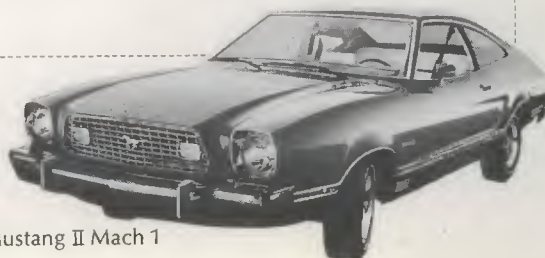
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*Perhaps the "devil theory of foreign relations"
needs an exorcist. In any case Ambassador Martin
Herz offers an . . .*

antidote

AS AN ANTIDOTE to your shrill review of the Townsend Hoopes book about John Foster Dulles, I would suggest to your readers a perusal of the more balanced review (entitled: "Reconsiderations: The Shadow of John Foster Dulles") by Gaddis Smith in the January 1974 issue of *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*. It is far from being a whitewash of the man; it just illuminates him, and the Hoopes book, from a broader historical perspective.

There were several things wrong with the review by Charles Maechling Jr. that you printed in January. For one, it was difficult for the reader to know when your reviewer was citing Hoopes and when he was expressing his own ideas. Certainly the review went beyond the Hoopes book in the horrendous piece of bias in the penultimate paragraph which you unblushingly printed and which I quote below in order to answer it:

"Nevertheless, the Department's own record during the period was nothing to be proud of and can only be compared to the Vichy era in France. Senior career offi-

cials at home and abroad vied with each other in endorsing every contemporary delusion about the nature of governments and events. Within the Department, they abjectly collaborated with the few inept political appointees sent in to purge their ranks. It is difficult not to be contemptuous of a career service so pathetically incapable of protecting both itself and the country."

If I understand the above paragraph correctly, the implication is really that the Foreign Service should have either openly opposed or covertly sabotaged the foreign policy of an elected administration and the presumed errors of its Secretary of State. If this had been openly stated, the indefensible implication of the paragraph would have been more apparent and thus less insidious.

Underlying both the Hoopes book and the Maechling review is a devil theory of foreign relations which I find unconvincing. Perhaps that is why I found the thrust of the Gaddis Smith article so much more plausible—that

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in essence the foreign policies of Acheson and Dulles weren't really very different; that the real distinction lay in the styles of the two men; and that the heightened fear of Communism and the search for scapegoats inside and outside the Foreign Service became important because of the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950.

In short, the theory of reflective historians now seems to be that the excesses of anti-Communism were not the result of the Republican victory in 1952 but rather that both the excesses and the victory stemmed from the perception of an increased Communist threat which, even if it was exaggerated, *had roots in real events*. Mr. Macchling speaks of "senior career officials ... endorsing every contemporary delusion about the nature of governments and events." It is almost as if he thought the very idea of collective defense against a possible Communist threat to have been a delusion. It's bad enough to see the devil theory married to revisionism, but Mr. Macchling's review took off from there to attack the Foreign Service sweepingly as if it had wittingly collaborated in crimes.

I believe this to be profoundly wrong because I lived through that period in field posts that had to do both with United States policy on European integration (Paris 1950-54) and United States policy on Indochina (Phnom Penh 1955-57). Foreign Service officers, at least those who were respected for their judgment and who had responsible positions at the middle and upper levels, genuinely shared in the belief that the Communist powers had aggressive capabilities and that their intentions would be governed by the degree to which obstacles to them were interposed by us. Who is to say

that they were wrong?

What these officers disagreed with was usually not the substance but the style. I know from personal experience that when Dulles made his "agonizing reappraisal" statement about the European army, he did this not because subordinates had pandered to his prejudices but despite admonitions from people in the Foreign Service that the French were more likely to make the right decision if we didn't pressure them publicly. I also know from personal experience that the Viet Minh did not fight for the liberation of Cambodia in 1954, for Cambodia was already liberated from the French when they tried to take it over.

Here, of course, is where your reviewer would probably disagree with me and with Gaddis Smith. He said in the last paragraph of his review: "The next two administrations sought to exorcise Dulles's image by changes of style rather than substance..." That may well be true, and obviously Mr. Macchling finds it reprehensible. But the fact remains that our perceptions—our perceptions as a nation and as a government, regardless of the party or the individuals in power—changed only slowly, in response to events and in response to the failure of certain developments to take place.

Is it not the height of irresponsibility to suggest that the American Foreign Service should have set itself not only against public and Congressional opinion but against the Administration itself, because of some aristocratic belief in its own infallibility? Truth was hard to come by during the years of the Cold War, and taking risks with our security and that of our friends required a



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sureness of judgment that was simply not present on the part even of critics of our foreign policy (except on the extreme left, where their motivations were suspect).

With respect to policy toward the Soviet Union, too, the record of the Foreign Service is far more honorable than Mr. Maechling suggests. From the memoirs of Kennan and Bohlen and from the *Foreign Relations* documents (now being published for 1948) it is clear that FSOs did not hold back with their best judgment. It is true that some men catered to the prejudices and shibboleths of the day, but they were exceptions.

Etched in my memory is one incident that—if it were generalized—could tend to substantiate Mr. Maechling's condemnation. One ambassador at a neighboring post was reporting events in a manner that seemed to suggest that he didn't understand, or didn't want to feature in a favorable light, the urgings of men who were fierce defenders of their country even while espousing neutrality. One day I asked him, rather casually I thought, if he really believed what he was reporting; and to my regret I must recall that he, with equal casualness, informed me that he couldn't recommend to Washington what he thought was right because he feared it would have an adverse effect on his career.

But every bureaucracy has men like that, and our record in political analysis and reporting during the Cold War is actually much better than our record in responding to nostrums proposed by management officials. The rush of FSOs to climb on the bandwagon of every new management "reform" panacea is to my mind far more susceptible to criticism than their record of political courage (with some exceptions) in calling the shots as they saw them even when it was unpopular to do so. The overriding fact is that the objective situation itself was not black and white, and efforts to make it appear so in retrospect are a disservice especially to your young readers who can have no first-hand experience in those events.

Lest there be the slightest doubt about my own position on the China question, let me say that I, like everyone I knew in the Foreign Service, was horrified by the way some of our best China experts were treated by Dulles. But a number of honorable men, within the Service and distinguished officers retired from it, stood up for them. There was widespread recognition of the danger that penalizing officers for views that later turned out to be either wrong or unpopular would result in bland reporting and conformist interpretation; and that this would represent a danger to our first line of defense—for diplomacy is our first line of defense.

The tragedy of revisionism which pictures our estrangement from China as due solely to errors on *our* part, is that again those who did not live through those troubled days are given only half the picture. It is all very well for Barbara Tuchman to praise the FSOs who reported the true trend in China and to suggest that if their advice had been taken we would have detached the Chinese from the Soviets and developed a lasting friendship with them. But this overlooks the Chinese Communists who, for reasons of their own, needed devils to whom to ascribe their own tribulations, and it is far from certain that they would have been friendly to us even if we had helped them—as we did with the Russians—to achieve their victory.

MARTIN F. HERZ

The typical West African country, with about four million inhabitants, has a demand for industrial products equivalent to that of a middle-sized European provincial town.

WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION — PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS



ROBERT S. SMITH

THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS in favor of increased West African economic cooperation have remained essentially unchanged since the region gained its political independence 13 to 17 years ago.

Individual markets, with the possible exception of Nigeria, are too small to permit a viable program of industrialization. Where per capita income is about US \$100, the total demand for processed goods is hardly more than three percent of the corresponding per capita demand in West Europe. The typical West African country, with about four million inhabitants, has a demand for industrial products equivalent to that of a middle-sized European provincial town.

Only through cooperative efforts, therefore, on a regional basis, can West Africa hope to escape continued economic dependence on export of primary commodities and move toward viable industrial enterprises, increased intraregional trade, increased investment and higher per capita incomes.

Such cooperative efforts are equally important to agricultural modernization. Interchange of information and technology; the ready access to overseas markets

for the agricultural products of land-locked countries; these necessitate closer economic cooperation among the West Africans.

The pre-independence institutions of British and French Colonial Africa, particularly the francophone ones, provided far more intra-regional cooperation in West Africa than almost anything since independence, although then as now, the differences between British and French colonial administrations and institutions precluded much cooperation between the two groups of colonies. There have continued to be a number of multi-country institutions in West Africa, but none of these has proven to be the nucleus of comprehensive economic cooperation.

Stimuli to Cooperation

Recently, however, several events and developments have begun to be seen as new impetuses to regional cooperation:

- UK entry into the European Community (EC) has removed a psychological constraint to anglophone-francophone economic cooperation. The inevitable consequences of the enlarged EC have stimulated the West Africans, in fact the whole continent, to take a new look at their own relationships with the industrialized world.

- The Organization for African Unity (OAU) is proving to be the principal forum for resolving intra-African political-economic

views toward an external problem: cooperation with the enlarged European Common Market. The poorer francophone nations are more willing to differ with France—and hence support the anglophones—in an exclusively African organization, than they are in the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), with its European Associate Members.

- The leadership of post-civil war Nigeria appears to have achieved sufficient confidence in its own national integrity to permit it to exert its naturally preponderant influence within West Africa. While some of the francophone states are concerned by Nigeria's size and economic muscle-flexing, Nigeria's immediate, poor francophone neighbors view Lagos as a counterweight to Paris. Nigeria has moved cautiously but concretely to promote economic ties with its neighbors. What is more, there is no other anglophone West African country today in any position to challenge Nigeria's leadership.

The interaction of these factors has been most evident in the combined OAU-Nigerian leadership of all of Africa in its initial negotiations with the EC. African preparatory negotiations took place in a preliminary meeting of the anglophones in Lagos in February, 1973, followed by OAU-sponsored meetings, culminating in the declaration on economic cooperation of last May's OAU summit meeting

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in Addis Ababa, unanimously endorsed by the Africans, including such traditional francophone leaders as Senghor of Senegal and Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast. What is more, in the first African-European negotiating session in Brussels in July, the African spokesman was Nigerian and, for the first time in memory, an EC meeting took place entirely in English!

Constraints on Cooperation

Anglophone-Francophone Differences. The "partition" of West Africa between anglophone and francophone countries constitutes a major constraint on regional cooperation but, contrary to popular belief, the importance of linguistic considerations *per se* has been greatly exaggerated. Clandestine border trade has always been conducted in local dialects. The legal livestock trade is not inhibited by language differences where economic problems can be overcome. More and more African government officials today are learning and using a language other than their own official one.

What is different, however, remains the cultural and educational outlooks of the two. Some Nigerians describe their policy of closer ties with their francophone neighbors as an effort to "de-Frenchify" West Africa. And some senior Senegalese and Ivorians, taking pride in their sophisticated European lifestyles, are repelled by what they describe as "neo-Nkrumah" strong arm methods of the anglophones. Africans benefiting from advanced education in Europe acquire not only a specialized vocabulary but also distinctive analytical methods and administrative approaches.

Nevertheless, even these cultural constraints are likely to assume decreased importance with the passage of time, as more and more officials are educated in Africa rather than in Europe. New bureaucrats therefore have more nationalistic outlooks, or at least think more as Africans than as black Frenchmen and black Englishmen.

Nigerian Influence. While the political and economic strength of Nigeria may be seen as important stimuli to West African economic cooperation, Nigeria's role also

represents something of an economic threat, just because the nation is as strong as it is. Thus, certain of the francophone nations, particularly Senegal and Ivory Coast, have been seeking to bind the former French colonies together in a West African francophone economic group, the *Communauté Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale* (CEAO). There have also been some indications that Senegal and Ivory Coast would hold out for association with Europe in Yaounde III on terms similar to the previous association agreements—even though, in the past year, there has been a remarkable degree of African unity on new terms.

In the meantime, the Nigerians have been trying to promote regional economic cooperation

"With an overvalued currency, it pays the Ghanaians to import legally at the official exchange rate (and to export to CFA countries illegally at the parallel exchange rate of the depreciated cedi)."

across linguistic lines. They made an interest-free loan to Dahomey for road construction and financed the Lagos-Cotonou telephone link. They have intervened with Dahomey to eliminate the latter's circulation tax restricting transit trade through Dahomey for Togolese goods on their way to Nigeria. And they have initiated a different West African Economic Community including both anglophones and francophones.

Financial Restrictions. Many West Africans view the lack of efficient payment arrangements among the various monetary zones in the region as the single most important constraint on intra-regional trade. While there is no doubt that it is an obstacle, there is much evidence to indicate that, in fact, it is a relatively minor one.

Take, for example, the livestock trade between seller, Upper Volta, and buyer, Ghana. It operates something like this:

(1) The Ghanaian purchaser deposits Ghanaian *cedis* in the Ghan-

aian banking system to purchase an irrevocable letter of credit, denominated in US dollars.

(2) The buyer then delivers the letter to the Upper Volta seller against livestock delivery.

