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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

OCTOBER 1975

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COMMUNICATION RE:

A Senator's Views of The Foreign Service

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, in the course of a recent trip through the Middle East I encountered a remarkable number of thoughtful, dedicated individuals, foreign and American, official and nonofficial. Among these none impressed me more than the professional Foreign Service officers who staff the United States embassies in the countries I visited—Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Israel, and Iran.

In each of these countries I had the honor of meeting ranking officials of the host government and distinguished private citizens. With few exceptions these meetings were highly instructive. I also made it a practice—whenever possible before meeting officials of the host government—to arrange a briefing by the US Embassy “country team.” These briefings provided me not only with necessary background information for my meetings with officials of the host governments; they also provide, in most instances, a wide-ranging, highly professional analysis of the central issues in US relations with the country concerned.

I noted particularly the active awareness of US interests which characterizes the outlook of our professional Foreign Service officers. We have often heard of the susceptibility of diplomats to “localitis,” the tendency to become too much enamored of the countries to which they are accredited, or worse, of groups and factions within those countries. I saw little of this in the Middle East. While not lacking in regard and often affection for the host society, most of our professional Foreign Service officers exhibit a level-headed awareness that their primary assignment is the advancement of the best interests of the United States.

I particularly appreciated the good judgment and good company of the individual “control officers” who advised and accompanied me on my visits and appointments. I call to the attention of Senators who travel officially abroad that the Embassy officers who accompany them are not only qualified to arrange transportation and appoint-

ments; they are also, in most cases, well-qualified to provide the congressional visitor with on-the-spot briefing, background, and sometimes perspective as well.

I discussed with our Foreign Service officers, among other subjects, their problems of communication with the State Department in Washington. The impression I received—to understate the matter—is that their observations and insights are often given short shrift at the senior levels of the State Department and the National Security Council. The Foreign Service officers in the field were too professional to say it explicitly, but their comments added to other evidence that meaningful participation in the policymaking process is confined to the Secretary of State and a small group of intimate advisers.

One result of this exclusivity in policymaking is the frustration—and demoralization—of competent professionals in the field. Another—at least potentially—is the intellectual improvement of policymaking as a small group of experts at the top draw down the capital of their considerable—but not unlimited—knowledge. One of the susceptibilities of gifted elites is their tendency to confine their serious consultations only to each other. I do not think this has become the established pattern in the making of our Middle East policy, but there does seem to be a trend.

The matter comes to the fore at a time when the executive branch is engaged in a reassessment of its Middle East policy. The reason for the reassessment is the breakdown of the step-by-step approach to peace in the Middle East. It is not my intention to criticize or censure the architects of that policy, because I believe it to have been based on a perfectly plausible hypothesis, which, however, did not work out in practice.

Nonetheless, the occasion for the review is not a triumph but a failure of policy. This being so, a certain modesty would seem in order on the part of the policymakers. More important still, it would seem appropriate to broaden the circle of consultation beyond the

architects of the failed policy. The obvious first step is a much more liberal drawing upon the Foreign Service ranks. Beyond that, if the top policymakers ever felt really venturesome, they might even glean some nuggets of insight from the much-feared legislative branch.

That, however, is a topic for another day. At this time I wish only to recommend to the Secretary and his close advisers that they renew acquaintance with their talented minions in the field. I urge them to open their policy councils not only to the facts, but to the judgments and ideas which are generated from the staffs of our embassies abroad. Perhaps when the Secretary next travels abroad, instead of limiting himself to the customary “pep talks” to assemblages of American employees, he might consider asking for informal discussions with the country teams. He would, I have no doubt, find the experience instructive—and he might even enjoy it—from the *Congressional Record*, May 15.

LETTERS TO FSJ

Outrage

■ Your “Outrage Of The Month” feature has undoubtedly captured the attention of the entire AFSA membership. Here’s my entry:

On July 8, 1975, in the sixteenth year of my steady if less than brilliant service, bad personal luck finally struck. My father-in-law collapsed in a street, the victim of a heart attack. In England.

Shock One: Emergency travel in such situations is limited to the United States. *Hace la vida* and with any luck your distressed relative might be geographically closer than your home of record. Better than nothing.

Foreign Service colleagues, as always, rallied round. Budget and Fiscal began the necessary calculations. An immediate telegram went off to the Department and London to apprise each of the situation, obtain the required verification and hope for all the assistance that might be provided. Meanwhile, back at B&F, it was determined that regulations permitted the Department to authorize \$99.00 worth of constructive cost toward a

(Continued on page 33)

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Fortune and the Laffitte Girls

WILLIAM A. KRAUSS

DO YOU KNOW the Dordogne, the river and the valley?

Not everybody does, of course, the Dordogne is rather special, and most people would say pretty remote. Paris is, after all, a great many miles to the north—more than three hundred? But remote or not, there is very fine scenery in the Dordogne and much very wonderful food, everywhere the specialties made from goose and duck. Trout is almost a common fish, you know.

In any case, I hope you don't mind if I bring up this thing that happened some time ago in the valley of the Dordogne where we—my wife and I—have a summer house. My wife says the incident is so *typically* French, it could never happen anywhere else. To which I say nonsense. Where I was born, close to Jack's Creek near the Juniata in more or less central Pennsylvania, it could happen as readily as in France. There are, I said emphatically to my wife (who should know these simple truths without my having to emphasize them)—there are certain quite obvious differences between French persons and the Americans but, leaving politics aside, the differences are not basic. They are mainly superficial. At base, I insisted and insist, a French country person and an American country person (*and* their daughters) react *exactly* the same. *My italics*. I am talking, naturally, about the really important, the really vital, things of life.

Like marriage.

No need to doubt it, it is I who tell you so, and I have lived in France seventeen years all told, what with assignments in both Marseilles and Paris before I elected to act my age and take the government's ample pension (the Secretary's shilling, as my wife says jokingly). So you will forgive me for insisting. To illustrate what I am trying to say:

A mile up the valley from what is now our summer place stands the Laffitte farm, and at the time I am talk-

William A. Krauss continues on in Paris as Paris Editor of TRAVEL & LEISURE. He writes "summertime in this iniquitous city is wonderfully pleasant, as always: millions of people gone off to the country, hence peace and quiet and a place to park."

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FILL OUT AND MAIL TODAY!

ing about—eight years ago—there were five Laffitte girls. Five. For a particular reason, at a certain period, as I will explain, that was four girls too many. But the point I want to make, here at the outset, has to do with chance.

Has to do with fortune. Or fate, whatever you want to call it. The French are great believers in fate. (So am I). All right; say you walk into a store looking for an apple to eat. You're hungry, you want an apple. You find yourself facing a shelf, and on it are five apples, all equally shapely, all more or less of a size, color, et cetera, all just about the same thing as far as the eye can tell—what is it that guides your choice when you're buying? Chance?

You reach out your hand and pick an apple—an end apple, maybe. Or the one in the middle. Why? It's chance, isn't it? You pay the price and walk down the road eating your apple. Plain chance.

But suppose for a minute it's young women—five young women—not apples.

To be specific, there's the case of Jacques Bedel, Frenchman. He came into this Dordogne valley eight years ago, a big goodlooking fellow with big hands as hard as wooden mallets, and a fine chin. You could tell a lot about what kind of man he was from the open brightness of his eyes. He was a worker and a man who liked elbow-room. He bought the Widow Saint-Laurent's place, paying cash, and settled down to farm it. A tall, lean, muscular man, quiet. And unmarried.

Everybody around the valley knew he'd need a woman. A man of his kind does. And just a moderate piece down the river was the Laffitte farm—and on it the Laffitte girls. Five. People nodded pointedly in the Laf-

fitte direction when Jacques Bedel came along and settled. The five fine Laffitte girls.

Brigitte Laffitte was the oldest sister, twenty-six that year. Clara was the youngest, eighteen. The end apples, you might say. In between were Alice and Marie and Denise. Five girls in eight years—Marie and Denise were twins—was the record in this part of the valley; never a boy at all. It was a local joke that after Clara, Roger Laffitte quit trying. Not that they weren't lovely girls—they were. Very. Clean-limbed, pretty, clever, laughing—never seeming broody even though life in the Dordogne could be sometimes deadly dull, with rarely ever a new young-man's face showing over the hills.

Well, Jacques Bedel got to work, hired the two Druziak boys as help, and at the end of two weeks drove over to the Laffittes' to pay the decent neighborly call.

His pants were pressed, collar clean-white. He gave Roger Laffitte a firm handclasp. They sat in the living-room exposed to the full fine odors of French country cooking going on in the kitchen, and they talked weather and crop prices and the shooting of small birds. After twenty minutes, which was the proper interval, Madame Laffitte came in for introduction. Then they talked about television and the local clergy. Then it was time for the girls to show up.

Brigitte came first; then Marie and Alice and Denise all together; then Clara the youngest. All of them had been upstairs fixing their faces, catching up the locks of chestnut hair—each had exactly the same fine chestnut hair. They sat, and listened quietly and sensibly while Roger and Madame Roger chatted along with the new

Security follows up. Even to China.

Regular readers of the Journal will recall that, in 1973, three of our steel liftvans followed German Ambassador Pauls from Washington to the new Diplomatic Mission in Peking.

Readers might also be interested to know that, in April, 1975, our President, Mr. Gore, followed up with a visit to the People's Republic of China. With other members of the Mayor's Committee for International Visitors, he was briefed, in the absence of Mr. Bush, by his Deputy, Mr. Holdridge. And in addition, the General Services Officer, Mr. Morin

displayed the two remaining liftvans to Security's representative. (One of the vans already had been used outbound by the Administrative Officer, Mr. Blackburn.)

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neighbor. Jacques Bedel, throwing sidelong glances, thought they were mighty attractive girls. All of them. All five.

He was twenty-eight, Jacques. He was a young man with one ambition: to create through energetic use of his abilities (as I think he would have phrased it) a good farm, in fact a fine farm. By extension he wanted, like everybody else, to rear sons to carry on the name. For both purposes, the farm and the sons, he would need a good wife with a strong back. And Jacques Bedel, sitting there in the comfortable livingroom of the Laffitte farmhouse, breathing in the suggestive aroma of Agen prune pies baking in the kitchen oven, found himself fully—what shall I say?—conscious of the five neat, pretty, sturdy girls with the good sturdy legs and the modest eyes. You could say an urgent warmth stirred within him.

So he called back soon, and for more reason than to chew the fat with old Roger. One Sunday he drove the girls and their mother to church because Roger was laid low with a cold. Another Sunday the girls, all five, took him strolling up the ridge for the wonderful high view of the river. On a certain Saturday Madame Laffitte invited Jacques to stop for dinner and he was happy to. Thus, from week to week, he saw a fair bit of the girls, of all five together. Always together. He liked them. He liked them all, he thought they were great. They were the nicest girls in the whole countryside, and one evening the realization hit him between the eyes—he ought to marry one of the Laffitte girls.

Mais certainement!

Brigitte? Twenty-six was a good age. Brigitte was a stimulating, reasonable girl. Not more stimulating though, to be fair about it, than Alice, who was twenty-two. Or Clara, just eighteen! Marie had the prettiest eyes, you might say: wide and grey. But thinking about these things, it was natural his mind should move to the sweet curve of Denise's breast—

In the late summer there was a whole packet of work, the fruit and the vines, but Jacques paid his visits to the Laffitte place regularly once a week and sometimes twice. In the fall he was busy with his new fences, still he managed to call every seven days or so. Winter came, with a couple of heavy snows, and sometimes he could not make the trip but generally he did. Once he walked! The urge was strong in him.

Springtime was busy with planting. Then it was summer again. Jacques built a new barn. He ordered pipe from Bordeaux and laid a new, efficient running-water system into the house. He built a springhouse too, to keep his milk and butter. And he lay awake a fair number of hours, nights, thinking about the Laffitte girls.

Because he knew now with full certainty he wanted to marry one of them.

He thought to himself, remembering Marie's eyes, *I ought to ask Marie. She's the one, if she'd have me. There's something about her, I don't know—*

But a day or two later, when they were all together again, he couldn't be quite so positive about Marie, it seemed to him that maybe Brigitte—

Or Denise, with that especially warm sweet curve—

The decision, when it came, was quickly made. Jacques never did quite exactly know—to be absolutely honest about it—just what prompted his choice. It was autumn again and he had been seeing a lot of the girls and somehow, very abruptly, it was secure in his mind that



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Alice was the one for him. Yes! Alice stood out above the others, no doubt about it. Suddenly, swiftly, it was all crystal clear to him. As if starting up from sleep in the middle of the night, he knew with assurance that it was Alice. "I love her!" he cried.

Things worked easier than he had thought for. By luck and by chance he found himself alone on the lawn with Alice, just for a few minutes, but alone; and then they were alone for a moment—a long moment—in the springhouse. And with a whispered word he touched her hand—Alice! One day later, all in a rush, he asked her to marry him.

She said yes.

They had a lovely wedding.

THERE CAME a time, two or three years afterwards, when Jacques Bedel would say fondly to his wife, bantering, "Give me credit. I showed good sense—to pick you."

"You did indeed," Alice said, bantering too. "You showed splendid good sense." It was a wonderfully happy marriage. The farm prospered. There was a son now, to carry on the name. "Though I never rightly knew," Alice murmured, smiling sweetly, "why you did pick me. It might just as well have been Marie. Or Denise."