(3) The Upper Volta deposits the letter with his bank, which in turn transmits it to the Ouagadougou branch of the Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO).

(4) The BCEAO sends it to BCEAO headquarters in Paris, which transmits it to the Bank of France.

(5) The Bank of France transmits it to the designated New York correspondent of the Bank of Ghana for payment.

(6) Notification of credit then must go back through the system in order to have the Upper Volta seller paid in CFA francs.

At best, this system takes several weeks. At worst, it has extended over eleven months. During the payment process, the capital of both the exporter and the importer is completely tied up. It is not hard to see why the alternative of clandestine trade becomes so attractive.

While the *technical* problems in this transaction lie in the BCEAO's prohibition against any of its branches dealing in foreign exchange other than French francs, the *substantive* problem is much greater: Ghana's recorded trade with the CFA zone is in chronic deficit. With an overvalued currency, it pays the Ghanaians to import legally at the official exchange rate (and to export to CFA countries illegally at the parallel exchange rate of the depreciated *cedi*!).

A clearing arrangement between CFA currency countries and Ghana would help reduce this problem. But it would probably also require some devaluation of the *cedi*. The present Ghana government, having reversed the previous government's devaluation, has been politically reluctant to consider any new devaluation. Thus, it can be argued that the real obstacle is not so much the payments arrangements as the underlying causes of imbalance among national economies.

Another type of problem involving payments is that of coastal

transit trade among Ghana, Togo, Dahomey and Nigeria. That trade results less from natural comparative advantage than from disparate tax and tariff structures between anglophone and francophone countries. The anglophone tax structures, inherited from the British, are essentially based on high levies on primary commodity exports and relatively low, non-discriminatory import duties. The normal result of such a structure is relatively low prices and salaries. Ghana's severe balance of payments difficulties have led to the imposition of higher import duties. Dahomey, in contrast, levies no or extremely low taxes on exports, but has very high and discriminatory duties on imports. Togo's export levies are also low and Togo has maintained a low non-discriminatory import duty structure.

The result of these differences is a substantial clandestine transit trade. Low cost imports through the port of Lome are smuggled into Dahomey, Ghana and Nigeria, while cocoa smuggled from Ghana and Nigeria is exported through the ports of Lome and Cotonou. (Recent stringent border control inside Ghana has sharply reduced what used to be substantial Togolese cocoa exports, despite the fact that Togo grows very little cocoa!)

Significantly, the absence of official payments arrangements between anglophone and francophone nations appears to have little or no adverse impact on these trade movements. In fact, parallel exchange markets in *cedis* and *naira* operate freely in Togo and Dahomey and appear to move with the general availability and prices of imports in Ghana and Nigeria. They work so well that Ghana and Nigeria both have serious difficulties in controlling the clandestine trade. Only a concerted effort at rationalizing the tax and tariff structures among the four countries would effectively control this trade. It would be extremely politically difficult, however, for the governments concerned to do this.

Infrastructure Limitations. The constraints on regional economic cooperation attributable to poor or non-existent telecommunications and transportation links are well known. Viable industrialization projects in the landlocked countries will almost always require

prior improvement in infrastructure. Yet existing traffic and trade patterns hardly justify the investment involved, particularly to the coastal countries which find it difficult to justify the necessary budgetary expenditures for these international links. The only way they can do so is if the inland countries can be seen as expanded markets for the coastal countries' goods.

Key to all of this, of course, is the political will to cooperate. The potential reduction in transport costs due to improved road links can be vitiated by restrictions on truck movements across international boundaries. The opening of alternative transport links, while diverting trade to the cheaper routes, may also disrupt traditional

Coastal countries should refrain from developing and processing crops that do best in the savannah ecology, and land-locked countries need to refrain from establishing industries that can be operated at less cost in the coastal areas.

market arrangements, i.e. from Niger through Nigeria rather than through Dahomey.

Trade Barriers. According to recorded trade statistics, almost all West African countries receive only five percent or less of their imports from neighboring states. Such statistics, however, are largely meaningless. There is little correspondence between the recorded exports of one country and the recorded imports of another. The figures do not include "unofficial" intra-regional trade, both traditional and clandestine. Incorporating this traditional trade, it is estimated, for example, that Nigeria absorbs 75 percent of Niger's total exports and provides 20 percent of Niger's imports.

What is more, present trade patterns are not a reliable guide for any analysis of prospects for intra-regional trade under conditions of increased economic cooperation. Clandestine trade would be reduced, and traditional trade would

move into official channels.

Economies of scale in West Africa today lead to industrial concentration in the coastal areas. On the other hand, stockraising is best suited to the inland areas. The higher standard of living of the coastal areas attracts meat in areas where the tse-tse fly hampers animal production. While much can be done to improve inland meat production, there is a natural division of labor in this situation.

The inland countries could also develop and export dairy products, as well as a number of other savannah crops.

Major development of trade in these and other products, however, requires coordination and cooperation between coastal and landlocked countries. The former should refrain from developing and processing crops that do best in the savannah ecology, and the latter countries need to refrain from establishing industries that can be operated at less cost in the coastal areas.

Tariff Barriers. Under present conditions in West Africa, the most important constraints on natural intra-regional trade movements are discriminatory tariff barriers. Within the francophone area, existing Ivory Coast levies discriminate in favor of raw agricultural imports from inland states. There is further discrimination within these constraints, which favors Entente nations, Upper Volta and Niger, over non-member, Mali.

Ivory Coast tariffs on goods from anglophone neighbors are from 30 to 50 percent higher than from those within the franc zone. It is thus almost prohibitive for Ghana and Nigeria to export *legally* to the francophone countries. It is frequently even cheaper for the francophone countries to import from Europe than from their anglophone neighbors. The reverse is also true. Thus, Nigerian officials have stated that they cannot give binding guaranties to import from neighboring CFA countries so long as these countries maintain discriminatory tariffs against Nigerian goods.

Prospects for West African Economic Cooperation

There are perhaps three sets of issues on which prospects for West

Continued on page 30

The right of the people to bear and keep children shall not be infringed.

Zero Population Growth

The Goal and the Means

KINGSLEY DAVIS



WHEN IN 1967 "zero population growth" was first mentioned as a goal of population policy, it was not itself defended or discussed; only the means of reaching it were considered. Since that time, with ZPG becoming the name for a movement, a lively debate has ensued. In what follows, I shall first consider some of the main developments in the debate, then search for what lies behind the debate, hoping to illuminate the nature of population policy.

The question at issue when ZPG was introduced was whether the population policies then current were effective or ineffective. To answer that question, one obviously needed to know what goal the policies were trying to achieve. "Population control" could not be considered a goal, because it did not specify "control to what end." However, since population control was frequently justified in the policy literature by graphic accounts

of the dangers of population increase—I drew the conclusion that the implied aim was no population growth at all. I therefore undertook to determine whether the population measures being pursued or advocated in official circles were likely to achieve ZPG.

My conclusion was that measures then current did not provide population control for any collective purpose, least of all for population stability. Limited to "family planning" and hence to couple control, about all they could accomplish would be to help countries approaching a modern condition reach an industrial level of fertility, a level they would soon reach anyway. An industrial level, however, is far above ZPG. Between 1960 and 1970, for example, the 50 industrial countries of the world increased their population by 14 percent, a rate that would double it in less than 50 years.

For ZPG as a goal, it was unfortunate that the concept first arose in the context of a critique of family planning as the exclusive approach to population policy. The powerful interests vested in this approach reacted by attacking not only the idea that other means than family planning might be necessary, but also the goal of ZPG itself. Spokesmen for the population programs of foundations, international agencies, and government bureaus—all committed to the assumption that the population problem is due to unwanted births and

that therefore the solution is to provide massive contraceptive services—felt that their leadership had been challenged.

ZPG as a Goal

To declare that ZPG was not the goal of existing population programs was dangerous. Yet soon after the ZPG concept appeared, three leaders of the population movement not only made this declaration but went further to say that the family-planning program, at least in the United States, is not for population limitation at all. Others were less hasty. They did not directly repudiate ZPG as a goal but painted its advocates as naive, unrealistic, or authoritarian. For instance, the uncertain timing of ZPG was used as a basis for criticism. By interpreting ZPG advocates as demanding ZPG immediately, critics could accuse them of being enthusiasts ignorant of the science of demography who were unwittingly threatening Americans with a child embargo. On the other hand, by interpreting them as wanting ZPG only sometime in the indefinite future, critics could say that they were merely recommending the inevitable.

Immediate ZPG would certainly require a drastic reduction in fertility. Since existing societies have had more births than deaths, their age structure is younger and more favorable to future births than it would otherwise be. To compensate for this fact, if instant ZPG were to be attained, each current

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Reprinted by permission of DAEDALUS, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, Mass., Fall, 1973, "The No-Growth Society." This is a shortened version of the original article.

young woman would have to reduce her fertility, on the average, below her own replacement.

Actually, with migration excluded, a US population fixed from 1965 would require age-specific birth rates during the next 20 years which, if experienced by each woman during her reproductive life, would yield an average of 1.2 children per woman. However, not all women bear children. Among white women aged 35 to 39 in the US in 1960, some 15.5 percent had either never married or never borne a child. So, in a fixed population, each woman who *did* have a child could bear, on the average, 1.4 children—a mean that could be reached if 60 percent had one child and 40 percent had two. Put in these terms, instantaneous ZPG does not sound so frightening. As for disruption to society, the resulting fluctuation in school-age children would be less than that actually experienced in the past. From 1950 to 1970 the number of children aged 5 to 19 in continental United States shot up from 34.9 million to 59.5 million, a 70 percent increase. In hypothetical calculations of ZPG beginning in 1965, the most drastic change in children of this age would be that of the 25-year period from 1965 to 1990, when the number would fall by 41.5 percent.

In trying to discredit immediate ZPG, the Population Establishment was arguing against a straw man, because ZPGers, scarcely so literal-minded, would have been happy to see ZPG achieved within their lifetime. But not content with hitting them over the head for presumably wanting ZPG instantaneously, the Establishment buffeted them for the opposite as well, for supposedly wanting it in the indefinite future.

Apart from cavils about the timing of ZPG, there were two objections to a nongrowing population regardless of when it came about: that it would interfere with economic development and that it would produce a high proportion of aged persons. These arguments, both old, are worth examining.

The economic argument holds that some population growth is a good thing because it provides economies of scale, promotes a bullish investment psychology, and provides openings for the young; but, as the economist Stephen

Enke pointed out, "the more slowly population grows the more capital can be accumulated per member of the labor force," and "only those who own something valuable and scarce can count on larger real incomes as a result of population growth."

One has only to look at history to see that slow population growth does not mean economic stagnation nor does fast growth mean prosperity. Between 1890 and 1940 Ireland's population *declined* by 16 percent, yet during that period, according to figures compiled by Colin Clark, the real product per manhour rose by 99 percent, whereas in Great Britain, whose population grew by 42 percent, the improvement in product was only 62 percent. France, whose population rose more slowly than Britain's, had a rate of rise in real product nearly three times that of Britain. Sweden had such a low fertility that its cohorts born after 1885 were not replacing themselves, yet after that time it had what is probably the most rapid economic rise and is now the richest country in Europe. If human productivity is a function of resources and technology, and if resources are limited (as they indubitably are), the way to get a higher product—once population has gone beyond the point of providing adequate specialization—is to advance technology and decrease population.

The other objection—that ZPG means an aged population—was voiced as follows in 1968:

A stationary population with an expectation of life of 70 years has as many people over 60 as under 15. . . . A society with such an age structure is not likely to be receptive to change, and indeed would have a strong tendency towards nostalgia and conservatism.

Actually, there are three questions involved here. First, since "life expectancy" is an average, can the age distribution vary independently of that average? The answer is yes, because it is affected by the skew in deaths by age. Would the age distribution of a ZPG population disrupt the normal workings of the society? Again no. There seems to be no correlation between the age structure and political outlook. The age distribution of the USSR is very similar to that of the USA; socialist Sweden has an older age

structure than Falangist Spain. Some of the wildest political schemes ever known have been advocated by lobbies of the elderly and some of the most atavistic movements (such as the Nazi movement in Germany) were manned by dogmatic youth.

The big difference in age structure is not between one industrial country and another, with or without ZPG, but between industrial and nonindustrial countries. This is demonstrated by comparing Honduras with other countries. In Honduras only 40 percent of the population is in the productive ages compared to 58 percent in Sweden and 57 percent in West Berlin. ZPG would place the highest proportion in the productive ages.

What has happened, then, to ZPG as a goal? In the end the Establishment, in the form of the US Population Commission, professed ZPG as its goal, but without using the term or endorsing its immediate attainment. This was a remarkable victory for the ZPG movement in six years, but of course it did not mean benign consensus. Much goal conflict remained hidden, to emerge only when means were considered.

The Means to ZPG

If ZPG were the supreme aim, *any* means would be justified. By common consent, however, raising the death rate is excluded; also, reducing immigration is played down. This leaves fertility reduction as the main avenue. (In the past, had population growth been feared above all else, deaths would never have been reduced below births.) If then, the means is birth limitation, why not take measures to reduce births? Why not simply limit each couple to two births, with sufficient penalties to discourage three?

The response of the Population Establishment is that this would be "compulsion." Although plenty of compulsion has been used to lower death rates, it is not to be used to lower birth rates. On the contrary, the right of couples to have the number of children they want has been declared by policy leaders to be "a fundamental human right."

What lies behind this response? When the aim is game protection, the conservationists do not proclaim each hunter's right to shoot

as much game as he wants. When the goal is clean air, the authorities do not assert each person's right to put as many pollutants into the air as he pleases. Why, to achieve birth limitation, is it efficient to give each woman the right to have as many children as she wants?

The answer is that the problem is wrongly diagnosed—like attributing anemia to excess blood and prescribing blood-letting as the remedy. The assumption behind the "freedom-to-choose" emphasis in population policy is that the population problem is a function of unwanted births and therefore, if women have the means to limit births, the population problem will be solved.

But why make such a dubious assumption? The key lies in our unstated background. Our mores were formed when societies could survive only with a birth rate thrice that required by a modern death rate. Built into the social order, therefore, are values, norms, and incentives that motivate people to bear and rear children. These cultural and institutional inheritances form the premises of our thinking. Respected leaders of society are not about to disavow them, nor is the general public likely to do so. Accordingly, what is strategically required, if one wants to be a population policy leader, is a formula that appears to reduce reproduction without offending the mores that support it. The formula is to interpret the social problem as an individual one and the solution as a technological matter. Thus "fertility control" becomes control by the woman, not by society; and the means becomes a medically approved contraceptive. By this formula, population policy embraces research on the physiology of reproduction (to find better contraceptives), diffusion of contraceptive services (to get the devices to the women), and propaganda about the use of contraceptives and about the right of each woman to have as many children as she wants. The only traditional attitude affronted by this formula is the belief that God forbids birth control, as indeed he did in most religions, for good reasons. This belief, however, is not directly attacked by the family planners, but rather flanked by an ingenious concretizing of God's will. Each

"Since God did not specifically forbid the contraceptive pill or the plastic IUD, these should be acceptable, but if they are not, some other method must be."

woman, say the family planners, should be free to choose a method "consonant with her religious beliefs." Since God did not specifically forbid the contraceptive pill or the plastic IUD, these should be acceptable; but if they are not, some other method must be.

Any other means than family planning tends to be characterized as "unacceptable" and/or "compulsory." The Committee on Population of the Academy, for example, declared in *Science* (February 1968) that "Many of his [Davis's] arguments are unlikely to be approved. . . ." This objection is unassailable. Virtually all proposed social changes are initially unacceptable, or else they would not need to be proposed. If ZPG is the goal, "existing values" are not a help but a hindrance, for they are pronatalist in character, and measures entirely conforming to them will not bring ZPG. For that reason measures to stop population growth cannot be found which can be guaranteed in advance to be acceptable. They have to *win* acceptance, and this can be done only if the benefits of ZPG are demonstrated and the encouragement to reproduction in the old system exposed. In that case the public will accept modification of the received incentive system, although it will never tolerate throwing away the entire institutional order insofar as family and children are concerned. In calling for approval in advance, the family-planning movement confuses the issues. The question of whether a policy, *if adopted*, would succeed is different from the question of whether, *if proposed*, it would be accepted. Clarity requires that the two questions be kept analytically distinct; in practice, demonstration that a policy would or would not be effective may influence its acceptability. My judgment is that, in the absence of clear analysis, family planning was acceptable as population policy precisely because it conformed to social sentiments and had not been challenged.

Ironically, the "voluntarism" so

much emphasized by the Population Establishment, if consistently advocated, would be unacceptable. A regime of complete freedom in reproduction would be anarchy. It would dissolve social mechanisms ensuring parental responsibility, eliminate rules against incest, rape, child abuse, and desertion, and wipe out obligations based on kinship and marriage, thus making a mockery of "family planning." The tenet of the family-planning approach—"to extend to women and men the freedom and means to determine the number of children. . . ."—is not a prescription for any social control, much less population control.

Interestingly, the anarchy of pure voluntarism has recently tricked the Population Establishment into its most dangerous brushes with unacceptability. Pressed by critics that its stand against abortion and its preoccupation with married women violated its principle of freedom, the movement switched to an endorsement of legal abortion and teenage contraception. With respect to abortion, a majority of the Population Commission affirmed that women should be free to determine their own fertility, [and] that the matter of abortion should be left to the conscience of the individual concerned, in consultation with her physician. . . .

The only authority figure mentioned is the physician; the woman's husband is ignored. This undermining of marriage is doubtless one factor in the unexpected strength of the public reaction against liberalized abortion laws. With respect to unmarried teenage girls, the Commission recommended that they receive contraceptive information and services (and presumably abortion) without regard to parents.

It is paradoxical to expect to attain social control over one thing by abandoning it with respect to all else. Abolishing all previous social controls over sexual behavior, abortion, and pregnancy without putting any new ones in their place will not give the nation or the world

population control. It may reduce the birth rate through venereal disease and sterility, or through distaste for pregnancy, or through increased mortality by violence and neglect, but it will not, except by accident, lead to a socially desirable population target. Although the public may be bamboozled for a while, in the long run it is likely to conclude that, if anarchy is the price of population control, the price is too high.

A social goal is not attained by making the members of a society irresponsible, but by making them responsible. The fact that in many ways the old social order encouraged reproduction does not make social order *per se* the enemy. If a new order capable of providing population control under conditions of low mortality is to be forged, it will come in no other way than by social regulation of rights and obligations with respect to childbearing.

IF IT IS true that the Population Establishment has espoused ZPG but has clung to family planning (broadened to include abortion, sterilization, and teenage services and sex education) as the means for reaching it, there are two questions: Have demographic events proved the Establishment to be right? If they have not, what additional means may be necessary?

Recent Population Trends and Population Policy

In the last few years spectacular declines in birth rates have given heart to the leaders of the population movement. In the United States, for example, the births per 1000 women aged 15 to 44 reached a peak in 1957, then fell until, in 1972, the rate was only 60 percent of the 1957 figure. This has led to widespread elation that our fertility has reached, or fallen slightly below, a replacement rate. "Couples are now averaging 2.04 children per family," said the Population Crisis Committee in March, 1973, "which is below the 2.11 child replacement rate." It added: "If this rate continues for some 70 years, US population would stabilize or even decline slightly." There is no likelihood whatever that a fertility rate found in one year will continue for 70 years, and there is no way to find out what it will in fact do. To know how many children "couples

are averaging," one would have to follow couples to the end of their reproductive period, which would take too long. A way to get some indication in advance is to ask young people how many children they intend to have. This was done most recently by the Census Bureau in June, 1972. The expectations, the lowest on record, led the Bureau to the conclusion that women 18 to 24 years old in 1972 might "complete their childbearing with an average of about 2.1 births per woman [which] approximates 'replacement level fertility.'" The only trouble is that since expectations have changed in the past, they may change in the future. Indeed, the current cohorts of young people may have been unduly influenced by the nihilistic mood of the period from 1964 to 1972; the



new ones coming along may be more favorable to the family.

The drop in the American birth rate was particularly sharp between 1970 and 1972, when the new state abortion laws came into effect. Liberal abortion laws permit women who become pregnant through carelessness, unwillingness to offend a boyfriend, or desire to get married an opportunity to remedy their mistake. This effect is limited, however, and of itself cannot keep exerting a downward pressure on fertility. The main effect of the new abortion laws was probably to postpone by two or three years the cyclical rise in American fertility.

Not only are industrial countries at present far from a zero rate of natural increase, but they are receiving large numbers of migrants from the less developed countries. Thus in the United States in 1972, when the birth rate was at its lowest ebb, the population increased by 1,628,000 people, of whom 1,290,000 derived from more births than deaths and 338,000 from net migration. As long as the less de-

veloped two-thirds of the world continues to increase its population at a rapid rate, the pressure on the developed third to receive massive immigration will be enormous. Are official policies likely to bring ZPG in the latter countries?

The spectacular decline of birth rates in many less developed countries is frequently taken as evidence of successful population policy. For example, in eight countries (Ceylon, Chile, Costa Rica, Egypt, Fiji, Jamaica, Taiwan, and Trinidad), between 1960 and 1970, the crude birth rate fell, on the average, by 27 percent. However, as is usual in citing such statistics, these countries were selected because in general their data are reasonably reliable, which means that on the whole they are more advanced than most underdeveloped countries. It is precisely in such countries—those on the verge of becoming urban-industrial—that the fastest declines in fertility have occurred. This suggests that the declines are being caused by changing social and economic conditions rather than by family-planning policy. In fact, it seems to make little difference whether the country has a major family-planning program or not, or, if it does have one, when it began. It is hard to escape the conclusion that official programs of the sort being adopted around the world have little to do with the trend of birth rates. To be sure, most of the decline is due to the use of contraception, abortion, and sterilization, but the public, if it wishes to limit births, will find a way to get the means; if it does not wish to limit births, no official program for providing services will lead it to do so.

If family-planning policies, even when broadened somewhat as they have been in the last few years, are not likely to bring about ZPG, then additional and more drastic measures may be required. Before hastening to imagine such measures, however, we might first make an attempt to rethink the problem.

The Nature of Population Policy

The hypothesis must be entertained that the goal of population policy is too weak—that if the goal were strong enough, the means would be found. If this is so, the reason may be that population

growth does not have serious consequences, or that people are ignorant of those consequences, or that to eliminate population growth would require too much sacrifice of other things. My hunch is that the last two explanations are the most likely.

From the standpoint of being solved, the population problem has three strikes against it. First, it refers to a condition of the community at large. It is not a personal disaster like drug addiction or bankruptcy; on the contrary, it is an outgrowth of personal satisfaction. Second, it is a problem that evolves slowly and therefore never reaches a sudden crisis. Unlike war, famine, fuel shortage, or political scandal, it does not appear at a particular moment and demand instant action. Third, it is not a problem "out there" in the external world, like crop disease or soil deficiency, to be dealt with by science and technology. The overabundant population is composed of people. When people themselves are the problem, the solution is always difficult, because subject and object are one and the same.

If the population problem were easily soluble, it would have been solved a century ago. By 1850 anyone could see that the revolution in productive technology enabled fewer people to manage more resources. Instead of utilizing this fact and limiting population growth, thereby providing themselves with a utopian level of living with little effort, the Europeans used it overwhelmingly to support more people. Europe became the world's most densely settled continent and, in turn, sent out migrants to overrun whole new continents. As other peoples came into contact with modern technology, they too eventually multiplied instead of decreasing their numbers. As a result, the human species is now in the preposterous situation of using an extremely advanced technology to maintain nearly four billion people at a low average level of living while stripping the world of its resources, contaminating its water, soil, and air, and driving most other species into extinction, parasitism, or domestication.

It is now too late to "solve" the world's population problem. Much that has been destroyed or wasted can never be restored. To reach

"Man has been shrewd enough to figure out the process of evolution but not wise enough to master it."

without mass slaughter the small population compatible with a scientific technology will require centuries of negative population growth. What is being discussed now is not a solution but an amelioration. Standing in the way even of amelioration, however, are the same myths, interests, and conflicts that prevented a solution in the first place. Man has been shrewd enough to figure out the process of evolution but not wise enough to master it. The process has two principles: first, the world belongs to whatever animal can breed faster than it dies; and second, the world never belongs very long to one animal. The human race could escape being a victim of evolution if it were willing to forego being its darling, but this it has not done, at least up to the present.

Recent history suggests, however, that ZPG is gaining strength as a goal. If so, what are the reasons? Whatever they are, they are to a large extent feedbacks from the unplanned and undesired human multiplication since World War II—1.5 billion people added to the population in 28 years. This has led to disenchantment with growth in general and with economic growth in particular as a goal of human endeavor, because the double multiplier—more people times more goods per person—is obviously stripping the world of its metals and fossil fuels faster than either multiplier alone would do, and also making the world more unpleasant and inconvenient as a place to live. As normally measured, per capita income is simply an index of activity entering the exchange system. Up to a point, it bears some relation to satisfaction, but as population density and technological complexity increase, an ever larger proportion of human exchange activity is devoted simply to escaping the consequences of a high level of exchange activity. Sensing this, people are coming to view population growth as a problem, not because it restrains economic activity but because it makes its effects worse.