"That's where you're dead wrong," Jacques said, all the bantering gone out of his voice. "Some things—" he was very serious—"are meant to be. One day I felt it. One day I *knew* it. A man can't go wrong with a feeling

like that."

Alice touched his hand gently. She was terribly happy with Jacques. It justified everything. Impossible ever to explain to him about the awful straws. Unthinkable! How awful they had been, all of them, herself just as much as her sisters. And yet—and yet. Looking back, it had been a thing they'd had to do. They had all known it equally well, herself included, she had been just as much involved as the others, a full share.

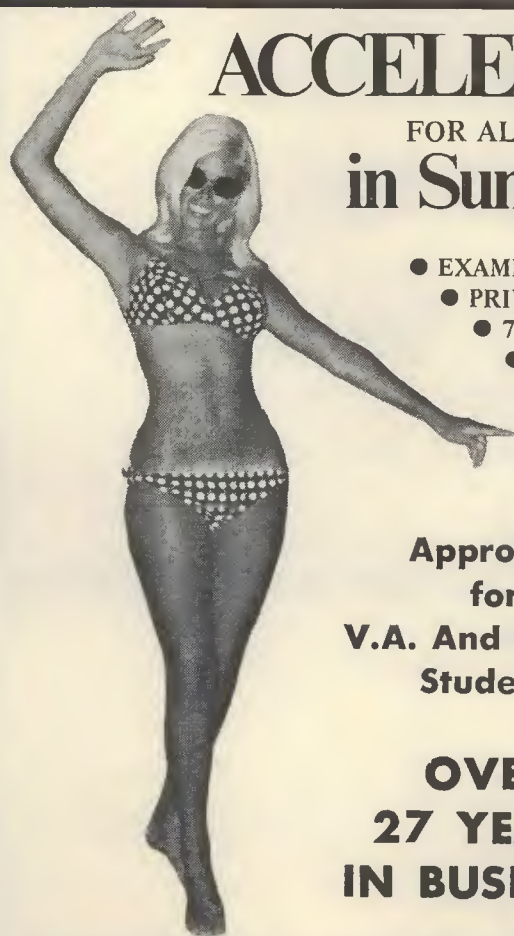
They had come down from the orchard that day, all five of them, and they had sat in the barn loft in the aromatic hush of afternoon and Brigitte had cut the straws. Four quite short, then one long. Brigitte had said, "You draw first," to Marie, her voice strained, holding out the tips of the concealed straws between her fingers. "The man will never make up his mind. Whoever gets the long straw—"

"She shall have my new blue dress, if I lose, and the silver shoes I have never worn, if I lose," Clara had whispered.

"*This is understood:* The four who lose, they'll fade right away, right out of the picture," Brigitte had said. "Only one will be left for him, always there and gay and clever and *available*—"

They'd all been very tense, holding their eyes straight ahead of them, and Marie had reached and drawn. Short straw. Then Denise; then Clara. Then there had been two straws left, and Alice with steady fingers had selected the one on the right.

(Continued on page 32)



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The task of developing a system of consular representation for the United States, which fell upon Jefferson as Secretary of State, involved a number of practical difficulties.—Barnes & Morgan

Adams, Franklin and the Origin of Consular Representation

NEIL T. STORCH

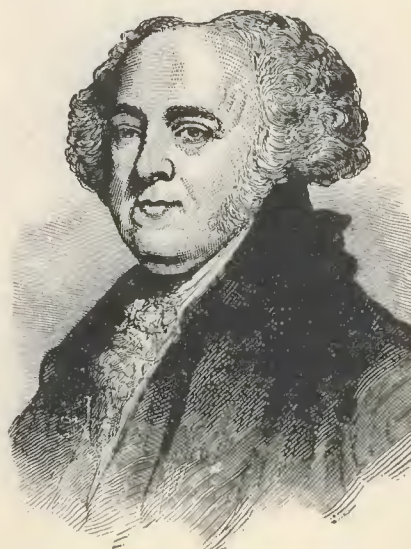
ON OCTOBER 25, 1780 Congress voted to establish the office of United States Consul. Despite the importance of this decision, the nature of the deliberations preceding it remain something of a mystery. One of the most intriguing aspects of the problem is the ironic combination of motives which led to the decision—a combination which included John Adams's disgust with the operation of the American diplomatic mission in France, Benjamin Franklin's own wish to be relieved of some of his duties in that mission, and a surprisingly widespread distrust of Franklin in Congress itself. Until this complexity of motivation is more fully appreciated the origins of consular representation will remain obscure.

By 1780 a basis for a consular exchange with France already existed in the Treaty of Amity and Commerce ratified in May, 1788. This treaty recognized the right of each nation to place consuls and vice consuls in the ports of the other. The French government swiftly implemented this provision of the Treaty and, when Conrad Alexander Gérard was dispatched as minister plenipotentiary to the United States, he also received the

title of consul general with authority to appoint consuls and vice consuls. Shortly after his arrival in America in July 1778, Gérard named Jean Holker to serve as consul in the port of Philadelphia. Other appointments quickly followed. But though the French were expanding their consular system, Congress as yet took no comparable steps to establish an American consular representative in France. Instead United States interests in France were served by three joint commissioners, Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and after the recall of Silas Deane in November 1777,

John Adams. It was the latter who shortly after his arrival in France began to press for the reorganization of the American mission. First he discovered that a rancorous dispute had developed among his colleagues, following Arthur Lee's charges that Deane and Franklin had mismanaged public funds. Furthermore, he quickly learned that Franklin believed Lee to be on the verge of insanity. Adams, although trying to remain impartial, grew skeptical of Franklin's ability to handle American interests in France. Finding the joint commissioner system unworkable, Adams recommended that it be abandoned and that one minister be appointed. Aware of the high esteem with which Franklin was regarded in both America and France, Adams expected that the Philadelphian would remain as sole minister. However, because he was also convinced that Franklin would neglect his commercial and naval duties, Adams began to urge the appointment of consuls.

In a letter to the commercial committee of Congress, Adams, glossing over the contention between Franklin and Lee, set forth his views on the need for a consular service. He reported that American affairs were complicated by the multiplicity of agents appointed by such diverse sources as the commercial committee, the commis-



John Adams

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sioners and other United States agents. Adams offered the following suggestion:

One person at Bordeaux, another at Nantes, and a third perhaps at Havre de Grace or Dunkirk, would be amply sufficient for all public purposes; and to these persons all orders from Congress, or the commercial committee, or the commissioners at Paris ought to be addressed. To the same persons all public ships of war, and all other ships belonging to the United States and their prizes, ought to be addressed; and all orders for the supplies of provisions, clothing, repairs of vessels, etc., as well as all orders for shipping of merchandises or warlike stores for the United States, ought to go through their hands.

Adams closed his letter suggesting that Congress seriously consider the appointment of one or more consuls.

After the appointment of Franklin as sole minister in September 1778, Adams returned to the United States and continued his efforts to obtain the appointment of consuls. In a letter to Thomas McKean, Adams fulminated against Franklin's "indolent and dissipated" behavior, declaring:

Franklin is a wit and a humorist, I know. He may be a philosopher for what I know. But he is not a sufficient statesman for all the business he is in. He knows too little of American affairs, of the politics of Europe, and takes too little pains to inform himself of either to be sufficient for all these things—to be ambassador, secretary, admiral, consular agent, etc. Yet such is his name on both sides [of] the water, that it is best, perhaps, that he should be left there; but a secretary and consuls should be appointed to do the business or it will not be done, or if done, it will be by people who insinuate themselves into his confidence, without either such heads or hearts as Congress should trust.

This strongly worded letter was but another example of Adams's persistent efforts to obtain the appointment of one or more consuls charged with sufficient authority to conduct commercial and naval affairs. After a brief retirement from diplomatic service, Adams was commissioned by Congress to negotiate peace between the United States and Great Britain. He returned to Europe in September of 1779. While serving abroad he continued to press for the appointment of consuls.

While Adams was secretly telling others that Franklin was neglecting

his maritime duties, Franklin himself was openly declaring that these tasks were too burdensome. His dispatches were a significant element in Congress's decision to appoint a consul in France charged with commercial and naval duties. Informing Congress that the burdensome task of supervising these affairs seriously interfered with his normal diplomatic duties, Franklin stressed the need for a consul. He warned that captains frequently charged exorbitant sums for the shipment of goods between America and France and that in some cases their claims were accepted by agents whose commissions were in proportion to the expense. Inexperienced in maritime affairs, Franklin found it difficult to monitor these transactions effectively. Moreover, being a considerable distance from the principal seaports, Franklin declared that he could not efficiently supervise the outfitting of United States naval vessels in French ports. In early March 1780, he penned a brief but cogent review of his various arguments, repeating his "earnest request" that a consul be dispatched without delay.

In addition to dispatches from Adams and Franklin, Congress received a request from one of its former presidents, John Jay, now serving as minister plenipotentiary at the court of Spain. Jay wrote that a consul would be useful, particularly in caring for destitute American seamen who had escaped from British captivity. He warned that many of these men were entering French and Spanish service in order to receive food and clothing. Distressed by this loss of trained seamen he declared that "humanity as well as policy" called for the appointment of a consul.

Finally in the latter part of 1780, these appeals from Adams, Franklin, and Jay converged with the heavy strain of war, providing impetus for the appointment of a consul in France. Georgia had been under British control for sometime. In addition, Congress was shaken by the loss of Charleston in May and the shattering defeat at Camden in August 1780. It was now searching for money and supplies to continue the struggle. Fully aware of the danger, Congress realized that the army might have to disband for lack of

supplies. In this crisis, Congress became deeply alarmed at the unaccountable delay in forwarding to the United States supplies purchased and borrowed in France. Franklin had previously informed Congress that he was inexperienced in maritime affairs and clearly he could not be entrusted with the critical task of expediting the shipment of these supplies. A consul was needed.

In addition to Franklin's own determination to be relieved of his commercial duties, Congress was undoubtedly influenced by its growing distrust of Franklin. Opposition to Franklin intensified when two of his most vehement critics, Ralph Izard and Arthur Lee, lost their diplomatic posts and returned to the United States in August 1780. Reporting to a congressional committee, Izard accused Franklin of embezzling public funds. Lee began his campaign in October, offering to supply information relating to American diplomacy. When this letter was read in Congress, Ezekiel Cornell, finding the old members perfectly acquainted with the fracas between Lee and Franklin wrote: "I must confess I am not able as yet to find the right side of the question if there is one but I am sure there is a high quarrel which at present I wish to have no hand in. . . ." The conflict continued, and in conversations with members of Congress, Lee charged that Franklin was neglecting his duties and misusing public funds. Despite his efforts, Lee was not able to oust Franklin for the majority in Congress continued to oppose his recall. Although Lee was unable to effect Franklin's removal, discontent with the Philadelphian remained since his failure to keep Congress informed of American affairs in France convinced many that he did not sufficiently occupy himself with public business. In these circumstances, Congress, concerned about the delay in forwarding military supplies, concluded that a consul was needed to perform commercial duties neglected by Franklin.

On October 25, 1780, Congress finally passed the following resolution:

That it is necessary to obtain as far as possible the supplies of clothing, medicines, arms, and ammunition re-



quested from his most Christian Majesty on loan; as well as without loss of time to import such of the clothing and other articles as have been granted, or purchased in France for the public use. That for these and other purposes a consul be appointed to reside in France, whose duty it shall be, in addition to his consular functions, to receive and forward all supplies to be obtained in that kingdom for the use of the United States, and to assist in directing our naval affairs.

For this new and challenging position, Congress unanimously chose William Palfrey, Paymaster General of the Continental Army. In early December Palfrey received his commission, becoming the first United States consul.

Exuberant over his appointment,

Palfrey wrote to Benjamin Harrison stressing that his new public office placed him in a unique position to conduct commercial operations. Hoping to make his fortune while serving the public, Palfrey in late December took passage on the sixteen-gun *Shillala*. The *Shillala* was never seen again and presumably foundered in a storm. Uncertain about Palfrey's fate, Congress in late June 1781, commissioned Thomas Barclay to serve as vice consul and perform Palfrey's duties during his absence from France. Barclay, a Philadelphia merchant, was well prepared for the naval and commercial aspects of his new assignment. He had previously served on the Penn-

sylvania Navy Board, and, in 1780, he was actively engaged in forwarding to Washington's army supplies furnished by the citizens of Philadelphia. Before he sailed for France in October 1781, Barclay reminded Congress that several vessels had arrived from Europe without news of the *Shillala*. After considering his dispatch, Congress concluded that a consul should be appointed to replace Palfrey and elected Barclay. After a month at sea, Barclay landed at L'Orient, France. In 1782, he presented his commission to the French Foreign Minister, Vergennes, and commenced his duties as the first United States consul to represent the new republic abroad.

A modest beginning though it was, the establishment of the consulate in France was still an important step in the development of the United States Consular Service. With the close of the Revolutionary War and the growth of foreign trade, Congress considered a more systematic yet economical provision for America's far-flung commercial and maritime needs. On October 28, 1785 it resolved that "ministers plenipotentiary of the United States, in Europe, and where there is no minister, the chargé des affaires shall exercise the powers of a consul general, for the kingdoms or states in which they respectively reside, provided that no additional salary be allowed for such service." Then in the following January consular representation was extended to the Orient. Samuel Shaw, a Boston merchant, was commissioned a United States consul, and together with his vice consul, Thomas Randall, sailed on the *Hope* for Canton.