The onus of proof is shifting from those who want ZPG or NPG

to those who do not. Formerly, population stability had to be justified by citing *future* calamities that would result from continued population growth. Now, with a more sophisticated view, it is taken for granted that the calamities are not distant but here and now. Also, it was once considered inhuman to object to people; now the sheer frustration of dealing with people is readily acknowledged. The effort to escape the crush—to escape the city in the suburbs, to escape the suburbs in a second home in the country, to escape vacationers in the countryside—all attest the desire of people to escape from people. Formerly, too, a nongrowing population was regarded as abnormal; now, with wider knowledge of demographic history, it is realized that ZPG is normal and that the growth in the last two centuries is abnormal. The only thing abnormal about ZPG as now proposed is that it would be achieved with low rather than with high birth and death rates, which is why its detractors stress the small families, the older age structure, and the alleged social and economic difficulties that would result from those features.

How to Attain ZPG

The unconscious assumption that solving the population problem is a technological matter has a curious consequence for the demographer. He is constantly told, "Tell us what can be done about population," with the implication that if he cannot come up with a satisfactory answer, he is a failure. It is of no importance that the demographer has already made suggestions. These are brushed aside as not being practical. The demand is for "a solution that will work." What is being demanded is some mysterious "key" to population limitation, which can unlock the door painlessly and quickly. If only enough money is put into research, the thinking goes, if only the right disciplines are brought to bear, the solution will be "discovered."

The truth is that there is no mystery about population control.

(Continued on page 29)

Tom Kelly asked "Who's the Kids Advocate?" and did not stay for an answer. The FSECC is

an ADVOCATE FOR THE KIDS

MARY JANE BROWN and PRISCILLA STREATOR

*Couldn't we
use such a well-
coordinated ser-
vice in the public
schools??*

Mark: At 20, having split from school in the middle of the tenth grade, with Scholastic Aptitude Test scores in the upper 600s—that's good—and the high school equivalency test now successfully passed—to college? Which one?

Janet: At 18, a freshman living off-campus in circumstances ignored by college and only vaguely recognized by parents about to go overseas to a new post—what to do? Whom to turn to?

Billy: At eight, after five years, three countries, two languages, four departing nans and a father's lingering death—a residential treatment center for emotionally disturbed children: Where? How to apply? The prognosis? The expense?

Steven: At 16, into drugs, parents separating, siblings rejecting—will a boarding school help or hinder?

Barbara: At six, with clear and unmistakable signs of a specific learning disability but obviously bright—try the school at the post or ask Personnel for assignment to Washington, D.C.

In his article "Who's the Kids Advocate?" (FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, September, 1973) Thomas F. Kelly pointed up a range of problems experienced by children of the foreign affairs community. Many of these problems might have been exemplified by the situations above, where the

names have been changed but the substance has not. To deal with that range, the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center (FSECC) came into being. It can be the advocate for the kids—and the parents—and the foreign affairs community.

Proposed a couple of years ago by Clarke Slade, the FSECC got off the drawing board in April, 1973. The Center's specific objectives are:

- To establish an educational/family "service base" in this country for consultation and planning with children and parents;
- To provide means for assessing children's inadequate or lapsed progress;
- To offer remedial facilities and to enhance coping capacities;
- To develop innovative ways to counter such Foreign Service conditions as are adverse to children's progress.

The order is big for a new agency, but so is the need. Combining State, AID, and USIA, foreign affairs employees total approximately 12,000 people. They have 11,000 children at or below college age. Although contact with all children would certainly not occur, the FSECC's intention is to touch as many who are in need of its services as possible. Referrals come through the Medical Division of the State Department, the Office of Overseas Schools, past clients or self-referrals.

Before the Center was established no central or comprehensive counseling service existed for foreign affairs people. There were

services for parents and children limited to educational counseling, but there was no single source of overall assessment, evaluation or counseling. Parents needing services had the task of securing them individually and from private or public agencies. For instance, US metropolitan public school systems provide some special testing facilities, but their educational counseling is predominantly related to the needs of the local system. Usually group participation for parents regarding child/school problems is of the "PTA" variety. Independent schools and colleges offer few "assessing" services except for whatever information the SATs, SSATs, or other group tests provide. Generally foreign affairs parents or students have had to "search out" individual services needed.

The Center is designed to give direct services to clients and to act as a coordinator for other services needed. Parents are relieved of searching out private agencies. Initial contacts serve to assess clients' needs. Then testing, tutoring, educational counseling, personal counseling, group counseling, or orientation of children coming back into or leaving the country is carried out. At the same time that any assessing, diagnostic, or evaluating period is occurring, a counseling and interpreting process is going on concomitantly with child and parents at their respective levels of understanding.

To be sure, family, individual, and group-focused services and agencies do already exist, but not

Priscilla Streater, wife of FSO Edward Streater, has served abroad with her husband in Africa and Europe. She has twice served as co-chairman of the AAFSW Book Fair, and at present is a member of the Policy Direction Committee of the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center.

Mary Jane Brown is an MSW candidate in clinical social work at the University of Maryland School of Social Work and Community Planning, Baltimore. She also works as a part-time counseling assistant at the FSECC.

usually as "package deals," and certainly not specific to the needs of the foreign affairs community. The FSECC seeks to stress this concept of specialized needs. The transiency of the foreign affairs community makes such a concept particularly and practically valid. The Center is designed to meet the average needs of parents and children with their range of "Foreign Service living problems." Where there are complicated situations and special needs, the Center draws on additional resources to deal with the problems.

What sort of problems does the Center handle? Some case examples will illustrate. Again the names have been changed, but the facts stand.

Mary: Mary was ten. In the middle of a Washington assignment she was doing poorly in school. Her parents sought out Clarke Slade, who was then the American Foreign Service Association's consultant in educational and youth concerns. He wondered about a perceptual/visual problem and recommended testing by the Kingsbury Center.* Her parents did not follow through on the recommendation. Next year the father was reassigned.

Two years later the parents wrote Kingsbury from their post and asked that an appointment be made at the start of home leave. The appointment was not kept.

Three years went by.

Then from the other side of the world came a cable to Mr. Slade, now Director of FSECC: "Mary arrives Washington Friday. Kingsbury testing urgent."

Mary stayed with her Aunt Betsy for two weeks while Kingsbury tested and while Mr. Slade conferred with her and with Kingsbury step-by-step. The testing and the conferences seemed to brush away the cobwebs. Yes, she did have trouble learning, bright though she was. Yes, she did want to go to boarding school, but not a stuffy one. Yes, she would like some specialized tutoring.

To Aunt Betsy and Uncle Frank she breathed a sigh of relief: "Now I have a future!" A floundering

child began to find confidence and her parents began to find hope.

Donnie: Thirteen-year-old Donnie and his parents were referred to the Center by Dr. Frank Johnson, adolescent psychiatrist in DG/MED. Mr. and Mrs. F. wanted advice about whether to take Donnie back to post in the Middle East or to arrange for admission to US boarding school. About to begin high school, Donnie already had a scattered educational background overseas. With an older sibling already in boarding school here and doing well, his parents at first accepted Mr. Slade's recommendation that Donnie follow a similar route. However, instead of a boarding situation, the parents finally chose a day school while Donnie lived with an aunt and uncle in the same city. But the "traditional" school wasn't adept at discerning Donnie's immediate problems: his first separation from parents, a new living situation with relatives whose life-style had a different flavor, a new school, new friends, a possible learning problem, inability to achieve as well as his older sibling—all of these factors, as well as Donnie's own frustration and denial of any problems at all: a heavy emotional overlay, indeed, for a youngster to handle on his own.

About mid-semester the aunt and uncle contacted the Center because of some behavior problems Donnie was presenting in school. Mr. Slade recommended a work-up at Kingsbury with concomitant counseling to help Donnie bring out into the open some of his worries. There was also a meeting between Donnie's counselor and his headmaster to better understand the school's attitude towards him.

Test results showed that, indeed, he did have a minimal learning disability, for which he adequately compensated in "normal," non-stressful situations. But the combination of new stresses reactivated old anxieties and Donnie acted out his feelings since he wasn't sure what was "wrong" with him. Kingsbury made specific recommendations to help Donnie cope with his learning problem more effectively. Mr. Slade recommended to the parents that another, less traditional school be tried—one that would "hear" Donnie. Don-

nie and his parents agreed on a boarding school which combined less rigid academic structure with much individual attention.

By no means was the new school a solution to all of Donnie's problems. As a matter of fact, he initially had some difficulty adjusting to his new setting. The difference was that now Donnie was a bit more sure of where he stood and his new teachers were more committed to working *with* him, cheerfully taking him "as is."

Joan: At 3½ and just back from a two-year tour in France, Joan spoke only French. Her year at nursery school was very successful: she learned English quickly. Kindergarten seemed just the opposite: she couldn't learn to read and needed lots of special attention. A first grade special class was successful, but second grade, at age seven, presented problems. Joan withdrew from people and refused to go to school. The parents, serving in Washington, contacted the Center. Mr. Slade encouraged them to continue their plans to have Joan seen by their pediatrician for neurological testing and to have her seen at Kingsbury Center. The neurological was negative; Kingsbury's recommendations were for some academic tutoring and psychotherapy. Joan now sees a tutor three times a week and goes for play therapy once weekly. Her grades reflect her brightness and she has regained her confidence and a healthy interest in life.

In all three cases the process with the FSECC provided recognition and acknowledgement of factors in children's environments which *do* cause anxiety and *may* result in unproductive patterns. The Center's commitment is to working with parents and children in confronting problem situations, and together, exercising options and choices available to create change.

Why didn't somebody think of this before? Somebody did, a number of somebodies, in fact.

In 1939 AFSA formed a committee to study the problem of educating children of Foreign Service officers and to suggest practical solutions. Ambassador Theodore C. Achilles, father of a foreign service wife and grandfather of several

Continued on page 26

* The Kingsbury Center for Remedial Education is Washington, D.C.'s long-established, non-profit facility for the evaluation of learning disabilities and their amelioration by corrective methods.

I came to the place of my birth, and cried, "The friends of my youth, where are they?" And echo answered, "Where are they?"—Arab saying.

Where Do You Come From?

GROWING UP IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE

ROBERT F. MILLER

"**W**HERE do you come from?" friends ask.

"Well . . . Here . . . I mean my father's in the Foreign Service." Not an apology, rather an attempt to explain, to figure it out for myself.

Thirteen years in the Foreign Service—beginning at age five—three continents, nine schools, ten residences not counting a French chateau rented for a summer, and twelve trans-Atlantic crossings—that's how I grew up. Where do I come from, where do I call home?

Home is a one-bedroom apartment on Massachusetts Avenue, where my grandmother has lived since 1938 and to which my family would return every home leave until a house could be found for rent. I played there as a baby and returned there for college vacations when the rest of the family was overseas. The place hasn't changed much in 30 years—the same people, the same smells. Around it Washington changes and grows unfamiliar but my son plays on the same brown rug I played on and that's where my only roots are, my only connection with an elusive concept of permanence.

It is risky to apply the black and white rules of cause and effect to the experience of growing up because there are too many variables. Certainly such things as uprooting the household every two years, confronting new people and losing friends continually, and coping with a different type of school

every couple of years have their effects on a child's developing attitudes and values and may be very important factors in creating an adult lifestyle. But other factors, such as personality and family relationships, determine a child's response to any given situation so that the effect of an experience must be a combination of the experience itself and of what the child brings into it. As there has been little extensive research done on the effects of growing up overseas suffice it to say that my experience was similar to that of thousands of other American children and that any conclusions drawn on the basis of that experience can only be the author's opinion.

A friend who grew up much as I did said to me, "I don't need roots, I get what I need from the people around me." I certainly did not get a sense of belonging, a sense of "place" from the houses I lived in. The only unchanging element in my life, with respect to where I lived, was the inevitability of moving somewhere else in a year or two. My parents have owned one house in their lifetime and that they sold when I was five and we moved to France. My memories of all our houses are vivid. There were three in France, one country house with a cherry tree and rabbits, and two in Paris, one tall and skinny with a dentist's office on the street floor and a dumb waiter. The other had a toy shop on the corner and hobby horses in the attic. An apartment in Rome, a year later, overlooked the Colosseum. The house in Delhi had lizards on the walls and servants quarters in the back. A family of mongooses lived on the edge of the huge yard and at the age of eleven I would lie on our flat roof and shoot at the oranges in Prime

Minister Nehru's compound, until his guards threatened to shoot back. Most of my teenage years overseas I spent in boarding schools so the other houses I just visited during vacations. The house in Mogadiscio had a high wall studded with broken glass, over the top of which only the silly heads of camels could be seen but from the roof the pastel houses looked like children's blocks, dropped into the sand from an airplane.

Every time we returned to Washington it was a different house, a new neighborhood, and it is only now, after living here for six years, that I begin to feel at home, not in any particular house because there have been five since 1968, but the area feels like home.