THE FIRM establishment of a mature consular system came only after the adoption of the Constitution, and credit for this achievement falls chiefly to Thomas Jefferson, Washington's first Secretary of State. Turning to the problem of foreign representation shortly after his appointment, Jefferson quickly selected his nominees, and by late August 1790, twelve consuls and five vice consuls had been appointed. Thus, after a decade of hesitant experimentation, the consular service had finally been launched. ■

I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy.—George Washington

The Diplomat and Congress

WILLIAM MACOMBER

LOOKING BACK on the beginnings of what was to be a notable forty-year career of diplomatic service, Charles E. "Chip" Bohlen has written that the "workload at State was light and there were few crises to worry about." He added, "Virtually the only contact with the Congress was the annual review of the budget. . . . Regular closed-door hearings and the constant interchange of views which are now such a . . . part of the relations of State and the Congress were unknown in 1929." Of all the changed circumstances with which a modern American diplomat must contend, none has become more important than the vastly expanded interest, and role, of the Congress in foreign affairs.

In the early days of the republic, George Washington, as its first president, became involved in negotiating a treaty with the Indians. Mindful that the Constitution required that a treaty be made "with the advice and consent of the Senate," he journeyed one day to the Congress to consult about the proposed treaty with the members of the Senate, who were at that time only slightly more in total number than the present Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and considerably smaller in number than the present House Foreign Affairs Committee. Apparently,

the President received more advice than he had bargained for, and much of it not particularly to his liking. Legend reports his irritation, his abrupt departure from the Senate, and his emphatically expressed determination never to go there again.

He never did. And some might argue that this episode marked the beginnings of the difficulties between the American Congress and the executive in the field of foreign affairs.

Actually their roots predate this incident and lie in the wording of the Constitution itself. That document, so admirable in so many respects, causes much difficulty in this area. It does so by assigning certain clear foreign-policy powers to Congress as a whole, namely, to declare war, to regulate foreign commerce, to control appropriations—and to the Senate alone to authorize the ratification of treaties and to confirm presidential ambassadorial nominations. At the same time, it assigns other, roughly equal, powers to the executive, namely, to send and to receive ambassadors, to negotiate treaties, and to command the armed forces. Even more significant, with respect to many other powers, it remains totally silent.

Thus the Constitution, in the notable phrase of Professor Edward S. Corwin, is for the executive and legislative branches of this American government "an invitation to

struggle for the privilege of directing American foreign policy." The issue that is joined does not relate to who carries out foreign policy. That responsibility clearly belongs to the executive branch. The issue is over who controls the direction and content of that policy.

While the number of specific powers assigned to the Congress exceed those assigned to the President, it is generally assumed that the founding fathers intended that the President have the stronger role. . . . But while the executive has dominated through the years, the Congress has always retained very substantial power to influence foreign policy, whenever it chose to exercise that influence.

A significant fact is, however, that Congress for many years chose not to use that power or rather to do it spasmodically. In a sense it abdicated the struggle of which Professor Corwin speaks. The reason is clear enough; its focus of interest was elsewhere.

For many years the congressional focus was inward—on the westward expansion of the country, on the economic crises that periodically wracked it, on the issues which were to lead eventually to civil war. It pretty much left the President and the State Department alone in the foreign-policy field. . . .

This does not mean that there was not throughout our history continual contact on this subject,

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between the executive and the Congress. The first permanent committee the Congress established was the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and this naturally kept a monitoring eye on matters in this area.

When President Washington made his historic exit from the Senate, someone had to take up where he left off. The task fell to Thomas Jefferson, the first secretary of state, as it has fallen on every succeeding secretary of state.

The custom almost immediately developed for each secretary of state to designate a senior official on his staff to assist him in this task. The work was such that it rarely involved the rank and file of the department, as the young Chip Bohlen was to discover so many years later. In fact, it was sufficiently light that for many years the senior official responsible for this function could handle it in addition to other duties. He was aided by the fact that, appropriations matters aside, the State Department traditionally dealt primarily with one committee—the Foreign Relations Committee—in one body—the Senate—and on many matters with only one man, the chairman of that committee.

It is often said that the Senate's rejection of the Versailles Treaty following World War I marked the beginning of the end of the long period of relative congressional indifference to foreign-policy matters. Nevertheless, for fifteen years following that struggle, the Congress again lapsed into relative disinterest. A resurgence of interest came with the passage of the reciprocal trade legislation—involving the regulation of foreign commerce, a specific congressional power—in the early 1930s, and then with the gathering of the war clouds in Europe which presaged the coming of World War II.

It was at that point that members of Congress realized, once and for all, that what was happening beyond the seas was as important to them, and to their constituents, as any of their domestic concerns. Confirmed in this belief by the events of World War II, and what has happened since, they are not likely to lose interest again for years to come.

Since the mid- and late 1930s,

therefore, the Congress has been, in effect, battling itself back into the foreign-policy act. Its members have been doing so, however, under very serious disadvantages.

For many years the field had been left to the executive, which had fallen into deeply ingrained habits of handling these matters with a minimum of congressional interference. Habits of this kind become difficult to change.

In addition, it is the President, not the Congress, who sends ambassadors and receives them, who has the key information, who has the initiative, who commands the Armed Forces, who is one man in charge of his branch of government, not 535 persons struggling among themselves to control theirs. Moreover, it is to the President rather than to members of Congress, either collectively or singularly, that the American people traditionally turn for their basic foreign-policy leadership.

And if these obstacles were not enough, congressional efforts to play an increasingly key role were additionally handicapped by the fact that this desire coincided with the enormous increase in the complexity and range of American foreign interests and with the consequent proliferation of foreign-affairs interests and objectives throughout the executive branch.

The point of mentioning it again now is that once this proliferation began in the executive branch it was gradually duplicated in the Congress. It was soon not just the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which had a direct interest in such matters. As the Agriculture Department became involved in foreign policy, so did the Senate Agriculture Committee; as the Treasury Department's interests increased, so did the Senate Finance Committee's; and so on until almost every Senate committee had become involved. And because almost everything in foreign policy began, it seemed, soon to involve money, the House of Representatives also became a full participant in this process. Not just its Foreign Affairs Committee, but soon almost all of its committees also had legitimate and important interests in overseas developments and ties. . . .

In addition, the Congress, unlike the executive, has no single leader,

and nothing approaching an overall National Security Committee to play a counterpart role to the executive's National Security Council. The result is somewhat as though the executive branch were trying to operate with a series of more or less equal departments, but without a president or without any coordinating machinery—not once but twice over, because the Congress duplicates itself in both bodies.

When Congress passes a law in the foreign-affairs area, it has in effect made a coordinated decision and this decision is controlling on the executive. But a great deal is done by the executive in the foreign-affairs field, in contrast with the domestic front, which does not rely on, and generally is not controlled by, specific legislative action.

Nevertheless, congressional views can be critically important, even where the legislative process is not. But what are Congress's views? Surely they are as varied across the spectrum of Congress as they are initially across the executive-branch spectrum. The difference is that the executive has a president who with his supporting machinery can reach a conclusion. Congress often cannot make up its mind in such a definitive way. Often Congress ends, as it begins, with many viewpoints—with seriously adverse consequences on its influence.

Actually, the problems of proliferation were camouflaged for a time by a quirk of historical circumstance at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. During the very years that interest in foreign policy was spreading most rapidly throughout the Congress, the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate happened to be led, *seriatim*, by Senators Connally, Vandenberg, and George. Because of their unique personal standing in the Congress as a whole, their personal prestige and influence, these men were able to continue to constitute in their persons a natural focal point with which the State Department could continue to deal. They could be extremely tough negotiators, but, once convinced, they were generally able to bring the Congress with them.

At the other end of the avenue, the State Department was led simi-

larly during the latter portion of this period by three unusually strong secretaries: General George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and John Foster Dulles. Formidable figures in their own right and with the unflinching support of their presidents, these men represented in their persons a continuing focal point which, during the period of their incumbencies, suppressed from general view the degree to which the forces of proliferation were already at work in the executive branch.

For a little time more the executive-congressional relationship seemed to go on as it always had—that is, guided by, and conducted within, the simple dual-pole system that had operated for so many years, with the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee acting as the principal agent of the Congress and the Secretary of State playing a similar role for the executive.

Not until these unique figures had passed from the scene was it possible to sense just how much the proliferation of interest, and the determination to carve out myriad separate roles, had spread at both ends of the avenue. . . . With respect to the Congress, it has meant that the State Department, while still giving priority to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, must deal now with all the Congress, committee by committee, group by group, individual by individual.

It is an endless task, one certainly that the assistant secretary charged with directing this, long since a full-time responsibility, cannot hope, with his own small staff, to fulfill. For this reason, as the years have gone on, more and more of the department's diplomatic personnel, from the most senior to the most junior, have become involved in the testimony, briefings, and other contacts which now make up the massive intercourse which daily takes place between the State Department and the Congress. The focus of these contacts is in Washington, but with the advent of congressional travel abroad, a surprising amount of it takes place in embassies as well.

All this represents for the modern diplomat a major added ingredient to his job. For some time

he has been required to understand foreign parliaments, but he has, until relatively recently, been separated from direct involvement in the tumult and turmoil of his own. And the job of persuading his Congress to a particular action, or to support a particular policy, is an almost entirely new responsibility. In the past, this was taken on, when necessary, by the relatively few specialists, or very senior officers, and was not his concern.

It is fashionable in the press and elsewhere to criticize congressional travel as junkets, boondoggling, and a waste of taxpayers' money. Congressmen themselves are aware of these charges and sometimes are reluctant to travel because of them. . . .

Embassies should especially welcome congressional visitors. Washington is the congressman's home turf, and his dealings with American diplomats have a different chemistry there than they do abroad. In Washington, the diplomat, figuratively, and often quite literally, looks up at a raised horseshoe of congressional inter-rogators. Abroad, the relationship alters. The congressman does not have to take an instant formal position on all that is said. He has come to learn, and it is the diplomat who knows. The good ones come as students with the raised-dais atmosphere totally absent. Temporarily separated from many of the burdens that harass them in Washington, they can devote themselves exclusively to the subject at hand as they often cannot at home. And while members of Congress rarely single out for special praise American diplomats they have first encountered in Washington, time and again they will speak well of a diplomatic official they have met abroad.

There is still another benefit to be gathered from congressional visits. While it is the embassy, not members of Congress, which conducts the nation's business abroad, legislators have a much greater sense of being on the same team when they are overseas together than they do in the atmosphere of the legislative-executive rivalry at home. As a result, they have proven time and again to be of invaluable help, in their talks with host country officials, in underscoring previously expressed embassy

viewpoints and supporting embassy objectives. Occasionally, their conduct can be unhelpful, but this is relatively rare. Taken in the balance, the pluses of congressional travel outweigh the minuses by a convincing margin.

Unfortunately if a member of Congress were asked to sum up in one word his feelings on his foreign-policy role, that word would be "frustration." The source of this frustration is, of course, in part the executive. But in large part it lies closer to home. Outsiders forget sometimes how intensely competitive Congress is within itself.

If a member wishes to promote a congressionally sponsored initiative in the foreign-affairs area, his first and often most difficult hurdles will come, not from the executive, but from the opposition or inertia of his own colleagues, and from the jurisdictional and personal rivalries and combativeness which abound in both bodies. And this will be so regardless of whether the executive favors or opposes the particular initiative in question. The great bulk of congressional initiatives are generally smothered in this way, and the fact that many of them deserve to be does not lessen the feeling of frustration on the part of their sponsor. And occasionally, an initiative which is suppressed in this way deserves a better fate.

If, by the exercise of very considerable legislative skill, a member surmounts the odds against him and secures favorable action in his own chamber, he has still to get his idea approved by the other body—which can also be a competitive, combative experience, and a source of further frustration, again whether or not the executive has a view for or against.

The result is that it often seems to the legislator that the many conflicting ideas at loose in the Congress present for the executive what is in effect a menu, from which it can choose more or less what it likes. Relatively few such ideas reach the point of having such overwhelming congressional support that they become musts which the executive must accept. As for the others, the executive, it seems, simply pursues the ones it approves, and ignores the ones it does not. It is a frustrating situation, indeed, for those members who

would like to guide the executive, rather than simply to offer a range of choices.

And finally if merit, legislative skill, and fortuitous circumstances combine to produce favorable action in both houses, it often seems to the frustrated sponsor that the executive branch, accustomed to going its own way for so many years in the foreign-affairs field, will still find a way to circumvent congressional wishes.

The frustration does not simply run one way. President Kennedy is reported to have said that when he was in Congress, he did not think it had much influence, and it was not until he got to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue that he fully appreciated how much influence and power it truly had. In any event, from the vantage point of the executive, Congress has impressive power in the foreign-affairs field, regardless of many of its members' conclusions to the contrary.

The frustration comes for the executive, and for its diplomats, because it so often seems that congressional force is used for negative and disruptive purposes. As the member of Congress is frustrated by his seeming lack of influence, so the diplomat feels put upon by what seems to him a much too frequent undermining by the Congress of the critical undertakings in which he is engaged.

A certain amount of mutual frustration is not, of course, a serious matter. The founding fathers built it into most constitutional relationships, and it would be unnatural if it were ever totally absent. To use Secretary Acheson's phrase, the relations between the Congress and the executive "were not designed to be restful."