As graduation approached my high school class in India decided to get together in ten years, someplace. Needless to say, ten years have passed and the few I remain in contact with indicate that the class is so far-flung that reunion would be unlikely. Somehow, through some unconscious adjustment, I guess, you learn to accept the loss of friends when you grow up in the Foreign Service. I don't even remember friends before the age of nine. I know I had them, and names, when I'm reminded of them, hit some nerve in the brain and there are some hazy faces floating in my mind but I can't connect. Events are remembered without the people who made them happen. I hunted lizards on sun-baked walls in Rome and stoned cats, or tried to, in the rubble of the Forum with a gang of Italian boys who taught me to speak their language, including pidgin-English swearing learned from the GIs which I took to be Italian. We had

Robert F. Miller graduated from Amherst College in 1966 and spent five years teaching in Massachusetts and Washington (history and science). He writes, "Presently I am a carpenter which pays the rent while I pursue my real interests—writing, photography and theater."

a governess who would take us to the park and meet her lover there. But I don't remember her, just going to the park; or the faces of the gang.

At the end of the film "Sounder" the little boy, going off to school, says to his father, "I'm going to miss this scraggly, old place but I'm sure not going to worry about it." I think I reacted that way to friendships. It's not the realization that you will be moving off again, leaving friends and neighborhood behind, that hangs over you, but growing up in the Foreign Service it is there, in your subconscious perhaps, and you develop defenses. Rather like a shipboard romance, friendships for me were intense, intimate and terribly time-consuming. Every daylight minute in Delhi was spent with friends—exploring the city by bicycle, finding the bookshops that sold dirty magazines, visiting other friends, and sharing secrets. But those friends left, or I left, and there was no grief, just new friends and pleasant memories. I haven't seen my high school classmates, not because they may be thousands of miles away, but because they are not part of my life now, they belong to the past.

In France and Italy my friends were European as well as American. My first school was almost entirely French speaking and the others, Catholic day schools, were multi-lingual and their entrance requirements were determined by economic and social criteria rather than nationality. In India, and later in East Africa, partly due to the vast differences in cultures but also because of my age, my friends were either American or British and I had little, if any, social contact with Indians my own age. As a young adolescent the complexities and subtleties of India were wasted on me and the vast population, with its incredible poverty, was repulsive yet fascinating. It was not until boarding school that I had Indian friends and these came largely from wealthy, westernized backgrounds.

In 13 years I think I must have sampled every type of school known to man and hated only one, a boys' boarding school in Rome where I spent one semester of my junior year in high school. I returned to the United States with a

crazy-quilt education which left me well prepared for college in some fields and poorly equipped in others. I had repeated the fourth grade because it was determined that I was socially unready for the fifth and then skipped the sixth and by doing so must have missed some basics in math. Calculus and physical sciences plagued my college days.

There was no continuity in my education. Schools, teachers, curriculums and friends were constantly changing and with each change came new stimuli, but also new distractions. I began college terribly inquisitive, fascinated by new fields of study, and without the patience or discipline required for serious study. In two years my major changed five times and I finally chose one that required the least specialization. Foreign Service life offers a child an atmosphere that is exciting and conducive to learning, but by its very nature it also encourages settling for superficial investigation and makes expertise difficult. One example from the athletic fields sums it up. Just as I was becoming really good at butterfly catching, a difficult and dangerous sport in the mountains of India, we were transferred to the desert wastelands of Somalia where the last butterfly was seen sometime around the turn of the century and the nearest thing to a mountain is a giant anthill.

Except for the addition of one baby sister my family was the only factor in my life that did not change every two years. Perhaps because of that fact I have a relationship with my family today that is quite special to me and not unusual among my friends who have grown up much as I have. Out of the experience of living in foreign countries, without the benefits of the usual activities of American youth, such as scouting, organized sports, and social patterns, there develops a dependence on the family unit to provide much that other kids would get outside the home. As a child I shared the experience of Europe with my family. Trips, sightseeing, exploring, languages, even art galleries and museums were done as a family, partly because my parents wanted to share their experience with us but also because there was nothing else to do. We were

foreigners; we were not part of the local culture and could not fit into it. I shared experiences not only with sisters and friends my age but with my parents. Not only did I respond to the experience of Europe, later India and East Africa, in my own way but I watched my parents respond to the same experience in their ways. Consequently there is a closeness in my family today that evolved from an understanding and appreciation of my parents as people rather than as parents and from 13 years of shared experiences.

In India, at the age of ten or eleven, I discovered that many Foreign Service officers and their wives really did not like being overseas. I learned that through their children; not that they said as much, but it became apparent. At boarding school they were the kids who hated the food, hated the social life, and talked about the good old USA. Their parents talked about dishwashers, played bridge, and hated the servants. Usually these were people who had not made a career of the Foreign Service. They were either under contract for a few years or had been assigned to a foreign post after many years in Washington. Their kids had been uprooted for the first time, usually at an age when adjustment to new social patterns is very difficult.

On the other hand, these kids, miserable overseas, had the advantage over me, who had grown up overseas and never missed anything about the US, except chocolate milk shakes, when we returned to the United States. My father is a quiet man with two passions—food and travel. The Foreign Service suited him well in both respects although after three years in India he still claimed the best curry was to be found in Paris. Home leaves for me had been exciting trips, new places, and seeing my grandmother again. The fact that we were returning to the United States was just something that went along with the deal.

For a young child growing up as I did, the United States is just another foreign country, particularly when you return to a different neighborhood each time. The adjustment is the same everywhere. You make new friends, get settled

Continued on page 28

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Where We Go Wrong

LIBERAL AMERICA AND THE THIRD
WORLD, by Robert A. Packenham.
Princeton University Press, \$15.00.

PROFESSOR PACKENHAM, the
leading student of US political de-
velopment policies in the Third
World, has written a brilliant
analysis of these policies which will
both intrigue and disturb those who
have been involved in their concep-
tion and implementation.

The author contends that
Americans' liberal ideology is in-
applicable in developing areas and
has led both academicians and
AID officials astray. He accuses
the academicians of defining
"political development" in terms
of the growth of US-style democ-
racy rather than in terms of other
political forms more suited to the
needs and capabilities of develop-
ing countries. AID officials are ac-
cused of over-estimating the
Communist threat in developing
areas, of naively trying to build
democracy where its preconditions
are lacking, and of dogmatically
opposing radical dictatorial move-
ments.

These mistakes are said to have
flowed from four faulty premises in
our liberal ideology: change and
development are easy, all good
things (such as democracy and
rapid growth) go together, rad-
icalism and violence are always
bad, and distributing power is more
important than accumulating
power. Believing these premises,
we have vainly sought to build
pluralistic, democratic societies
abroad, and have overlooked the
difficulties of modernization and
the need for dictatorial power and
radical violence to overcome those
difficulties.

Professor Packenham advises
the US to stop our opposition to
radical dictatorial movements, sel-
dom try to build democracy
abroad, and when we do, limit our-
selves to diplomatic pressures,
avoiding attempts at political
institution-building. He wants us to
face the "facts" that political
democracy is impossible in most of
the world and that dictatorships
have greater capacity to achieve
economic growth and income re-
distribution.

FOREIGN SERVICE VIEWPOINTS...

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Professor Packenham is neither a revisionist or a New Leftist. He views himself as a product of the same moderate liberal tradition, which he criticizes. This book can serve as a guide to useful introspection and self-criticism by his fellow liberals, who can only profit from re-thinking their premises, even if they end up rejecting Packenham's pessimistic conclusions.

—WILLIAM A. DOUGLAS

National Escutcheons

SYMBOLS OF THE NATIONS, by A. Guy Hope and Janet Barker Hope. Public Affairs Press, \$10.00.

FSO-RET. GUY HOPE and his wife, who also had a career in the Service, have put out an attractive book listing and describing the "national emblems" of all countries, together with their flags and thumbnail sketches of the backgrounds of these graphic symbols. This effort must surely have been a labor of love, the market being so limited.

The book makes a nice gift, in

addition to being useful as a reference work. Unfortunately, it has some inaccuracies. Puerto Rico should not be listed as an American "dependency." Rhodesia is not recognized as a "nation." The royal motto of Great Britain, *Dieu et mon Droit*, stands for "God and my lawful right" and not "God and my right hand." (It goes back to the battle cry of Richard I at the battle of Gisors, 1198.) The ribbon in the escutcheon of the Ivory Coast Republic features its name in French, not in English. The ruler to whom Austria owes its national colors was Leopold V, Duke of Austria (of the house of Babenberg), not the "Duke of Bebenburg."

Such minor blemishes do not detract, however, from the main virtue of the book, which is that it fills a gap in the reference literature.

M. F. H.

Sinocentric Approach

A CHINESE VIEW OF CHINA, by John Gittings. Pantheon, Paperback: \$1.95.

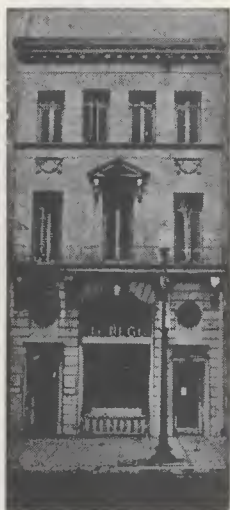
SELECTED by a noted Sinologist,

these 34 extracts from Chinese writers set forth what the Chinese themselves have to say about main features of their history and society. This Sinocentric approach is specially valuable because the Chinese are not "just like us," despite shared similarities. China is a different society with different goals from those of the West. This authoritative effort to bridge the political and cultural gap in our understanding of China is all the more essential because of distorted and racist views regarding "inscrutable Orientals" and the "heathen Chinese" of Bret Harte. Beginning with a feudal officer's complaint (in verse) during the eighth century B.C. and concluding with a Communist official's speech on everyday life in China after the Cultural Revolution, these translations span 2,500 years and include many other unavailable materials. A final section, "Facts, Figures and Further Reading," provides a wide gamut of reliable, up-to-date, summary data on the Chinese People's Republic. To coin a phrase, this is required reading for everyone who

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knows a lot or a little about China and the Chinese and wants to learn more, most agreeably.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

The Greene-ing of Modern Literature

THE HONORARY CONSUL, by Graham Greene. Simon and Schuster, New York, \$7.95.

IF you have been a reader of Graham Greene's novels, plays, or "entertainments" throughout the years, you will agree that "The Honorary Consul" is his best since "The Heart of the Matter." If you are not familiar with Graham Greene's works, this is an excellent place to begin your acquaintance. All that has been hinted at, and promised, in his earlier efforts emerges full-blown in this novel. On one level, it is a suspenseful narrative spun by a master storyteller. On another level, it is a chillingly surgical exposition of the emotions (and, in some cases, the lack of emotions) by which men and women are driven.

Recommended, without qualification, for escape—or (do not say

you were not warned) total involvement.

—S.I.N.

A Timely Reference

CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE MIDDLE EAST, edited by Medhi Heravi. Public Affairs Press, \$12.00.

WITH the Arab-Israeli situation and the oil crunch, the spotlight is on the Middle East.

"Concise Encyclopedia of the Middle East" is a surprisingly useful reference book for today. Well-organized and, as advertised by the title, concise, it contains the basic historical and contemporary facts in which you will be interested. It does not, for example, tell you more about Abu Dhabi than you want to know. But in scarcely a page, it does tell you all you need to know. All entries are attributed, and contributors represent some of the best scholars of the area, each writing either about his own country, or, in the case of the few Westerners, the country with which he has been most closely associated.

—S.I.N.

FABLE from page 2

The Director chuckled, "Mike, you're quite a guy. What did you do before you came to MANAGEMENT?"

Mike, surprised, said "But I'm not in MANAGEMENT. I've just been sitting around up here for weeks waiting for the MEETINGS to end so I could fix this light. And I'm sure grateful for the new position, Sir, 'cause my hanging around all these weeks has really ripped it with Maintenance."

HAPPY ENDING

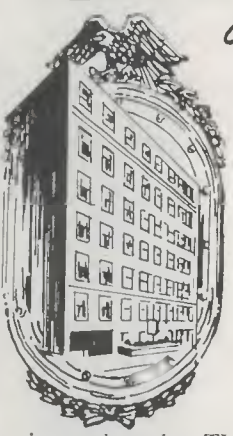
The Director was prepared to bluff it out, but no one challenged—

The Rank kept on blaming the File, and vice versa—

The Organization muddled on—, and MANAGEMENT flourished, because the lights worked—and if you've been operating in the dark for years, that's progress.

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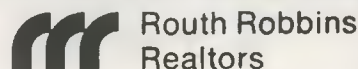
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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, April, 1974

ADVOCATE FOR THE KIDS

from page 20

school age children, was one of five members of that ad hoc committee. The committee found there were 676 children in the Foreign Service community who had potential needs. (Today that figure has increased by 200%.) Another FSO who recognized the problem was Richard Fyfe Boyce. While in the field he had groped with selecting boarding schools to meet the needs of his children. He realized that a large group of American parents abroad confronted, or would confront, the same kinds of problems he had. "If the problem is a group problem," he noted, "the solution must be a group solution. That solution lies in a systematic and concerted group effort."

Part of that systematic and concerted effort took on form. In 1950 Mr. Boyce, then newly retired from the Foreign Service, and Mr. Slade, then newly switched into counseling from headmastering, organized a non-profit agency called the Educational Consulting

Service. Its Board of Trustees included many of the great Foreign Service figures of yesteryear—Bliss, Briggs, Grew, Lane, Phillips, Wilson, to name a few. Commenting to Orme Wilson about the new service, Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote: "The operation of this service, I am sure, will contribute substantially to the morale of the personnel in the field. Many of them are faced with the necessity of returning their children to the United States for schooling and are unable to complete satisfactory arrangements from a distance. The information service for parents and the proposed testing program, to mention only two of the services proposed, seem to me particularly worthwhile."

The ECS ran its course for eight years. In the meantime, Mr. Boyce had encouraged and endorsed AFSA's taking on the functions of ECS. In 1958 AFSA decided to employ Mr. Slade as a consultant. This was the beginning of AFSA's providing educational counseling

as one component in services which it offered to its members. Through the years the need for expanded services became ever more apparent. In response, Mr. Slade conceived the idea of the FSECC. It was received with enthusiasm by the Association of American Foreign Service Women and AFSA.

The emergence of the new Center is an example of the readiness of members of the foreign affairs community "to meet change in the nature and extent of people's needs." Need for services to this community was apparent: the Medical Division had responded by adding an adolescent psychiatrist to its staff for the first time in February, 1971; AFSA had responded by proposing to join with AAFSW in extending its limited counseling service by willingness to create a more comprehensive service; AAFSW responded not only by supporting the proposal in principle, but also by helping generously to finance it with essential seed money to operate for an initial period of three to five years.

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The FSECC is non-profit and not entirely self-supporting. It began operations with a grant of approximately \$16,000 from the AAFSW, and a matching one from AFSA. This money covers administrative and other expenses. Part of the grant is being held in reserve for testing of children or for counseling with clients who are unable to afford the costs and for whom no third party benefits are available through State Department sources or insurance sources. A grant from AAFSW is available for special education scholarships.

The Board of AFSA and AAFSW established a Policy Direction Committee to focus the Center's orientation. Two voting members from each sponsoring organization, the director of the Center and the director of AFSA, comprise the committee. Recently the committee has been expanding to include representatives of State, AID, and USIA interested in education.

In terms of staff the Center has been operating under a director/administrator who also counsels

parents. Other professional services are contracted by the Center. Clients are charged according to the service used. For the extended periods of time when clients are overseas and need services unavailable at post, FSECC acts in a consulting capacity, if only to offer written support to clients pending their return to this country.

A unique quality of the Center is its emphasis on encouraging parents and children to involve themselves in activities in conjunction with the Medical Division and with the FSI Family Workshop. From these sources people with experience in group process are asked to volunteer their services. For example, to orient students going to new posts overseas, volunteers recently at the posts share their experiences with them; to orient children coming back into US schools, young people from the Department of State Youth Development Team had helped. (Budget cuts recently forced the disbanding of the YDT.)

A future possibility of the Center's program which is being considered is the training of offi-

cers' wives as "para-social workers," so to speak. While the words "para-social worker" may, to some, equate with "amateur," the proposed training period would be structured carefully. It would be for nine months and would be under the supervision of a graduate social worker; there would be an ongoing process of evaluation.*

The Center has a personal address to clients that is gratifying to see in a population accustomed to bureaucracy. It is committed to the concept of a high quality of life for all in the foreign affairs community. Its philosophical orientation is to deal with clients "at their different levels of understanding."

The Center is committed to caring. It is an advocate for the kids—for the parents—for the foreign affairs community. ■

**This idea is similar to one on which the Mental Health Counselor training program at Phipps Clinic in Johns Hopkins Hospital is based, as well as the Metropolitan Mental Health Skills Center program in Washington, D.C. Something like this was carried on experimentally with two Foreign Service wives last year and had good results.*

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in a new school, and look around to see what the place has to offer. Your focus is on the external, your environment. If there is happiness at home you feel secure and the world is an adventure. But around the age of eleven or twelve adjustment to new situations becomes more difficult as the focus shifts from the environment to the self. Social relationships become crucial in the development of an acceptable image of oneself, and, right or wrong, I think most teenagers believe they have to fit in in order to be accepted and they have to be accepted by others before they can accept themselves.

Adjustment to a foreign post for the teenager I think is comparatively easy because everyone is faced with the same situation. And while the external characteristics of each post may differ, they all have the same features that are important to the teenager—small schools and small classes where your classmates are also your social colleagues. You may go home after school to your family but not

to the neighborhood gang because you left that at school. American teenagers overseas are isolated by the foreignness of the culture they live in and therefore thrust upon each other. Socially relationships develop easily because so little effort is required.

Return to the United States is much more difficult for the teenager unless he has only been overseas a short time. America is not just another foreign country for him because if he is to satisfy himself, to preserve the identity he has created for himself he must be accepted by a culture that is as foreign to him as any he has lived in. For the first time in his life he must become part of this society. In order to make friends and to feel accepted he must learn a new language as well as new behavior patterns. The independence and isolation of American teenage social life from family life, from parents, is both appealing and intimidating.

Friends have asked whether I would want my kids to be raised the way I was and it's not an easy question for me to answer. The benefits to one's intellectual de-

velopment are enormous and there is certainly no better way to develop an understanding and appreciation for the word "humanity." The set of values and the attitudes that evolved for me have, by and large, served me well, but not for several years after my return to the United States, during which time I felt I had to reject those values in order to live in this country. I responded to the pressures of adjusting with cynicism and contempt for the "American way of life." Perhaps this was an extreme reaction, undoubtedly not everyone responds the same way, but adjustment was painful to me and to those close to me.

In response to the question I guess I can say, "Yes, I think I could raise my kids happily the way I was raised, if I wanted to be in the Foreign Service." But I don't. I want to settle down, to buy an old place and fix it up. The trouble is I've seen too much. I want mountains, oceans, New England, London and the plains of Kenya. It's not that I want my kids to have roots, I want roots. I just haven't found the right place. ■

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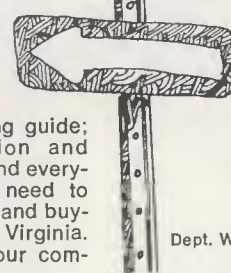
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ZERO POPULATION GROWTH

from page 18

There is no special "technique" required, because the technological part is simple. If people want to control population, it can be done with knowledge already available. As with other social problems, the solution is easy as long as one pays no attention to what must be given up. For instance, a nation seeking ZPG could shut off immigration and permit each couple a maximum of two children, with possible state license for a third. Accidental pregnancies beyond the limit would be interrupted by abortion. If a third child were born without license, or a fourth, the mother would be sterilized and the child given to a sterile couple. But anyone enticed into making such a suggestion risks being ostracized as a political or moral leper, a danger to society. He is accused of wanting to take people's freedom away from them and institute a Draconian dictatorship over private lives. Obviously, then, reproductive freedom still takes priority over

population control. This makes a solution of the population problem impossible because, by definition, population control and reproductive freedom are incompatible.

Why, however, are people so concerned with freedom in connection with reproduction? Freedom has always been denied to murderers, rapists, and armed thieves. If having too many children were considered as great a crime against humanity as murder, rape, and thievery, we would have no qualms about "taking freedom away." Indeed, it would be defined the other way around: a person having four or more children would be regarded as violating the freedom of those other citizens who must help pay for rearing, educating, and feeding the excess children. The reason why reproductive freedom is still regarded as "a basic human right" regardless of circumstances is of course that it accords with traditional sentiments and established institutions. These, it will be recalled, are pronatalist. Reproductive freedom can be construed

as antinatalist only to the degree that it undermines the built-in pro-fertility compulsions of the old system, which, however, as I have noted, are not ordinarily felt to be compulsions until attention is called to them.

Thus the "population problem" is not a technological problem. It is not something the definition of which is universally agreed upon and the solution to which awaits only the discovery of an effective means. It is not like yellow fever or wheat rust. It is a social problem in the sense that it involves a conflict of wants. People want families and children. If they did not want families and children, it would be technologically easy to satisfy them. But they do want families and children. That being the case, they are not whole hearted about population control. They do not want runaway population growth either, but they want to avoid it painlessly. They want a solution that leaves them their freedom to have five children if they wish. In short, they want a miracle. ■

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WEST AFRICAN ECONOMICS

from page 13

African economic cooperation rest:

- Willingness of the West Africans to reduce existing barriers to intra-African trade;
- Willingness of the West Africans to engage in a rational distribution of industry and agriculture; and
- Willingness of the richer West African states to share the benefits of economic cooperation with the poorer states.

All the West African states appear to be convinced that a great deal is at stake in achieving such cooperation. Both Nigeria and Ivory Coast, the regional economic power poles, frankly recognize that they must pay the short-term costs to achieve longer-term benefits. Here, however, conflicting views come into play. Nigeria first seeks to form a unified, non-discriminatory external framework independent of Europe and incorporating all countries in the region. Ivory Coast, on the other hand, with the support of Senegal, seeks

to strengthen the existing francophone framework *before* a close accord with the anglophones.

In line with the latter objective, six West African francophone states, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Upper Volta, completed negotiations in April, 1973 for the establishment of the Communauté Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale (CEAO). While Dahomey and Togo had participated in earlier negotiations, they were only observers at the April meetings.

Although the initial emphasis is on the development of economic and trade relations among charter members, the leaders have stressed that the CEAO is open to accession by other West African states or at least to close cooperation with the Nigeria-led organization. And at least some of CEAO's members have made clear their desire to keep their bilateral links open with the anglophone states.

There are other obstacles to closer cooperation at this time. The condition of Ghana's economy—chronic deficit with the rest of the region—has left Ghana few re-

sources to devote to regional cooperation efforts. Three other countries, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, are fairly effectively isolated from regional cooperation with the rest of West Africa. There are several reasons: geographic isolation; Guinea's unique foreign policy; Liberia's traditional association with the United States; and the mineral export-oriented economies of all three.

Thus, the prospects for broad West African economic cooperation have been enhanced by Africa-wide efforts to deal with Europe and by a slowly growing recognition among the leading economic powers of West Africa that it is in their interest to foster cooperation and rational development of the economy of the region as a whole. Whether most of the nations will be willing to take the necessary financial, tariff and investment decisions required for real economic cooperation, remains a question for the future. Growing awareness of the need and the benefits may help overcome the national political resistance to such actions. ■

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Further on Nigeria

■ For the past several years, whenever he could find an audience, Roger Morris has been making false charges about the role of the American Embassy in Lagos during the Nigerian civil war. As the February 1974 FSJ on pages 24 and 25 has presented some of these charges to the AFSA audience, I reluctantly conclude that I must comment on them.

Morris implies that the Embassy opposed humanitarian aid to the victims of the civil war. In fact the Embassy warned of the danger of malnutrition and famine in eastern Nigeria and recommended that the Red Cross be alerted before these consequences of the war became apparent. The Embassy subsequently worked closely with representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other agencies providing relief on both sides of the fighting lines. Owing in part to the Embassy's efforts, the Nigerian Government went much further than other governments facing armed rebellion in recognizing responsibility for the welfare of civilians in rebel-controlled territory and in cooperating with the ICRC in efforts to provide relief to those civilians. Morris's anecdotes about the Embassy wife's toast and the Embassy officers' red-haired tribe are, to be charitable, apocryphal.

Morris alleges that the Embassy placed "official restrictions on the contacts of junior officers lest they acquire rebel sympathies." I recall a few instances in which a junior, or not so junior, officer was warned to be more discreet in his contacts—not because he might acquire rebel sympathies but because he might attract Nigerian animosities that would limit his usefulness to the Embassy.

Morris charges "recurrent attempts to alter or altogether suppress reports to Washington unfavorable to Nigeria." I certainly did on occasion amend or reject reports submitted to me for transmission to Washington which I considered inadequately supported by reliable sources or in other ways deficient. Some of these reports were unfavorable to Nigeria; some

were favorable. The Embassy sought throughout to report and interpret Nigerian developments as accurately and completely as possible.

In continuation of the last point Morris says that one of his sources recalls that the CIA tried "to discover why the embassy's intelligence was so different from all accounts of the war in the media and from other governments." In the light of information about the war that has become public in the past four years and of actual developments in Nigeria since the war ended, I can immodestly assert that to the extent the Embassy's intelligence was "different," it was better. I do not, however, accept the characterization of the Embassy's reporting as "so different" from that of other diplomatic missions in Nigeria. I had frequent, frank discussions of Nigerian developments with many of my diplomatic colleagues in Lagos and with one or two exceptions their assessments were usually very similar to mine. I am proud to stand on the record of the Embassy's reporting and analysis during the civil war.

Morris claims that dissent from the attitudes which he ascribes to the Embassy "was severely punished by unfavorable performance ratings." I recently had occasion to review the performance ratings prepared in the Embassy during the civil war on several officers including one officer whose views of Nigerian developments differed significantly from those of most of his colleagues. This review confirmed my recollection that the Embassy's ratings dealt fairly and objectively with dissent.