Congress, however, cannot expect to take over in the foreign-affairs area. History, and the logic of the very different circumstances under which the two branches must operate, not to mention the general expectations of the people, clearly point to the President's continued leadership in this field.

But the importance of Congress, and its deep involvement, in foreign affairs is also here to stay. There is no turning back. And while a certain amount of consequent frustration is natural and inevitable, this can, if it is allowed

to get out of hand, have disastrous consequences on the strength and stability of the nation's foreign policy. As the years go on, better ways must be found to clarify the roles of these two great branches of government. And important efforts, too, must be made to ensure that they complement one another more, and frustrate each other somewhat less. It is an unfolding process in which many answers are left for the future.

It is a process, however, in which certain truths have already emerged. . . . It is clear that modern American diplomats cannot avoid altogether being pulled into the hurly-burly of active and often combative executive-congressional relationships, and through this to some degree into the nation's domestic and partisan political processes. The President cannot be brought before the Congress on foreign policy matters, but the diplomat as the President's agent can. His first loyalty is to the chief executive, and this can, on occasion, in a directly personal sense, result in congressional an-

The diplomats will find that all presidents they serve, no matter how different in other respects, are militantly determined to leave the powers of their office intact for their successors.

tagonism which may subsequently encumber his career.

This is a risk the diplomat can never eliminate altogether. He can limit it considerably, however, if he zealously avoids ever being "cute" in his dealings with Congress. Such dealings almost always stand revealed, and the consequences to the perpetrator can be disastrous and lasting. He must tell the truth. Discretion permits him not to tell all he knows, but what is said must be straightforward and accurate, and if something is withheld, it must be done in a way so as not to mislead.

In talking to members, he must also guard against the tendency to tailor what is said to what are known to be his listeners' views and inclinations. When I first became active in the State Department's congressional liaison ac-

tivities, Senator Styles Bridges and the young Senator Hubert Humphrey represented two poles of conservative-liberal thinking in the Senate. I found it a useful device as I was briefing either on a particular subject to make certain that I was using the same words I would use with the other. That can burden an individual interview, but it is as good a device as I know to strengthen long-time credibility and trust.

No matter how able the American diplomat becomes in this overall field, however, he will learn that just as the relations between nations are no tea party, neither are they between the executive and legislative branches of his own government. The legislative is generally in an aggressive, predatory mood, belatedly determined to expand its role in the foreign-affairs field. On the other hand, the diplomats will find that all presidents they serve, no matter how different in other respects, are militantly determined to leave the powers of their office intact for their successors—and this specifically includes leaving the influence of the presidency undiminished in the foreign-affairs area.

The diplomat who operates on the assumption that he knows more about a subject than the member of Congress he is briefing, or before whom he is testifying, is often in for a shock. Unlike diplomats, members of Congress do not inevitably rotate to a new job every few years. As a result, a member who has been in the Congress for a long time, and who has taken a long-time interest in a particular foreign-policy subject, may well know considerably more about it than the diplomat-witness appearing before him. . . .

The Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees of the House and Senate respectively often feel themselves at a disadvantage in passing judgment on the work of the State Department, when they are largely dependent, in the reaching of that judgment, on the information being supplied to them by the department itself.

As a result, diplomats will see these two committees constantly seeking supplementary and independent sources of information and opinion. One solution, pursued from time to time, is the expansion

of the committees' professional staffs. This can turn into an endless process, and what the nation's interest does not need is the building of a large and competing new bureaucracy in the foreign-affairs business.

Other alternative sources the members seek to exploit include the press, and the expertise lodged on university campuses, and the General Accounting Office, a congressional instrumentality used increasingly to audit policy rather than just accounts. Still another important source the committees cultivate and encourage to be forthcoming are the executive's other departments and agencies actively engaged in foreign affairs.

The attitude of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee toward these other government departments and agencies is significant, however. They are quite prepared to use them, as a cross check for both information and viewpoint, in their efforts to judge the work of the State Department. They are strongly opposed, on the other hand, to these other departments' being allowed to make inroads on the State Department's influence and authority. Here, of course, there is an important consideration of self-interest. The State Department is "their" department. The other departments are basically oriented to other committees of the Congress As a result, diplomats can generally count on "their" two committees to play a key role through the years as critical, but protective, parents.

As it is in the case of all executive branch departments, the passage of the State Department's annual budget appropriation is of key importance to all its personnel. The effort to obtain the appropriation each year, however, tends to be a job for specialists in the department rather than for the rank and file of its members. It is a highly specialized task, largely involving technical witnesses and budget experts, rather than the population of the department as a whole.

All diplomats would do well to understand the appropriations process better, however, and especially to have a clearer picture of where the main difficulty lies. The general impression is that the often

severe and unwarranted budget stringencies which are inflicted upon the State Department are primarily the result of shortsighted congressional attitudes. Often, it is not what happens in that forum which is the problem. It is what happens on the way to the forum which causes the trouble. For example, in the years when I was responsible for the department's budget, while congressional attitudes were responsible for some key shortages—notably in official entertainment allowances—the bulk of the problem lay with the government's central Budget Bureau.

Despite its occasionally caustic oratory, it was a little-recognized fact that the Congress quietly appropriated almost everything the department asked for. The crippling cuts were imposed ahead of time by the Executive Budget Bureau, through its inhibiting what the department was allowed to request. Despite the fact that the State Department's budget was lower than any other department's in the executive branch, it seemed (in an admittedly not altogether objective view) to be subject to a level of Executive Budget Bureau scrutiny which many other departments, with powerful lobbies behind them, appeared to escape.

Far more crucial in many instances than the legislative relationships for the diplomat is the consultative one. The objective here is to ascertain congressional attitudes on foreign-policy developments, and to ensure that these attitudes are taken into account as policy is developed by the State Department and the executive branch as a whole. The task, of course, is a difficult one, for Congress does not speak with one voice, and it often confronts the executive with a gamut of widely diverse opinions.

The consultative process is not simply for ascertaining attitudes; it is for conditioning them, as well. This involves keeping the Congress informed of all important foreign policy developments, actual and anticipated, and explaining the State Department judgment as to the true factors involved. It entails explaining their significance, and what in the department's judgment should be done about them. . . .

This effort must lie at the heart of

the congressional liaison program, and the reason is simple enough. For despite constitutional ambiguities, the basic fact is that no policy is going to be successful if anything like 51 per cent of the Congress is mobilized against it. This is true regardless of whether legislative action is required or not.

Put another way, for a policy to succeed, it does not, unless legislation is directly involved, require having 51 per cent of the Congress mobilized for it. But it cannot have over half the Congress organized against it. If it does, it will fail no matter how sound it may intrinsically be, because it simply won't be credible.

Opposition to a policy, if it is strongly felt and well organized, can have a serious impact, even if it emanates from considerably fewer than 51 per cent of the Congress's total membership. The opposition to the Vietnam War policy is a case in point. In the end, the percentage of opposition was very high, but for several critically important earlier years, when the opposition ran only between 25 and 30 per cent of the Senate and 12 and 15 per cent of the House, it managed to be of great importance, nevertheless. (Its impact was abetted by the fact that in the Senate this opposition was strategically centered in that body's leadership, and in its Foreign Relations Committee.)

To carry out an effective consultation program, it has become necessary to mobilize a large portion of the human resources of the State Department. From the Secretary on down, a vast number of departmental officials must of necessity spend long hours diverted from their other duties, consulting with, and explaining to, the Congress.

In this process of seeking congressional support, the Department of State, unlike many other departments, does not, as previously noted, have the support of a constituency of its own in the body politic. . . . The State Department . . . must rely entirely on its persuasive powers and on the logic of its position.

On the whole, this process has worked fairly well, but no thoughtful person can fail to be concerned by the problems which confront the department.

The sheer burden of the department
(Continued on page 29)

The nation must, to a degree, take it on faith that we, too, are honorable men devoted to her service.—Richard M. Helms

The CIA Investigation Asking the Unthinkable?

THOMAS A. DONOVAN

IT SEEMS likely, when the Senate's investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency is finally behind us, that new and stronger barriers to Agency involvement in domestic affairs will have been erected. It is much less likely that any substantial changes will have been imposed on the Agency's activities overseas. Too many Senators have explained that the investigation is not a threat to the Agency's continuing ability to carry out its "basic mission" for us to expect from the Congress any real change in CIA's mandate for clandestine intelligence collection beyond our borders.

This is a pity, for there is need for a careful look at this "basic mission." We should ask: Should we not, while retaining within the agency's sphere of operations all of its present open intelligence-collection activities, put an end to its present excessive preoccupation

with the collection of information by the traditional methods of espionage?

We would still have our observation satellites overhead. We would still listen to (and if we are clever enough, even read) other people's radio traffic. We would continue, as in the past, to learn what we could from knowledgeable defectors and other walk-in document deliverers, such as Oleg Penkovsky. We would still take normal counter-intelligence precautions. Moreover, we would still have in an above-board way, our batteries of intelligence analysts making their customarily careful analyses. We have been told by CIA spokesmen that the overwhelming bulk of the information worked over by agency analysts emanates from more or less open sources, and only a tiny percentage comes from the products of traditional spy work.

As for agency officers at CIA stations in embassies and consulates through the world, we could keep them on the job, going to cocktail parties and circulating as conventional diplomats do. The unconventional but sophisticated political reporting talents of agency personnel abroad already largely

focused on and concerned with open available information, are an asset that would not be diminished by depriving them of their authorization to act, for a few hours each week, like characters in a spy novel. All in all, then, an abrupt end to the shabby expedients now indulged in by our collectors of (or rather, lookers for) clandestine political intelligence would be a long way indeed from total intelligence disarmament.

Certainly the record does not suggest that Russia's immense investment of men and money in clandestine intelligence collection has been all that useful. The Soviets have been taken by surprise quite as often as, perhaps oftener than their Western rivals. They did not expect that Nkrumah would be overthrown in Ghana or that Sukarno would fall in Indonesia. They did not foresee that the United States would take pictures of the missiles in Cuba, or react to them as it did. They have been as often surprised by startling developments in East Europe as the rest of us. Yet in all of these countries the Soviets have long possessed large clandestine intelligence-collection programs, and in some of them they have even con-

Thomas A. Donovan, FSO-retired, served at Prague, The Hague, Frankfurt, Warsaw, Berlin, Khorramshahr and in the Department before his retirement in the late '60s. Reprinted with permission from Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York, New York 10016.

trolled the local intelligence apparatuses.

Is it, then, worthwhile for us as a nation to have on the payroll at Langley a set of specialized civil servants to collect information for us by burglary, bribery and blackmail? For this is what we are really talking about in our sanitized language about the Agency's "basic mission" to collect clandestine intelligence.

My own experience, as an information collector and intelligence processor of sorts in the Foreign Service and the State Department, is that we could get along nicely without blackmail, bribery and burglary. No one who has not gone abroad on a diplomatic assignment can appreciate how much our representatives overseas are handicapped by the reasonable suspicion that they have been sent to bribe or blackmail their way into possession of the classified internal trivia of another country's bureaucratic machinery of government. Certainly, in my own tours of duty in Eastern Europe I have appreciated the legitimate anxiety of casual foreign acquaintances as to whether I was other than I seemed to be. Was I, under diplomatic cover, someone whose organizational imperatives made it routine for him to be ready to ruin the lives of his foreign contacts—in the presumed "national interest" of the United States, but in practice mostly to win points for himself in his home organization?

I have firsthand knowledge of one such Agency effort. The victim was a young member of the Czechoslovak Mission in West Berlin who had the misfortune to meet, and subsequently to be propositioned by, a free-lance American journalist whose acquaintance he made at a dinner in my home in West Berlin.

My role in the matter seemed harmless. I inferred correctly enough that the journalist whom I was asked (by an agency employee in the US Mission) to invite to my house was not, in fact, a legitimate American correspondent. I had never heard of the news agency listed on his calling card. Though I knew, therefore, that I was being used by the Agency to help bring these two men together (this is why I took up the agency man on his offer to pick up the tab on the cost

of the dinner)—I rather simply-mindedly supposed that this was an inconsequential favor on my part. The Czech would be too wily to bite, I assumed, and if I didn't make the meeting possible somehow else would.

Several years later in Washington, a professor friend from MIT just back from a trip to Prague, told me he had met somebody I knew. My young Czech diplomat had been assigned to escort him about Prague. Why was he no longer in the diplomatic service?, the professor had asked. The young Czech had candidly replied that he had accepted an invitation to dinner at an American diplomat's house in West Berlin and there he met an

Can one wonder, from the above instance, that suspicious security services in even the backwaters of the world now feel they cannot afford to be indifferent to the comings and goings of US newsmen?

American correspondent who made him an offer to work for the American intelligence service. He turned down the offer and informed his superiors. But they, in the way of intelligence organizations—and maybe this was what the agency had had in mind all along—called him home and cashiered him. After all, if the Americans could have had reason to suppose he might be a weak link in Czechoslovak security, then better to play it safe and put him on the shelf in Prague.

An unimportant enough affair in the end, no doubt. Diplomats have to live with such hazards. But now it is no longer just the diplomats who come under a cloud from this sort of thing. Whole professions have been tainted by reasonable doubts as to their bona fides. Can one wonder, from the above instance, that suspicious security services in even the backwaters of the world now feel they cannot afford to be indifferent to the comings and goings of US newsmen?