I am not commenting on Morris's version of the Embassy's position on "the presentation by (to?) Nigerian relief authorities of vital scientific data on the famine" because this allegation relates to an issue that arose after I left Lagos.

Morris states that "the Lagos embassy largely followed its own foreign policy for the duration of the war." The Embassy followed the policy determined by the President after NSC review in the early days of the civil war—a policy that was re-examined several times as the war continued and was each time reaffirmed. In an unusual approximation to the facts, Morris

describes this policy as "a combination of political neutrality, including an arms embargo, and a major commitment, over \$100 million, to the international relief efforts operating on both sides." What Morris does not say is that it was recognized by the NSC and by most United States officials that the policy precluded recognition of "Biafra" and required the maintenance of friendly, effective relations with the Government of Nigeria.

ELBERT G. MATHEWS
Washington

What Really Happened

■ William Krauss writes a very amusing story replete with enough background from his service years to make us wince and grin with memories of all our common days in airports and at parties where the bores seemed to fuse with the awful humidity.

But he had better leave his portrayals of Foreign Service wives to such as Carroll Russell Sherer and even her critics. All of whom, unlike "Ellie Dameron," surely must have had more than *one* "Mr. Jensen" incident in their lives but none of whom have ever been so stupid as to plan a menu for anybody, especially an Ambassador, while they were showering on the morning of a luncheon for the Ambassador. This just isn't possible overseas even in the rarefied atmosphere in which DCM's wives are supposed to live. Heaven forbid that some American taxpayer should read Mr. Krauss's story and judge us accordingly. Let's level and tell it straight.

First, while "Mr. Dameron" was showering the water supply went off—the city hadn't bothered to tell anyone that they were going to repair the mains that day. Second, the cook announced at breakfast that the planned-on avocados were somehow non-existent (his favorite peddler's father had died or something else "Ellie" didn't quite catch in the language she had studied daily but never seemed to understand—she kept mixing it up with the language of the last post or was it the one before). Then while the chauffeur was still driving around looking for avocados after dropping off "Mr. Dameron" at the Chancery the bearer's wife went into labor and "Ellie" drove

her to the hospital. When "Ellie" returned the cook announced that the fish smelled tainted so soup was substituted and "Yes, since the gas stove was acting up skip the soufflé and warm up the usual ham and turkey."

"Ellie" showed up at the airport looking only slightly ruffled and later the luncheon moved along normally other than a few minor faux pas made by the bearer's brother in his rather too large uniform. Some who had been guests before pretended not to notice that it was the same menu they had worked their way through many times before. And perhaps the Ambassador wondered if all the meals at this post were going to be this uninspired; but he tasted everything. (I've even seen Ambassadors smile appreciatively while consuming some of the most awful gunk—what do people put in dips?)

And when the Ambassador left a little too early because his ulcer was acting up and he was quickly followed by the Bishop who had a wedding party waiting I'll bet this is what happened. The rest sat around chatting while kicking off their shoes and having tall gin and tonics served around by a smiling bearer proudly announcing to all the birth of his first son—his wife had previously delivered him six girls.

After all there wasn't much sense in anyone moving far as a cooling monsoon storm was moving in fast and already the electricity was off with the first crack of lightning. The GSO kissed his wife and said he'd be back or see her at home as soon as he had seen to the conditions at the Residence. And everyone else waited for the now downpouring rain to slack off so they could safely make their way home through downed trees and wires.

MARGARET M. KARDELL
Managua

The Devil and the F.S.

■ I am sure I am not the only FSO you will be hearing from about the review of Townsend Hoopes "The Devil and John Foster Dulles" by Charles Maechling, Jr. I have not read the book and therefore should not comment on the review.

But the penultimate paragraph of the review, ending with "It is difficult not to be contemptuous of a

career service so pathetically incapable of protecting both itself and the country" is quite inaccurate in its intended, insulting thrust.

Perhaps there is some slender basis for comparison of the circumstances of our Foreign Service to that of France under the Vichy regime. French diplomats had to decide whether to implement the policies of Vichy, whether to work in the underground for higher principles which triumphed with the liberation of France, or whether to get out and fight. Many German professional diplomats and Army officers faced equally, if not more, difficult choices in the '30s and '40s.

Fortunately the McCarthy virus did not rage unchecked, and although the Foreign Service was badly scarred and although more senior officers perhaps should have sacrificed themselves to protect their colleagues, the malaise never reached the point where everyone in the Service had to make a personal choice as in Vichy France or Nazi Germany.

But what is unfair is to judge the Foreign Service out of the context of US public life as a whole during the McCarthy era. Leaving aside the tardiness of the Senate in dealing with McCarthy, look at some of the other things it did in the mid '50s. Only one, but a striking example, was the vote on the Mutual Security Treaty with Taiwan: only two senators voted against it.

No foreign service is of value to its country if it cannot act as an agency for implementing policy decided at the political level. From my experience in working for a number of them, it is simply untrue to assert, as Maechling does, that "senior career officials at home and abroad vied with each other in endorsing every contemporary delusion about the nature of governments and events."

CULVER GLEYSTEN
Leningrad

Once More Into the Hornets Nest

■ Enlightenment through satire is a literary tradition finely developed by Jonathan Swift and often carried on in the pages of the JOURNAL. Mrs. Sherer's article on wives in the October issue epitomized this tradition. As one who had the privilege of serving as DCM to the

Sherers, I thought I should stand on executive privilege when the article first evoked discussion, and confined myself to bursts of appreciative laughter. What then was my astonishment to see this article described in a letter to the editor published in the January issue as "Enlightenment through Offense." Such a misconstrual has moved me to reach for my pen to defend the lady. A sense of humor is required for an appreciation of good satire, and even if it was not satire we should thank anyone who has effectively focused attention on a controversial and as yet unsettled issue with the dauntlessness of an assailant striking a hornets' nest with a baseball bat at close quarters.

In view of the controversial nature of Mrs. Sherer's proposal, I suggest that the JOURNAL publish a special section of Letters to the Editor containing pertinent extracts from a broad and representative spectrum of the many comments this article must have engendered, those pro, those con, and those still grinning.

LUCIEN KINSOLVING
Saigon

AAFSW News

■ The March meeting of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, held in the Diplomatic Rooms of the State Department, featured a program of Japanese flower arranging (Ikebana) and oriental brush painting (Sumie) by Mrs. Sherman F. Euler. As she described some of the customs of Japan and the materials with which she was working, Mrs. Euler deftly and gracefully arranged flowers and created an oriental brush painting landscape before the delighted audience. Over two hundred women attended the coffee and charming presentation. Special guests of the Association included several Presidents and Directors of other women's organizations in Washington.

The next meeting will be a coffee on Tuesday, May 14, 10:00 a.m. to 12 noon, to be held on the Eighth Floor of the Department of State. It will be the final meeting of the year. For further information please call Mrs. Hugh M. Woodward (229-0841), or Mrs. W. E. Jenkins (536-5605).

Washington
LAURA JENKINS



THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON

By Rick Williamson

We are a nation of faddists. It does no good to protest that there are major elements of practicality and stability in our national character. The fact is that our well known pragmatism weighs heavily upon us and we are left with no alternative but to do something strange. The newest fad is "streaking." If you haven't heard about this new phenomenon sweeping the nation's campuses, streaking is a college prank akin to swallowing goldfish or seeing how many 400 lb. linemen can get into a VW. But streaking adds a new twist—streaking is running around with nothing on. It burst upon the national scene very fast. A week ago, no one had heard of it, on tonight's news, there were 75 incidents of streaking reported at the University of Maryland today. If one of these days, one of the Department's lawyers runs up and down the Department's garish corridors with nothing on to protest the fact that AFSA always wins disputes before the Disputes Panel and nobody stops him, AFSA won't say a word about management's unbroken losing streak.

This was also the month that the lights went out all over Washington. One Monday morning, we and management both got a large number of calls complaining that someone had turned the lights out. It seems as an energy-saving measure, GSA crews had come in and taken lights out of offices—at random. People didn't have enough light to read; other, unoccupied offices were left untouched. It was another one of those stellar examples of creative management we have all come to know and love from GSA.

Our major activity this month was testifying on the State and USIA authorization bills. These authorization hearings have become the best opportunity for the

Association to apprise the Congress of problems facing the Foreign Service, and to propose legislative changes. This year, we suggested to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee new legislation to regulate the appointment of non-career Ambassadors to prevent the "sale" of embassies to large political contributors. We also pushed for annual educational travel for dependents studying in the US (high school and college) at government expense, the lack of which has been a major hardship in the Service, 20-year retirement from the Foreign Service, more stringent language probation requirements which would apply to lateral entrants and not just junior officers as at present, a new allowance to reimburse Staff Corps members for the extraordinary expenses they face for not being on the diplomatic list, and special benefits for victims of terrorist attacks.

Senior Level Pay

Another major effort was to get the ceiling on Senior-level pay lifted. We stressed to the Congress that senior executives in the Foreign Service had not had a pay increase in five years, and in the past three years alone had seen their real income decline by as much as 30% as a result of higher taxes and inflation. Unfortunately, Congress, fearing heavy constituent criticism for raising their own salaries particularly in an election year in the midst of an economic "downturn," refused to go along with the President's recommendations for 7.5% increases for the Congress, the Judiciary and federal executive in each of the next three years. The Senate killed the measure 72-26. As this is being written, the chances for any relief—no matter how well deserved (a point not really at issue)—do not appear good for at least a year. AFSA intends to continue to press this issue until senior officers get the raises

which they are entitled to and which are long overdue. The next attempt will come in a month or so when Senator McGee will try to push through a one-time 5.5% increase for senior-level federal employees only.

Unfair Practice Charges

The Executive Order makes it an unfair practice for management to fail to consult or to interfere with employee rights. From time to time, we have filed unfair practice charges against one of the three agencies for various minor infractions, usually for making regulation changes without informing us in advance. We have been able to resolve these amicably at the informal level without going through the formal hearing process. However, this month, we filed two unfair practice charges of more major importance. In the first case, the Department reneged on an understanding reached with AFSA to submit the matter of scheduled duty-officer overtime to the GAO for an advisory determination as to whether such overtime was regularly scheduled (and thus entitled to compensation irrespective of the employee's pay scale.) or irregular and occasional (and thus treated like any other overtime). When the department learned that the GAO intended to rule that duty officer overtime which occurred more often than every eight weeks was regularly scheduled, they withdrew their request for a ruling. This is not only an unfair practice, but a serious breach of the ethical standards which this Association expects of agency management.

The other unfair practice charge, if anything, was more serious. Under substantial pressure from OMB, the three agencies changed the criteria for granting hardship differentials and put through new differential levels, without informing AFSA, in clear violation of the Order. The Department's excuse

for massively undercutting the rights of Foreign Service people to have some meaningful input in matters vitally affecting their well-being was to cite the "substantive foreign policy" clause of the order. AFSA agrees, of course, that the Department does not have to notify us in advance of changes in our policy toward Albania, or changes in emphasis in USIA programming in the Far East. But to equate allowance levels with these substantive responsibilities of the agencies is patently absurd, and a self-serving ruse by certain individuals in the "A" area of the Department and a few of the Department's no-win lawyers to preserve "their" prerogatives. Actually, they are the Secretary's prerogatives, and we have, in addition to filing the unfair practice change, appealed this matter directly to the Secretary. As we told the Secretary last month, we have a long way to go before the Executive Order works as well for administrative questions as it is now working for personnel matters in State.

USIA and AID

Our appeal on the safeguards issue is now before the Board of the Foreign Service, but the Board has not yet remanded the matter to the Disputes Panel. As a result of this delay, key elements of the promotion process in USIA will remain unregulated for this year's promotion cycle. We doubt that in the present atmosphere, and with USIA in serious trouble on the Hill, that the Agency will take any steps to undermine the integrity of the promotion process this year, particularly when we indicated that we would take the matter up with the Senate as a matter of extreme urgency if there were any hints of improprieties. Nevertheless, this delay is regrettable.

Despite our dispute on this issue, the Association had been looking forward to having USIA Director Keough as an honored guest at our regular luncheon series. The event had been a sell-out for weeks, as many Foreign Service personnel were particularly interested in professional questions facing USIA, such as the changing mission of the Agency, and its future organization and status. Unfortunately, at the last minute, the Director had to cancel

because he was meeting with the USIA Advisory Commission. While the cancellation cost the Association several hundred dollars (in ruined food, lost club business and extra staff time), we regretted more the lost opportunity to discuss with the Director as fellow professionals some of the major challenges facing the Agency and the public affairs function in the coming decade.

In AID, the final resolution of the dispute on ship travel has been delayed, but we anticipate a ruling by the Board of the Foreign Service this month. Our major accomplishment in AID this month was completion of an agreed version of the new personnel handbook. This handbook will govern such matters as promotions and the new evaluation system. AFSA was able to bring about several major improvements in the document, including evaluation procedures at the Mission level, promotion of junior class employees, and consideration for promotion of occupational groupings.

THE CONE SYSTEM STUDY

AFSA's cable to AFSA Representatives and chapters at all Diplomatic and Consular Posts, and our "red top" to Washington personnel requesting the views of Foreign Service personnel in State, brought forth an enormous response. We received nearly 100 cable replies, representing yet a larger number of posts, received comments from scores of officers here in Washington, and received dozens of memoranda and letters, including a number of excellent analytical pieces. In short, it was the most thorough Service-wide pulse-taking ever attempted on a personnel issue.

While unanimity among several thousand colleagues was neither expected nor achieved, there was substantial consensus on basic issues and on many subsidiary points. On the fundamental question, roughly 5 percent of the FSOs supported the cone system unequivocally, 70 percent wanted to see the system modified, and 25 percent wanted the cone system abolished in its entirety. Staff Corps personnel generally favored the cone system for specialists, but wanted to see the system modified. These general reactions, however,

mask elements of consensus and sharp disagreements on specific features of the cone system.

A substantial majority of personnel felt that the cone system did not make sense at the junior and senior levels for FSOs. There was a divergence of opinion as to whether specialization should be retained at midcareer and, if so, how it should be structured. Many felt that FSOs at midcareer should develop specialties, but that the definition of specialties should be broadened to include area, country and language specialties along with various functional areas of expertise. Others expressed the view that at midcareer, personnel should be given the option to decide whether they wished to be considered as specialists, or on a broader basis. A substantial minority, however, favored the elimination of the cone system at midcareer, and suggested that all officers instead be considered on an across-the-board basis. Most non-FSO personnel favored retention of competition for assignments and promotions on the basis of their specialties, but with greater assignment flexibility.

Literally no one supported the present assignment system. Nearly everyone felt that there should be greater opportunities for out-of-cone assignments at all levels. Most personnel also felt that employees should have advance knowledge of jobs coming available, and have the chance to make their preferences known based on real opportunities. There was also near unanimity that if changes were needed in the personnel system generally, they should be made now, and then we should stick with whatever system is developed for a few decades. The Service clearly resents the tendency of successive administrative managers to try their pet ideas out on the Service.

Our study and recommendations to the Secretary, which were submitted at the same time that the Director General submitted his study, closely followed the opinions we had received. In particular, we made the following major recommendations to the Secretary:

(1) The cone system does not make sense at the senior ranks, particularly for FSO personnel, and should be replaced by across-the-board competition where the principal considerations would be

an officer's capabilities for policy direction and executive leadership.

(2) The cone system does not make sense at the junior ranks; junior officers should be given the opportunity to have assignments in different functions and areas before making decisions on which specialties they wish to pursue at mid-career.

(3) A single, nondiscriminatory personnel system should be established for Foreign Service specialists, which would replace the plethora of existing pay plans (FSS, FSSO, FSSO-DES, FSR, FSRU, FSRU-DES), and under which specialists would be competing for promotions and assignments with their fellow specialists, but with the opportunity for "out of specialty" assignments.

(4) For FSOs at midcareer, an officer would have the opportunity to opt for either across-the-board competition while developing several specializations, or could compete as a specialist.

(5) A more open assignment system should be developed, which would provide greater opportunities for cross-specialty assignments and greater knowledge on the part of employees of which assignments are coming available.

(6) The cone system cannot be viewed in isolation, and simultaneous steps should be taken to solve closely related problems, such as lateral entry.

The Employee-Benefits Cable

In December 1973, in response to a management request, AFSA sent a cable to AFSA Chapters and certified AFSA Representatives at all diplomatic and consular posts asking the Service's views on the relative priorities which should be attached to five AFSA employee benefits proposals. One hundred and twenty-five replies were received. The replies represented a large number of various sized posts which have either certified representatives or chapter organizations. (Several AFSA chapters, such as Brussels, bring together personnel from more than one diplomatic establishment in the same city, or from several posts in the same country.) Based on an AFSA tally of the results, the following represents the rank ordering of priorities by the Service, which we have already passed on to management:

1. Improved per diem for employees assigned to FSI between two overseas posts;
2. Raise shipping and storage allowances for unmarried employees to "with family levels" after completion of seven years of service or promotion to FSO/R-5 or FSS-5, whichever comes first;
3. Increase wardrobe portion of interzone transfers to \$300, \$400, and \$500;
4. Elimination of the \$100 and \$200 deductibles for emergency visitation travel; and
5. Extension of the supplementary post allowance to all employees.

State Income Taxes

The following letter has been received from Edgar G. Hobson, Jr., Director, Individual and Fiduciary Taxes, Commonwealth of Virginia:

The status of Foreign Service officers of the United States under the Virginia income tax law is as follows:

A domiciliary or legal resident of Virginia, who is in the Foreign Service of the United States, retains his Virginia domicile while he is on an assignment abroad and his liability to the State income tax is not affected by his physical absence from the State. Persons in the Foreign Service of the United States who are domiciliaries of Virginia do not acquire new domiciles at their posts in foreign countries by reason of their assignments.

A Foreign Service officer of the United States, who is not a domiciliary or legal resident of Virginia, although he may have lived in Virginia for more than 183 days, thereby becoming an actual resident for income tax purposes as distinguished from a domiciliary or legal resident, is not subject to the Virginia income tax on income received by him from non-Virginia sources after he leaves Virginia to take an assignment abroad. If, in such case, the non-domiciliary again lives in Virginia after the completion of his assignments abroad, he will not be liable to the State income tax as a resident for the period of his absence.

In the event the Foreign Service officer comes to Virginia during the taxable year and maintains his legal residence in another State, a copy of the resident return filed with such other State is the best evidence the Foreign Service officer can submit. If, however, his legal domicile is maintained in a non income tax State, a statement attached to the return giving a full disclosure of the facts should be sufficient.

For the taxable year 1973, the Department of Taxation is introducing a new form, 760PY, for part-year residents, which we anticipate will be of great assistance to the taxpayer and to the Department in preparing and pro-

cessing returns for 1973 and subsequent years.

Tax Deductions for Home Leave Expenses

In claiming a deduction for unreimbursed home leave expenses as an "employee business expense," it is important that you have documentation for claimed hotel, restaurant and transportation costs. The first "small tax case" on this subject was heard in the United States Tax Court in Washington on January 15, 1974. While we are still awaiting the decision, it was clear from the arguments that the IRS has the right to consider undocumented expenses as non-expenses. In the case heard on January 15, the Foreign Service employee claimed a deduction of \$25 per day for the period of his home leave since that is the maximum amount allowed by the Government for per diem. He said he did not have documentation because his home leave took place prior to the Stratton case decision, and he therefore had no motivation to save receipts. The Tax Court Commissioner who heard the case said the Government per diem maximum was not unreasonable as a basis for claiming the deduction, but documentation is clearly called for in the legislation. The same Commissioner appeared sympathetic to the argument that home leave is a legally required activity rather than an optional vacation. He forced the IRS lawyers to admit that the Government makes home leave compulsory. In this context, AFSA has received a letter dated January 14, 1974 from management confirming that home leave is compulsory and that the law allows no exception to this requirement. A copy of this letter which you can use as part of the documentation reproduced below.

Most of the cases we are seeing involve IRS deficiency claims against AFSA members who are being asked to refund money to the government for home leave deductions. We would like to see some cases in which AFSA members are claiming refunds which are being disallowed. We are particularly interested in well documented cases that are filed either in the southern states or in the northeastern states beginning with Pennsylvania. If you have filed in the Washington

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

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Three-bedroom house with swimming pool, for rent furnished, June thru September, or portions thereof. Across river from Alexandria, one-half hour from State Department, \$300 per month, not including utilities. Carl J. Nelson, FSO-ret., 241 Panorama Dr., Oxon Hill, Md. 20021, phone 301-839-3082.

Education

The Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center welcomes your inquiries. A continuation of the services available for 15 years by AFSA's Consultant in Education and Youth Concerns, sponsored by AAFSW and AFSA with additional expanded activities. Write FSECC, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 or call (202) 338-4045.

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area, please send the documentation to AFSA in any event so that we can consider various options for legal action. If you took home leave in 1973, have good documentation on expenses, but were not planning to claim a deduction because it would require an IRS refund which probably would not be allowed, AFSA would appreciate your reconsidering since we lack such cases that can be utilized for further action in achieving a permanent solution to the problem. The January 14 letter follows:

I understand that you have inquired as to whether home leave is compulsory for officers and employees of the Foreign Service.

Section 933(a) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (22 U.S.C. 1148), requires the Secretary of State to order to the United States on statutory leave of absence any citizen, officer or employee of the Foreign Service as soon as possible after such officer or employee has completed three continuous years of Service abroad. The law provides for no exception to this requirement.

It is my interpretation of this statute and the Department's regulations that home leave is compulsory for Foreign Service officers and employees meeting the criteria specified in section 933(a) of the Act.

Alexander J. Davit
Special Assistant

Foreign Service People

Marriages

Simons-Cohen. Sara Ruth Simons, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Thomas W. Simons, was married to Richard J. Cohen on March 9 in Chevy Chase. Both bride and groom are enrolled in graduate Indian studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

Births

Luna. A daughter, Bethany Jane, born to Mr. and Mrs. Edilberto Luna on February 18, in Washington.

Deaths

Henderson. Hester Hise Henderson, wife of FSO-retired John W. Henderson, died on March 8, in Sarasota. Mrs. Henderson served as assistant editor of the *Foreign Service Journal* from 1955 to 1958 and accompanied her husband on assignments to Shanghai, Hong

Kong, Manila, Tokyo, Bangkok, Djakarta and Taipei. In addition to her husband of 6711 S. Lockwood Ridge Rd., Sarasota, Fla., she is survived by two sons, John W., Jr. and Robert S., her mother, a sister and five granddaughters.

Peacock. William S. Peacock, FSO-retired, died recently in Ormond Beach, Florida. Mr. Peacock joined the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at Karachi, Montevideo, and Colombo before his retirement in 1963. He is survived by his wife, 129 Seminole St., Ormond Beach, Fla.

Roseman. Alvin Roseman, former government official and University of Pittsburgh professor, died on February 20 in Pittsburgh. Mr. Roseman served with the International Cooperation Administration, the Mutual Security Agency, the Bureau of the Budget, UNRRA, Federal Security Agency, War Manpower Commission, UNESCO and, from 1970-72, as Director of AID in India. He is survived by a son, Kenneth, of Cincinnati, a daughter, Arlen Ambrose, of Denver and four grandchildren.

Wilcox. Dr. Wayne A. Wilcox, USIA, his wife, Ouida Neill Wilcox, and two of their children, Kailan and Clarke, died in the crash of a Turkish airliner near Paris on March 3. Dr. Wilcox joined USIA in 1971 after serving as an educator, a senior research analyst of Rand Corporation and as a consultant to the State Department. He was serving as cultural attache in London at the time of his death. Dr. Wilcox had authored four books and scores of articles on Asian affairs. Two younger children survive. The family suggests expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Zavada. Vincent P. Zavada, FSSO, died on February 23 in Washington. Mr. Zavada joined the Foreign Service in 1950 and served at Rome, Budapest, Vienna, Salzburg, Nairobi, Bangkok, London, The Hague, Bombay and Quito. He is survived by his wife, Julianna, of 6518 Topeka Rd., McLean, his mother, two brothers and two sisters.

The American Foreign Service Protective Association

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE INSURANCE YEAR ENDED FEBRUARY 28, 1974

OPERATIONS

		As of March 1	
		1973	1974
Members carrying Group Life		2985	2955
Group Life in Force		\$55,351,500	\$54,638,500
(exclusive of Reversionary)			
Enrolled in Foreign Service			
Benefit Plan		9576	9580
Claims paid during year:			
Group Life,	Number	24	36
	Amount	\$ 396,250	\$ 677,500
Family Coverage,	Number	16	12
	Amount	\$ 42,600	\$ 36,000
Accidental Death,	Number	2	3
	Amount	\$ 35,000	\$ 72,500
Foreign Service Benefit Plan		\$ 2,639,009	\$ 2,725,587

Because of the number of claims last year there can be no Reversionary for the year ending February 28, 1975.

The Association has been able to increase the maximum benefit for each accident or illness from \$40,000 to \$100,000, increase the benefits for renal dialysis, remove the limitation on the number of psychiatric visits, provide benefits for certain examinations in connection with podiatric surgery and extend maternity coverage for all insured women.

* * * * *

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Address applications and inquiries to:

The American Foreign Service Protective Association

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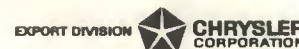
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* Gas mileage figures based on October 1973 Popular Science Magazine. Tests performed by Popular Science for its report were conducted on '73 vehicles with figures adjusted by Popular Science for 1974 model changes and the results of E.P.A. tests.

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