The Senate investigators should ask, at long last, whether the national interest is really served by having this unworthy and ultimately useless activity continue to

be carried on by career civil servants of the United States government. The Senators must go beyond a limited effort to satisfy themselves that the clandestine arm of the agency henceforth operates more clearly within the agency's charter. They must redraw the agency's "basic mission" to exclude the kind of reliance on blackmail, bribery and burglary that has become such a characteristic feature of clandestine intelligence collection. No amount of fussing with the agency's operating instructions—no new ordinances specifying, say, what kinds of newspapermen may or may not be used in what kind of operations—nothing of this kind will set things right.

The Senators have, anyway, a unique opportunity to seek an answer to the question of whether our own record over the last 25 years shows clearly and decisively that slavish imitation of the Soviet KGB has promoted our real national interests in any significant way.

They might try to balance the Agency's inflated and thus far undocumented claims to occasional modest successes against its all too painful failures. The committee should satisfy itself, for example, as to whether the Agency has needed its license to practice blackmail, bribery and burglary beyond our borders in its much vaunted performance in gaining possession of the text of Khrushchev's secret speech of 1956 on the crimes of Stalin. In fact, several copies of the speech were simply passed to US officials abroad by foreign Communists who were anxious to get it into general circulation quickly and who were indifferent to the fact that a decision would be taken in Washington to treat the windfall as a coup of CIA's clandestine intelligence collectors.

At any rate, my own exposure—in a Foreign Service career of 25 years—to a representative cross-section of the Top Secret output of the collectors of clandestine political intelligence convinced me that the game of authorized blackmail, bribery and burglary has been worth as little abroad as at home. The Senators will conclude as much, I suspect, if they try to see for themselves. ■

An outsider's perspective, based on seven months' service at State as a speechwriter for Secretary Kissinger, of . . .

FOREIGN SERVICE REFORM: A View from HEW

LAWRENCE M. MEAD

CIRCUMSTANCES give me, in my belief, the chance to provide an unusual perspective on the issue of Foreign Service reform. I thought I had foreclosed any involvement in the Foreign Service when I became a civil servant in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare but serving as a speechwriter for Secretary Kissinger gave me the chance to learn about the Service and to compare State to HEW as institutions. This comparison, which has been unusual in the past, leads to unexpected suggestions about Foreign Service reform.

I became interested in the reform issue while writing several projected statements for Secretary Kissinger on the subject of "institutionalization." But I want to stress that my views on reform relate in no clear way to his—they neither endorse nor oppose them.

Some other qualifications are necessary. My views consider only how to reform the Foreign Service Officer Corps, not the rest of the

Foreign Service. They consider primarily the shortcomings of State as a policy-making institution in Washington, not the performance of FSOs as diplomats and reporters in the field. I speak primarily on the basis of the personal comparison I made between HEW and State; I am not an expert on the reform issue nor, of course, experienced in the Foreign Service.

I take the "problem" of the Foreign Service to be the mutual distrust which divides FSOs from the senior officials of the Department. The leading officials feel that FSOs are able and conscientious, but that few have genuine initiative, imagination, and responsiveness to the needs of decision-makers at the top. The Officer Corps, for its part, accepts the need for political leadership, but feels that these leaders unjustly bypass it and seek their policy advice from outside sources.

Two explanations are commonly given for the problem. One is that State faces competition from the National Security Council and other agencies for the leadership of American foreign policy. This allegedly depresses Departmental morale and forces the leaders of State to take their policy cues from outside the Department. But it is hard to believe that this structural problem can be as serious as the structural problem within State itself. For no other institution could seriously compete with State, with its vast staff resources and diplomatic network, if the institution were strong within itself.

The other reason given refers to personalities—the authoritarian tendencies of the Secretary (who-

ever he is at the moment) and the submissiveness of the Officer Corps. These characterizations have some truth to them, but they are not persuasive as basic causes of the problem. The principal officials and FSOs should naturally be predisposed to work well together. Each group needs the other to be successful. The principals—however knowledgeable they may be—cannot do without the Foreign Service to provide policy analysis and representation abroad. The Foreign Service cannot do without strong political leadership. The Officer Corps unquestionably has the ability to serve the Secretary well. If the two cannot work together, some ulterior force must be driving them apart.

In my view, the problem is caused by the hierarchical structure of the State Department as an institution. The sheer weight of the bureaucracy works to divide FSOs from their political leaders. It gives the principals an opportunity to exercise arbitrary and unquestioned power which few men could resist. It works to grind down the native initiative and intelligence of FSOs, so that they do not serve the principals with zeal. The issue of power and participation within the Department gives each side a standing grievance against the other. It makes them into rivals for control of the institution rather than the allies they should be in the conduct of American foreign policy.

The basis for this conclusion is simply a comparison of State with HEW. The peculiar nature of State is probably more visible to an outsider than to most FSOs, who have

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Most FSOs did not feel their contribution to the Department was vital. They assumed their work would be rewritten or duplicated by the seventh-floor staff.

spent their professional lives within the institution. When Alexis de Tocqueville came to America, his experience of France's hierarchical monarchy gave him the perspective necessary to see the pluralist nature of the United States. When I came to State from HEW, I had the perspective gained, as it were, by going from the United States to France.

The Contrast of HEW and State

HEW, like America, is pluralist and decentralized. It is a loose coalition of agencies rather than a single, hierarchical bureaucracy. There has to be an entire agency—the Office of the Secretary—for the sole purpose of coordinating the myriad operating agencies and bureaus.

The important point is that this pluralist structure leads to very broad-based participation in policy-making. There are so many centers of power that policy decisions require an elaborate internal political process. Innovations cannot be hatched or imposed from on high. They have to be discussed between the operating agency and the Office of the Secretary, and then with all the other affected agencies, and then with OMB and the legislative and appropriations committees of Congress.

The policy process actually *requires* extensive participation by HEW employees. Most professionals are involved to some extent—budget and technical people as well as managers and planners. They have the *obligation*, as well as the opportunity, to make their views felt. Otherwise the internal political process could not be carried on. Decisions tend to be taken collectively, by all those involved in an issue, rather than by bureaucratic superiors acting alone. A person's ability to contribute and get things done is more important than his formal position in the hierarchy.

Participation promotes a sense of

responsibility and accountability. There is responsibility because participation in policy is an obligation as well as a privilege. Even junior HEW professionals know that what they do will make a difference to the policy process. Their jobs, which are often specialized, overlap with higher-level jobs less than at State, where junior FSOs have the same skills in diplomacy and political analysis as their superiors. There is accountability because HEW policy-makers know, just as well, that their staffs have to perform. They are required to make too many, often technical decisions to do all their own analysis. They depend actively on the thinking of even junior subordinates. Therefore, they apply sanctions to reward good work and penalize bad.

At State, I found the atmosphere entirely different. In HEW there had been an air of bustle, disorder, and egalitarianism, as men and women rushed papers between offices or met together on problems with little regard for rank. At State, all was quiet and deferential. Dark-suited FSOs paced the silent corridors. The dignity of diplomacy was pervasive. Rank was strictly observed in dealings within and between offices. And all power and initiative was thought to reside among "the principals" on "the seventh floor."

State was organized more hierarchically than HEW and had fewer centers of initiative. At least two bureaucratic levels separated the desk level from the policy-makers on the sixth and seventh floors, and the top men depended much less on the bureaus than in HEW. I was told by FSOs that embassies abroad were usually hierarchical too, with policy involvement often confined to the ambassador and his most senior advisors. The result was a demoralization of most FSOs by the belief that they played almost no role in making American foreign policy.

Low participation led to a low sense of responsibility and accountability. Most FSOs did not feel their contribution to the Department was vital. They assumed their work would be rewritten or duplicated by the seventh-floor staff. The principals, for their part, relied heavily on their personal aides and did not expect consistent support from the bureaus. They did

not enforce a firm sense of accountability for good work below the Assistant Secretary level.

The hierarchical style of the Department made it almost impossible for the bureaus to work *with* the seventh floor. As a speechwriter, I wanted, in the style of HEW, to work *with* the bureaus on toasts and other statements for the Secretary. But I found the issue of authority prevented us cooperating as equals. On the one hand, my superiors expected me to provide material to meet the Secretary's requirements, even if it meant denying the bureaus much say. On the other, the bureaus were so used to exclusion and criticism by the seventh floor that they were unable or unwilling to play a role even when it was genuinely offered. As an outsider, I was well aware of my relative ignorance of foreign affairs. But I found the bureaus were hesitant about helping me or sharing responsibility for the final product with me.

The contrast between HEW and State must be attributed to differences in organization, not differences in type of personnel. Otherwise, the contrast between the two departments might be reversed. HEW people usually had fairly specialized and technical, rather than generalist, talents. FSOs were nearly all generalists by background and temperament, even though their job experience had given them specialized competences in diplomacy and language and area skills. HEW people often just wanted to get on with their specialties and not be distracted by policy wrangling. FSOs, on the other hand, sought policy involvement above anything else. By themselves, HEW people might prefer a fairly structured bureaucracy that confined policy responsibilities to the top echelons, while FSOs should prefer an unstructured, collegial organization that would let them all participate in policy as individuals and peers.

It is the organizations which have imposed the opposite outcomes. HEW's pluralist structure forces its specialists to engage in internal politics and policy-making in spite of themselves. And State's hierarchy forces generalist FSOs into highly defined and bureaucratic jobs that contradict their natures and deny them the policy in-

volvement they seek.

A Tocquevillian comparison of HEW and State, then, is instructive. A difference of structure seems to explain a difference of spirit. In HEW, as in America, vitality follows from a pluralist organization with many centers of initiative. In State, as in France, inner conflict follows from a hierarchical organization which confines meaningful policy participation to the top echelons. The influence of structure overwhelms the influence of the people in each department, who by themselves would probably seek to make HEW more hierarchical and State less hierarchical than it is. We should not overdraw the contrast. HEW had its authoritarian aspects, and participation was not unknown at State. But a large difference of degree is clear.

HEW could not be called a better department in general. The virtues of HEW's pluralism entail corresponding vices, and State derives strengths as well as weaknesses from its greater sense of hierarchy. HEW suffers severely from internal disorder, paralysis, and lack of coordination, while State is comparatively orderly, resolute, and obedient. To change State's organization in the direction of HEW would carry a price of greater internal confusion, unless countermeasures were taken.

There are also good reasons, stretching to the roots of our political system, why the two departments are organized as they are. State is hierarchical, at bottom, because foreign policy has been run by the President and because it must deal with foreign countries and the possibility of conflict. Therefore, State is organized for command by the President and Secretary alone, and for resolute and decisive action in the face of emergency abroad. A reason why policy participation is closely confined is that highly sensitive issues are involved. Confidentiality depends to a large extent on personal trust, and no Secretary could extend the circle of his trust indefinitely.

HEW, on the other hand, is immersed in a very pluralist domestic political process. Its agencies must be responsive to Congress and interest groups as well as to the President. This gives each agency an independent political and legis-

Therefore, State is organized for command by the President and Secretary alone, and for resolute and decisive action in the face of emergency abroad. A reason why policy participation is closely confined is that highly sensitive issues are involved.

lative base and prevents the President or Secretary establishing exclusive control. Confidentiality is almost unimportant; it would even obstruct the political process of assembling broad support for proposals. The pluralism of HEW reflects the pluralism of our government and nation as a whole.

Nevertheless, the example of HEW should be instructive to State. The comparison strongly suggests that a change to a less hierarchical organization would go far towards solving the severe morale problem in the Officer Corps. No attempt at Foreign Service reform can be meaningful unless it considers a fairly radical leveling of the bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic Reform

It is surprising to find, therefore, that past reform efforts have not drawn comparisons between State and other departments. Nor have they addressed the issue of the bureaucracy as such. A survey written for the Murphy Commission covering the major reform documents since the Rogers Act (including the Wriston, Herter, Hoover, and AFSA Reports, the Crockett reform program, and "Diplomacy for the '70s") shows that reform debate has revolved around four fairly limited questions:

1. How to give the Secretary unquestioned control over the Department, for example by rationalizing lines of authority among the principals and giving greater power to the Office of the Secretary and the Executive Secretariat.
2. Whether, or how, to amalgamate the Foreign Service with the Departmental Service, meaning that part of the State Department professional staff still hired under the civil service.
3. How to clarify the relationship of State, both in Washington and in foreign capitals, to the other agencies involved in foreign policy—AID, USIA, ACDA, Defense, the

NSC, and the White House.

4. How to improve the competence of FSOs in certain functional skills, such as economics, management, and planning (the FAPS, CASP, and PARA planning systems) through changes in recruitment, training, and promotion policies.

All these problems are narrowly bureaucratic. And the solutions advanced have generally proposed the addition of more bureaucracy. Even though little improvement has been achieved, the more recent reports continue the same tradition. "Diplomacy for the '70s," for example, proposes the addition of more planning and management structures. Recent proposals by the Murphy Commission and Secretary Kissinger may foreshadow helpful changes in recruitment, promotion, training, assignment, and planning arrangements. But they do not address the basic structural weakness of the Department. The basic opposition between the principals and the Officer Corps remains.

Radical Reform

The fundamental solution can be found only in a radical reform to make the Department less bureaucratic. The model can be found in the institutions which now compete most successfully with the Foreign Service for influence over policy: the National Security Council, OMB, and State's own seventh floor. A more complete contrast to the style of the bulk of State cannot be imagined. All three are organized, like much of HEW, in a horizontal, collegial manner. There is minimal hierarchy—minimized still more by the routine inclusion of junior staffers in senior-level meetings. Involvement in policy is intense at all levels, and so is the sense of responsibility and accountability.

Of course, one reason the NSC and the seventh floor can be organized horizontally is that they are

smaller than State. If the Officer Corps were to be organized this way, it would have to be substantially reduced in size. Important decisions of the past which had the effect of enlarging the Corps would have to be reconsidered. The decision to amalgamate the Foreign and Departmental Services would have to be partially reversed, leaving FSOs with the home-based policy and analytical jobs but returning administrative and technical jobs to civil service personnel. Similarly, the trend of the 1960s toward filling consular and administrative posts with generalist-type FSOs would have to be reversed, returning these jobs to specialists either inside or outside the Foreign Service.

The point of these changes would be to keep FSO generalists from having to do technical and administrative work. The Officer Corps cannot become less bureaucratic unless it ceases to do bureaucratic jobs. The tasks of administrative and consular officers are as vital to the Department as any others. But people of the generalist type simply cannot do such highly structured jobs in good spirit. Forcing jobs like these on FSOs is a major cause of the present discontent. The FSOs must be given the policy involvement they prefer, and the bureaucratic jobs must be given to specialists who can do them justice.

Finally, the number of political and economic officers would have to be cut to that number that could be organized in a collegial fashion and meaningfully involved in policy-making. These officers alone would constitute the Foreign Service Officer Corps. The number would probably be larger than the present seventh-floor staff and their equivalents abroad, but smaller than the total number of political and economic officers now in the Corps. The selection would be made on the basis of analytical abilities, substantive expertise, and a willingness to assume the heavier responsibilities which would go with greater policy involvement.

The Officer Corps would now be distinct from the administrative staff in Washington and from administrative and consular officers abroad. The official relationship and names of the different services are relatively unimportant. All

could remain part of the "Foreign Service," preserving the intention of the Rogers Act and amalgamation to have a single service. The important thing is that each should have a style of recruitment and organization congruent with its kind of work. The FSOs would be generalists, organized in a collegial manner, and doing the policy-making, analytical, and diplomatic jobs they like best. The other officers would be specialists, organized in a more bureaucratic manner, and doing the more technical and administrative jobs.

It would be important that the services not be superior or inferior to each other. The desire to suppress invidious distinctions among State's personnel was a strong motive for the expansions of the Foreign Service undertaken by the Rogers Act and amalgamation. It should be understood that the reason for reducing and reorganizing the Officer Corps is not to make it superior, but to prevent its demoralization by bureaucratic jobs. A consequence of doing this is actually to expand the relative number of specialist and administrative officers and recognize their importance more distinctly than before.

A reformed Foreign Service would still have to meet its external responsibilities. As mentioned, State's duties to respond to the President and Secretary and deal with foreign conflict demand organizational qualities of obedience and decisiveness. These could be compromised if more people participated in policy-making. There would have to be countermeasures such as strict time limits on internal debate and strict enforcement of the convention that an FSO must carry out and publicly support decisions of which he or she disapproves. On the other hand, a smaller, more involved Officer Corps would lack one major motive for resistance and disobedience in the past—resentment at being excluded from decisions.

The most serious form of dissension is leaks to the press. The problem must be faced, because broader policy participation would depend vitally on the Secretary's—any Secretary's—willingness to extend trust to a wider circle than now. Essentially, FSOs would have to accept a complete

separation between their participation within the Department and their wider political participation as citizens in the press and other forums. They would have to undertake more binding commitments to secrecy than now, and these would have to be enforced by more severe and effective sanctions. Many FSOs would be unwilling to pay the price. Nor would it be easy to justify stiffer measures against disclosures in the present political atmosphere. The confidentiality problem may be the greatest practical obstacle to radical reform.

Opposition and Opportunity

For many reasons, opposition to the proposed reform within the Department would be severe. The reason is that both the seventh floor and the rest of the Department derive important prerogatives from the present hierarchy. The seventh floor can ignore the bureaus and decide foreign policy alone. The bureaus can avoid any pressing sense of responsibility for the work of the Department. Under a reformed structure, both sides would have to give up their defenses. They would be thrown together for the first time. They would have to meet each others' demands as never before.

The demands would be severe. With a smaller Officer Corps organized collegially, there would no longer be a separate seventh floor staff. The principals would have to depend on the bureaus and share policy-making with them more intimately than ever before. The test of their ability to work cooperatively would be great. But at the same time, the bureaus would be responsible and accountable as never before. For the principals would now rely on them *alone*. If the average FSO did his or her work poorly, there would be no back-up. The Secretary would simply be ill served. Every FSO would have to shoulder responsibilities, as well as enjoy privileges, which are known today only on the seventh floor.

But the rewards, also, would be great. FSOs would obtain the policy involvement they have always sought. The principals would obtain from them the really dedicated support they need. And State as a whole could realize its promise in the leadership of American foreign policy. ■

Neither Heaven Nor Commissions Nor Professors Spare Us

INSIDE FOREIGN POLICY, by John H. Esterline and Robert B. Black. Mayfield Publishing Co., \$4.95 (paperback).

FOREIGN POLICY AND THE BUREAUCRATIC PROCESS: *The State Department's Country Director System*, by William I. Bacchus. Princeton, \$14.95.

A THEORY OF PUBLIC BUREAUCRACY: *Politics, Personality and Organization in the State Department*, by Donald P. Warwick, in collaboration with Marvin Meade and Theodore Reed. Harvard.

WE ARE NOT exactly an overlooked establishment. Nor are we blessed by much of the literature concerning us. The establishment, more often in part than in whole, has been examined and "explained" in works as widely ranging as Bertram D. Hulen's "Inside the State Department," which was not much inside anything; the tirades of Robert Bendiner, Bryton Barron and Ellis Briggs; the history of the Department by Graham Stuart and of the diplomatic service by Warren F. Ilchman; studies of innumerable outsiders and a few insiders, on to the wax museum reproductions of the policy making apparatus by commissions and the Brookings Institution. More recently have come the probings of the systems analysts.

The foreign affairs establishment of no other government has excited such an animated energy of comment, investigation and theorizing. "We have been studied to death," our increasingly bitter complaint has been. "Not so," say the scrutinizers, each of whom claims to have things to say which no one else has said. And so we have steeled ourselves for more.

One installment of that more is now upon us. Zealous contributions are at hand. To commission reports has been added the synoptic gospel of the Murphy Commission; to overall assessments by insiders, a first class study by two former participants in the informational, cultural and aid sectors of decision-making and diplomacy; and to assessments by outsiders, a book by Donald Warwick and two

collaborators. Then, just to make the point with almost microscopic fineness, William Bacchus has produced an etching of a single position in the foreign affairs bureaucracy, much as the American Assembly focused on the Secretary of State fifteen years ago.

Having observed the extraordinary gap between academic formulations and concepts on the one hand and the realities of power, politics and psychology in the American diplomatic establishment on the other, John H. Esterline, journalist, political scientist and USIA officer for 20 years, set out to fill that gap. In collaboration with Robert B. Black, a retiree after 20 years with our aid agencies, he has written a remarkable book. While their eyes were on the production of a textbook to throw a bridge across the gulf between university instruction and reality in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, they have effected such an acute analysis in such lucid language it will surely be widely read. Combining political science concepts with long experience in the system and perceptive observation they have scored so significant a breakthrough in literature about our foreign affairs establishment as to place their study in almost a category by itself. They deal with the Presidency, the National Security Council, State, Defense, the intelligence community and OMB, the overseas mission (with the best analysis yet in print of its resources and internal dynamics). USIA and its overseas "sub-system," and AID. Their treatment of the "Presidential sub-system" is superior to the Murphy Commission's and the chapter on "The United States Field Mission: A Cluster of Power Centers" makes a unique contribution in describing how our overseas diplomatic mission is organized, operates and faces its problems of internal management, incidentally throwing light on the diplomatic aspect of the Country Director's role and problems which Bacchus does no more than fleetingly suggest. There is no study of our diplomatic establishment of such amplitude, detail and analytical acuteness.

Less ambitious than Esterline and Black, William Bacchus focuses on one position in the Department. While he does not probe

it, he recognizes the diplomatic projection of Departmental activity, which is more than most of the literature about the Department or the "foreign affairs machine" has done. He restricts his study to the bureaucratic (i.e., the Washington) dimension of the CD's activity and within that self-assumed limitation, skillfully recapitulates the origins and analyzes the roles of the position, using structured interviews with its occupants to describe how they have interpreted and performed their roles. Apart from the Department's failure to anticipate the innovation by establishing in advance a reservoir of properly trained or tutored officers, Bacchus discusses the reasons why the experiment has failed to measure up to the rhetoric which introduced it. His bibliography is skimpy, even taking into account its selected design, and the astronomical price of his 300 pages of text must be noted. To practitioners, his material and conclusions are old hat. What he provides us is documentation and synthesis. For academicians he will be more informative and some of these have described his study as superb.

"A Theory of Public Bureaucracy" fits the State Department, and more particularly the Crockett reform efforts, into some theorizing as to why bureaucratic rules multiply and hierarchies fecundate in organizations. Thus, while its authors' theory of bureaucratic growth is based mainly on State Department materials, it addresses generic problems of bureaucratization and organizational politics. This yields an interesting chapter on some of the differences between the Department and other executive agencies. Having been drawn into the Crockett reforms, the authors could base their study on not only the usual research sources—Congressional hearings, newspapers, observed behavior of departmental officials and previous research (note the absence of practitioners' memoirs)—but on a survey of several hundred employees in the Department, along with personal interviews with 150 senior "managers and executives." While the bibliography is more extended than Bacchus's it nevertheless again indicates how much literature about the Department has run off the surface of academic terrain.

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What seems obviously to have happened is that the Department and diplomacy have been so long neglected by so great a segment of the academic community that the contemporary generation of scholars now engaged in trying to come to grips with them has been inadequately suckled.

One plea I would make of academicians, including Professor Warwick and his collaborators, is to kindly spare us continued beating of that old Senator Joe McCarthy drum. The conforming and ducking phenomena observable in the establishment have roots long antedating McCarthyism. There is a lot of history involved in the psychology of our diplomatic organization and we hope the current generation of American political scientists now taking an interest in us will ferret out that history before offering more books. As Peter Blau insists, the explanation of why organizations develop certain characteristics requires that the conditions which produce them be investigated.

—SMITH SIMPSON

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Inside the Intelligence System

THE CIA AND THE CULT OF INTELLIGENCE, by Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks. Dell (Knopf), \$1.75 (\$8.95).

INSIDE THE COMPANY: CIA DIARY, by Philip Agee. Stonehill, \$9.95.

IF THE CIA had been able to impose its will on, and enforce its employment contract with, Marchetti and Agee, these books would not have been published. The Agency obviously believes that parts of these books are injurious to intelligence and covert political operations.

After a complex Federal Court battle, the CIA was able to enforce some censorship, and so "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence" contains some 168 blank spaces representing material suppressed by the CIA. Other material has been printed in boldface type emphasizing material that a Federal judge, over CIA objections, would not permit to be censored. Marchetti worked for the CIA for 14 years, serving in positions near the executive leadership. This gave him an overview of CIA activities

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which few have had. Marks was a Foreign Service officer and former assistant to the Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the State Department and later a Senatorial aide on Capitol Hill. Their joint efforts expose a substantial amount of new information about the US intelligence system. Their book is strongest in muckraking details about the organization, procedures and attitudes of intelligence professionals. It is weaker as an analytic work; indeed rather thin when it comes to the tough problems of policy, organization and control of secret services in a democracy. Much of the book is currently being unstaged by the various official investigations of the CIA problem.

Agee's "Inside the Company" is a more radical and revealing book, if taken at face value. Its substance seems authentic, but who on the outside can say? Agee confesses that as a covert operator "you get so used to lying that after a while it's hard to remember what the truth is" (p. 9). Given Agee's current motives to further a world revolutionary, socialist cause, the

reader is bound to be curious about how he was able to reconstruct from memory hundreds of pages of a "diary." And what, exactly, does Agee mean when he acknowledges that the Communist Party of Cuba "gave me important encouragement at a time when I doubted that I would be able to find the additional information I needed" (p. 639)?

Agee's tedious book is unique in that it describes CIA covert operations in Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico in which the author was involved. Pointlessly, he cites the names of numerous agents, foreign and American; lists secret organizations and code names; and in general "blows the cover" from a number of CIA operations. Agee's theme is that the CIA provides a secret police for American capitalism. His book is substantially revealing; his theme is appallingly overstated and simplistic. Unintentionally, parts of the book suggest a script for a Marx brothers movie, which is to say that many US covert operations abroad were amateurish, outrageous and foolish. Smaller wonder that the CIA

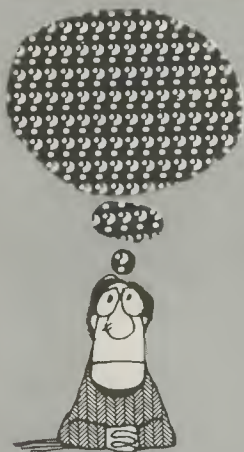
would have suppressed this book, first published in Great Britain, had it been able to do so.

—HARRY HOWE RANSOM
Vanderbilt University

The Soviet Predicament

FROM UNDER THE RUBBLE, by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Mikhail Agursky, A.B., Evgeny Barabanov, Vadim Borisov, F. Korsakov, and Igor Shafarevich. Little, Brown & Company, \$8.95.

THE PROTEST MOVEMENT in the Soviet Union has now led to publication in the West of this volume of eleven essays on the Soviet predicament, written by Solzhenitsyn and by intellectuals still living there. Max Hayward's introduction makes clear that this volume, which looks broadly at possibilities for a better Russian future, is intended to be a landmark for the Russian intelligentsia of the sort that the volume "Landmarks" was in 1909—a volume published by a group of prominent liberal intellectuals in a time of ferment but disillusion after the 1905 revolution.



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It may be some years before we will be able to judge the impact and importance of the new volume. Intellectual life and political action remain far more tightly controlled in today's Russian world than they were in 1909. This volume will become known to intellectuals in the Soviet Union, but how widely known is questionable. And whether this, or any similar volume, can be expected to have much effect on the Russian population as a whole, is highly questionable. One recalls a restaurant conversation with a group of young Russian workers some months after the sensational Soviet publication of Solzhenitsyn's "A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich." None of them had ever heard of the author or the book. And this was in Ryazan, where the author was living. (A more educated type at another table had heard of the author—and although he had not read the book, gave its title in good Freudian style as "One Day in Our Life"!)

The most significant essay in the present anthology may be the one

by Solzhenitsyn on the replacement of the old Russian intelligentsia by "smatterers"—and the practical disappearance of the Russian "people" (*narod*). Solzhenitsyn believes that there can come a new "elite to crystallize the people"—but that these must be individuals brave enough to reject The Lie. People will object, he notes, that it is unfair to ask the young to sacrifice their future by not "uttering the obligatory lie at their social science exam." Yet, he says, it is far worse for them to corrupt their souls. And in any event he does not think the sacrifices to be required of the new elite will be so great—Arab students and Ceylonese ricksha-drivers may wonder that this is all that is being asked of the Russians.

Mention may also be made here of another new book, this one wholly by Solzhenitsyn, which as of this writing is available only in Russian: "*Bodalsya Telyonok s dubom*," which comes out to something like "The Calf Butted the Oak" and is published by YMCA-Press in Paris. It is the

fascinating story of Solzhenitsyn's life in the Soviet Union from the time, in 1961, when he decided to try to get published the works he had been writing since his labor-camp days. Much of the story is of Solzhenitsyn's difficult friendship with Alexander Tvardovsky, the talented poet and editor of *Novyi mir* who published Solzhenitsyn with the blessing of Khrushchev but remained too much of a Communist to oppose the harder post-Khrushchev line. Some of what is in this book has already been published elsewhere, for example in Burg's and Feiffer's biography of Solzhenitsyn, but much is new. Both this and "From Under the Rubble" are important for any serious student of Soviet affairs.

—PETER BRIDGES

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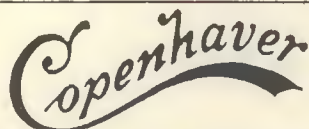
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THE DIPLOMAT & CONGRESS

from page 18

ment's staying in touch with every interested element of the Congress, and still doing the rest of its job, is nearly reaching the point of physical impossibility. Almost every day the Congress is in session State Department officials will be formally testifying before one committee or another, and the careful preparation for these sessions is generally very time-consuming. In addition, for every formal session, there are each day countless informal conferences, briefings, and other contacts. Beyond that, congressional overseas travel is arranged; congressional constituents with relevant problems are received; State Department speakers are provided for functions in congressional districts; thousands of letters are prepared in response to congressional inquiries and the inquiries of congressional constituents each month; and it has been estimated that the Secretary and other senior officials spend anywhere from one sixth to one third or more of their time attending to congressional matters.

Related to the sheer physical burden of the consultative process is the problem of mechanics. At a time when the need is often greatest for rapid and effective action, the mechanics of consultation remain cumbersome and slow-moving.

Finally, there is the need for secrecy, as well as dispatch, in the conduct of effective diplomacy. This again presents a dilemma for the executive-congressional relationship in foreign-affairs matters. The requirement of secrecy is often in conflict with the need to consult frankly and fully with the large membership of both bodies of the Congress. A sensible executive will want the Congress involved in the take-offs, not just the crash landings, of foreign policy, but, given the numbers of the membership involved, this is never an easy thing to achieve.

Because of the numbers problem, success in the end will depend on more than executive willingness to consult and the development of ever-improving executive arrangements for this purpose. Critical, too, is a willingness on the part

of Congress to face up to the need for improved internal organization and administrative arrangement in the area of its foreign-affairs responsibilities.

Organizationally backward as is the executive in these matters, the process of reorganization and modernization within its foreign-affairs community has been going on since World War II. During the same period, and despite the enormous new complexities and dimensions of the American foreign-affairs effort—and the congressional involvement in that effort—Congress has continued to operate within an administrative-organization structure, essentially unchanged, and designed for an earlier and simpler time. It has no coordinating National Security Council structure, or anything like it. It has no "question hour" that many parliaments use. Above all it presents no truly effective focal point with which the executive can deal in a definitive way. Out of the welter of its conflicting voices, it often cannot ascertain what its views really are, let alone bring them to bear on the executive.

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Modernization in the congressional structure is always more difficult to achieve than it is in the executive. Both efforts inevitably face the opposition of vested interests, but the former depends on a difficult-to-achieve consensus, while the latter can ignore the need for consensus and rest largely instead on the determination and authority of one man, the President. . . .

Congressional reform and modernization is not of course the responsibility of the diplomat. That must come from within the Congress itself, not from without. But the American diplomat and his fellow countrymen have an important stake in this enterprise, for an excessively frustrated Congress can be nothing but trouble to any foreign-affairs effort.

A last point to be made has to do with bipartisanship—or nonpartisanship, as Cordell Hull, one of its principal modern architects, used to prefer. It is a flawed but extremely valuable concept.

"Politics stops at the water's edge" is not a new idea; its present

incarnation, however, dates its beginnings to World War II. It entails the development and maintenance of broad agreement between the two major American political parties on the general objectives and, in certain key areas, the specific tactics of American foreign policy.

It is a flawed concept because a fundamental precept of the American political system is that the two parties compete, rather than cooperate, with one another. As John Foster Dulles, an important wartime collaborator of Cordell Hull in the launching of this effort, has noted, the normal role of the two parties is to be watchdogs of one another, not teammates.

Bipartisanship requires sacrifices by both political parties. It means the majority party must defer to the minority party out of proportion to what the minority's political strength at the time would require. Inherent in the concept is the taking of time for minority persuasion and the making of adjustments to meet minority wishes, rather than simply outvoting them. It strengthens the hand of the minor-

ity beyond the point its strength in the body politic can justify. On the other hand, the sacrifice that the minority makes is considerable too. If the joint policy is successful it inevitably redounds at the next election time more to the credit of the incumbent party than to its opposition.

It is important to understand that bipartisanship does not mean an absence of controversy. The issues of foreign policy are much too important for that. What it means is a willingness on the part of both parties to exempt these issues from use for partisan purpose, to exclude them from partisan controversy and maneuver. Debate over them can, and often will, be intense indeed, but it should not be tied to party lines. In effect, what it means in the end is the formation of a coalition, made up of a majority of both parties, in support of certain key policy directions and undertakings.

Both because it is contrary to the basic tenets of the American political system and because it is so difficult to achieve (if it is successful it

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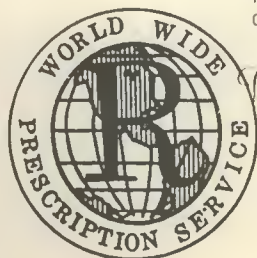
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cuts across normal legislative-executive tension as well as rivalry between the two parties), it should be used only in the more important areas of the national foreign-policy effort.

Within these key areas, however, it can serve a valuable purpose indeed, well worth both the sacrifice of government theory and the often patience-trying difficulties involved. For, as has been noted earlier, predictability and stability of direction, especially on the part of the great powers, are key ingredients in the effort to produce a more stable world, and nothing can be more destabilizing than for the whole course of American foreign policy to hang in the balance every time there is an American presidential election. American diplomats should therefore always seek to persuade the leaders of the administration they currently serve of the importance of seeking bipartisan understanding and support for the fundamentals of the course it pursues—knowing full well that in the inevitable rhythm of American political life, the minority party will become the majority

one day.

There is more, of course, that could usefully be discussed, but more than two hundred and fifty years ago, de Callières set standards of brevity for efforts of this kind which I am determined to emulate, if not to match. In any event, the things I most wished to say have now been said.

It remains only to reaffirm the conviction, implicit in all that has gone before, that in a selfish, predatory, dangerous, and explosive world the age-old effort to elevate the human condition and to liberate the human spirit can one day prevail—and that the necessary precondition to this, the establishment of a just and enduring peace, will one day be achieved.

But thousands of years of tragedy and suffering have shown that this essential precondition, this most persistently elusive of all human objectives, will not be achieved simply because decent people the world over wish it to be achieved. If human experience has taught us anything, it has taught us that. It requires instead a sustained, collective, resourceful, and,

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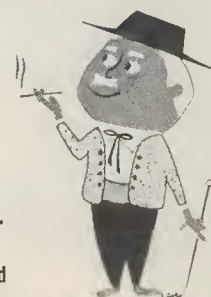
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FORTUNE

from page 10

YOU MAY well ask: How do I, a foreigner, a summer visitor, a moderately eccentric retired FSO just a bit over the age to show much interest in other people's romances, how do I know so much about all this?

My wife told me—Brigitte.

Brigitte and I were married two years ago, not many weeks after we'd first met, all in a rush, love at first sight for both parties (both parties agreed). It was one evening about a month ago, after a very good dinner and a bottle of Bergerac, that Brigitte, expansive, told me the whole story, all about Jacques Bedel and the straws.

Then she sat watching my face. "I shouldn't have told you," she said.

"Maybe not. Because naturally it would occur to me to wonder whether the incorrigible remaining *four* Laffitte girls had glanced me over from head to foot and said, 'All right. Let's draw again for this one.' I could wonder, you know."

"Of course you could," Brigitte said.

"And I'd never exactly know, would I?"

"Not one hundred per cent," Brigitte said. Her voice was very level.

"To hell with it," I said happily. "You and me, we're very happy."

"That's right," she said. And after a minute—

"Just like our in-laws the Bedels," she added incorrigibly.



"Lost in the Pentagon corridors on his way to a conference, . . . six months is a long time."

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LETTERS from page 4

\$518.00 adult, round trip excursion fare, once approval was obtained.

The Embassy in London could not have been more helpful. Kept both families and the Department constantly informed, established that the gentleman in question was hospitalized in an Intensive Care Unit and verified the patient's condition as "satisfactory at present; prognosis uncertain."

Wife and child boarded the first available flight out. Sufficiently solvent to purchase the tickets, we were nonetheless grateful for the \$99.00 stipend which was, presumably, forthcoming.

Shock Two: On July 11, 1975, the Department broke the telegraphic news that "the medical criteria of 3 FAM 699.5" had not been met! Emergency visitation travel was, in a word, out. Re-evaluation, of course, remains a demeaning possibility. (Hat in hand, armed with a certified medical attestation that hangnails are not a condition requiring an oxygen tent?)

Maybe ninety nine bucks is worth it. I, for one, don't think so. With a life so flagrantly in danger, this strikes me as bureaucratic cheese-paring at its most appalling.

Lesson learned: Our regulatory fringe benefits only seem inadequate in print. It takes an administrative interpretation to prove the point.

JAMES A. SMITH, FSO-5
Kingston

Language Study

■ There appears to be a growing interest in this Myrtle Beach area of South Carolina in the study of foreign languages.

Quite a number of French speaking Canadians visit the Grand Strand beaches. Georgetown, S.C. has a very active port for receipt of iron ore for the Ferreduction Plant; and export of wire products from the Steel Plant (Korf Industries, West Germany). There are also shipments of data processing cards and paperboard products, etc. from the International Paper Co. Plant to Guayaquil and other ports.

In addition to French, German and Spanish are popular in local classes.

Should anyone wish to donate language tapes, records, and books, I would be happy to distrib-

ute them to three very fine technical educational centers and to the Coastal Carolina campus of the University of South Carolina at Conway and the Golden Gate University office at the Myrtle Beach Air Force Base.

JAMES JOSHUA MOTT
US AID (*On Intergovtl Pers.*
Act detail to S.C.)

P.O. Box 882
Georgetown, S.C. 29440

A Complaint

■ The new AFSA President's first report, in the JOURNAL's September issue, contained an encouraging announcement: that Mr. Hemenway "declared a policy of complete openness for all Board meetings," and that AFSA records will henceforth be made freely available for public inspection.

Perhaps the Board will soon spell out a new policy of openness for the JOURNAL and terminate the censorship through which previous AFSA Officers kept their grip over AFSA affairs.

For several years, the AFSA leadership has promoted its special interests and attitudes through the JOURNAL, while denying publication space to critics, even in the Letters to the Editor pages. For example, throughout 1974, no objective account of the Labor Department's investigation of the rigged 1973 AFSA election appeared in the JOURNAL's pages. The only published account of that election was my "campaign statement" in the May, 1975 issue.

Such abuse of the JOURNAL appears to constitute a violation of Section 401(g) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (the Landrum-Griffin Act), which is intended to prevent the use of organization funds to promote the political interests of any particular group of members.

Political misuse of the JOURNAL continued during the 1975 AFSA election. For example, the June and July issues contained lengthy statements projecting a falsely progressive image for the Williamson slate—some of whom won election by relatively small margins, despite their advantage as Incumbents. Mr. Boyatt's last minute intervention on their behalf implied these candidates favored grievance legislation, improved retirement bene-

fits, better allowances and working conditions, high professional standards for the diplomatic service, and strengthened organization of the foreign affairs community. Opposition candidates who had better track records on these issues were denied rebuttal opportunities in the JOURNAL for reaching voters.

AFSA members should know that Secretary of Labor John Dunlop received a formal request on September 15 urging him to order an investigation into this matter—and its possible impact upon votes.

Secretary Dunlop was also asked to probe a number of Department of Labor errors in discharging its responsibilities under Executive Order 11636 in connection with its investigation of the 1973 election and its supervision over the 1975 election.

It is hoped that Mr. Hemenway—and the new Board—will support a thorough fact-finding effort into these complaints to substantiate the new claim of openness in AFSA affairs.

JOHN J. HARTER
Washington

PRESIDENT'S COMMENT: In a demonstration of "openness" Mr. Harter's letter is published in advance of discussing the issues contained in it at the Board meeting of 22 September 1975. Various aspects of the FSJ will be discussed for the first time by the current Board at that meeting. Openness in all respects is indeed the policy of AFSA since 15 July 1975. Mr. Harter could have presented any of his views much earlier at any of our open meetings, had he desired to do so. The basic problem the President has had with regard to openness so far is in trying to locate certain records and files necessary to openness, which have proved elusive at best. A full report on openness by the AFSA President and the Board will appear in the next FSJ. The President will do everything possible to insure that Mr. Harter proves correct in his letter when he says that the new AFSA policy is to guarantee that all records and files will be made freely available to the membership during office hours. Views of the membership on either side of this important matter will be appreciated.—John D. Hemenway, President.

OFFICERS AND REPRESENTATIVES AFSA's GOVERNING BOARD 1975

John D. Hemenway is 49 and married to former USIA officer Elizabeth Hearn whom he met while at Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship (1951-54). Miss Hearn was then serving as assistant press officer in the Embassy at London. They now have five children and live in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Hemenway received degrees from Oxford and the Naval Academy. He has served in all three armed forces: the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Primarily a Soviet and German expert from his days in the Foreign Service, Mr. Hemenway became concerned with the integrity of the personnel system of the Foreign Service when in the late '60s, selection out for time-in-class was substituted for selection out for low ranking as a device used by management to avoid the legal complexities involved in ridding career Foreign Service officers. Hemenway fought through and won the first grievance in the history of the diplomatic service. The State Department approved Grievance Committee awarded him reinstatement, promotion, payment of legal fees and a formal written apology. In a move that foreshadowed the breakdown of the present "interim" grievance system only the apology was actually delivered. Mr. Hemenway campaigned for the office of President of AFSA primarily on the issues of openness, restoration of the elan of the Foreign Service by restoring honesty, integrity and purpose behind the Foreign Service career for the men and women of all ranks of the Foreign Service, officer corps and staff. His platform, which outlined a ten-point program to be accomplished within the first six months of office, will be found in the May issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL. It contains explicit programs that Mr. Hemenway reaffirms today that he



John Hemenway, President

has every intention of fulfilling.

Mr. Hemenway believes that the American Foreign Service Association exists only to promote the professionalism and welfare of men and women on active duty. Of course, this translates into maximum assistance to the retired sector since, sooner or later, all active members enter that category. He believes that entrance standards for the Service should be held high but that, once admitted to the Foreign Service, a young man or young woman should be given every assistance through the lower and middle ranks for growth and self-development. Selection out without retirement emoluments should never come into question unless improper conduct is involved, in Hemenway's view. During the next two years Mr. Hemenway hopes to build a body of support for the Foreign Service and a respect for the integrity of the Service that will once again place the US diplomatic service and its officers and staff in the front ranks of career services, demanding the respect and admiration of every American.

Lars H. Hydle, Vice President, was born in 1940 in Muncie, Indiana, and moved to California in 1953. He graduated from Occidental College, Los Angeles, in 1960 with a major in "Diplomacy and World Affairs" and a Woodrow Wilson fellowship which he used at Columbia University's Graduate School of Political Science, Department of Public Law and Government, from which he finally received a Ph.D. in 1972 for a dissertation on the press and politics in Nigeria. He worked as a radio writer for the Voice of America from 1962 to 1965, when he came on active duty with the Foreign Service.

Lars's foreign service career has been spent mostly in and on Vietnam—two tours there, in Saigon, Bien Hoa, and Da Nang, in 1966-70, a tour on the Vietnam Working Group in 1970-72, a TDY in Bien Hoa for seven months in 1973, a visit with the last CODEL to Vietnam in February-March of this year, and two months TDY this summer with the Interagency Task Force for Indochina Refugees. His other assignments have been as Political Officer in Belfast, 1972-73, as Action Officer in the Marine Corps Plans Division in



Lars Hydle, V.P.

1974-75, and as a speechwriter, mainly for the Deputy Secretary, in the Policy Planning Staff since May 1975.

Lars first became active in employee-management matters in 1970 with JFSOC and later AFSA. He was elected JFSOC Vice President in 1971, and took part in negotiations with management leading to the establishment of Executive Order 11636. In 1972 he prepared the first draft of what became the present Bylaws of AFSA. Lars was defeated in 1971 and in 1975 in bids for election to the Governing Board, but snapped his losing streak on September 19 when the Board appointed him to fill the vacancy in the Vice Presidency created by Dan Newberry's resignation.



John Patterson, 2nd V.P.

John A. Patterson, second vice president, has been active in AFSA since his assignment in Afghanistan in 1970, where he organized the AFSA Chapter. He served as AFSA representative on the AID Performance Evaluation Study Group, as chairman of AID/AFSA Personnel Negotiations Committee, as AID/AFSA Chief Negotiator and as AID Representative on the Governing Board before becoming second vice president early in 1975.

John's experience before joining AID in 1966 covered such varied vocations as engineering analyst and city planner.

He is vice president of the Board of Directors, Reston Neighborhood Association and his hobbies include touch football, softball, barbershop singing and American military history. John is married with four children.



Pete Velott, Secretary

L. H. (Pete) Velott was elected Secretary in July, having run as a coalition candidate for that office.

Pete entered the Foreign Service in July, 1967 as a Foreign Service Staff Officer, and has served overseas as Personnel Officer in Ankara, Turkey, and as General Services Officer in Rabat, Morocco. On return to the United States, he was assigned to a year of graduate study in Systems Analysis at MIT. He served as a Financial Systems Officer in the Financial Systems Development Office prior to being assigned as Chief of the Operating Systems Division in Personnel.

He participated as a systems analyst with R.F.D.P.C.-Paris in the W.A.C.A.S.C. system study and the R.F.D.P.C. supply system study. In the department, he has participated in the worldwide supply study, the integrated payroll/personnel system, the TM Four System project, and the In-Transit system project.

Prior to entering the Foreign Service, Pete spent eleven years in private industry in the Personnel and Industrial Relations field. He has published articles and lectured in his specialties—compensation, employee benefits, human resource allocation, and personnel computer systems.

Pete lives in Rockville, Maryland with his wife, Joan, and his two sons, Steve and Greg. His daughter, Patricia, is attending Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia. He and his wife are active in youth activities and the Marriage Encounter Community at St. Patrick's Parish.

Pat Woodring is one of the four State representatives on the AFSA Board. A native of California, her education was in the California system up through early college, when a wandering bug took her to Paris where she completed her education at the Sorbonne. Pat then moved to New York City where she lived and worked for several years—working first in a bank, then for an airline and then in market research for a large manufacturer. In 1963 Pat joined the Foreign Service. Her first assignment was in the passport office in Washington. Then overseas as a secretary serving in Vientiane, Zagreb and Manila. In 1974 Pat converted to the officer corps and is now working as Special Assistant in the Senior Seminar In Foreign Policy.

When not working and traveling with the Senior Seminar or working for AFSA you can find Pat out at the airport. An avid aviatrix, Pat spends her free time flying or talking about flying. However, her feet are firmly on the ground when it comes to dealing with improving the status of women and the important contribution they can make; or improving the status of the Staff Corps. In a broader context—



Pat Woodring

improving conditions and benefits for all Foreign Service personnel. Pat has been working on promotion precepts, Members' Interest Committee (the bread and butter committee) and the Foreign Service Club. If you have a question, problem or suggestion, let us know—and just as important—participate. AFSA is your Association.

Richard J. Harrington State Representative, a career FSO, graduated from Berkeley and joined the Foreign Service in 1964. He was initially assigned to the American Embassy at Colombo where he served two years as a junior officer on rotational tour. He subsequently served in the Department's office of Soviet Union Affairs, in the American Embassy in Saigon as a political officer in the Provincial Reporting Unit, and in Santo Domingo as a Consular Officer. His three-year tour there was cut short by a return to Vietnam for six months temporary duty at the Can Tho Consulate General at the time of the signing of the cease-fire. Upon completion of that assignment Mr. Harrington returned to the Department where he served as Special Assistant to the Administrator, SCA. He then went on an extended TDY tour to Leningrad, after which he returned to Washington and was assigned to the Board of Examiners as a Deputy Examiner. Mr. Harrington recently went on leave-without-pay to direct the Face-to-Face program of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



Richard Harrington

Kenneth N. Rogers, FSO-3, was appointed State Department representative to the Governing Board to replace Alan Lukens who received an overseas assignment after the election. Mr. Rogers graduated from Ohio State University and received his J.D. from George Washington University in 1958. He was admitted to the D.C. Bar and to practice before the Supreme Court.

His Foreign Service experience includes assignments at Hong



Kenneth Rogers

Kong and Saigon as consular officer, Norfolk, Angola and Jamaica as political officer. In the Department Ken has served in PM, ARA and ACDA. He received the Superior Honor Award in 1972.

Ken's service to AFSA includes many years as a keyman, service on the AFSA negotiating teams and AFSA selection precepts committee.

Most recently Ken led the AFSA negotiating team which successfully concluded the State/AFSA agreement on precepts for the 1975 Boards prior to the actual convening of the Boards for the first time in memory. Ken has determined to press forward in these negotiations for the Service so that the precepts will be issued next year prior to the beginning of the rating year so that efficiency reports written *ex post facto* will become a thing of the past.



Roy A. Harrell

Roy A. Harrell, Jr., AID representative, has worked for the US Government in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of South Africa. He joined AID in 1962 and served in Guinea, Mali, Sudan and Chad. AFSA gained Roy's services in late 1970 when he began working

on the Members Interests Committee (with Hank Cohen) and the Legal Committee. He also served as a keyman during the representation election in AID. In 1973, Roy assumed the chairmanship of the Insurance Committee while continuing his work on the other two. In March of this year, Roy was nominated to fill out the unexpired term of the previous AID representative. He won the same seat in the July election.



Charlotte Cromer

Charlotte Cromer, AID representative, says she has no time at present for hobbies. Now in the first FSS career management program at AID, Charlotte, FSS-6, is serving on the Board of the Women's Action Organization as well as AFSA's Governing Board. She's also taking courses at George Washington University for the second year.

Charlotte joined AID in 1964, and served at Ankara, Bangkok and Paris. She was appointed to the AFSA Board in 1974 to replace Mary Ann Epley who was assigned to Quito. Prior to joining AID, Charlotte attended Sam Houston College and worked for an insurance agency in Houston.

Donning her WAO Board member's hat, Charlotte gives the male members of the AFSA Governing Board fairly high marks and says they are on the way to becoming liberated.

Paul Blackburn, the USIA Representative on the Board, has been a Foreign Service Information Officer since 1962. During his USIA career he has served abroad in Thailand, where he was Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer in Bangkok, Branch Public Affairs



Paul Blackburn

Officer in Khon Kaen, and Branch Public Affairs Officer in Udorn, and in Japan, where he most recently was Director of the Tokyo American Center/BPAO-Tokyo/Cultural Attache. Between the two overseas tours he worked in USIA's IEA as Special Assistant to the Area Director and also served briefly in ICS, IPS, and VOA. At present he is a member of the USIA Inspection Staff.

Born in Honolulu, Paul left Hawaii at an early age and has spent much of the subsequent period in Washington, where he attended Woodrow Wilson High School, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (MA), and American University's School of International Service (Ph.D.). He did his undergraduate work at Haverford College in Pennsylvania.

Paul has participated in AFSA and other employee-related activities since about 1968. He was for two years a member of the USIA Young Officers Policy Panel, served on the 1970 (Macomber) Task Force on Openness, and in Japan was a founding member and later chairman of the AFSA/Japan Chapter.

Paul is married to the former Winona Kim. They have two children, Sylvia (13) and Alison (10).

Olcott H. Deming, Ambassador-retired, combines his work as Retired Representative on the AFSA Board with membership on the Board of Governors of DACOR, the first vice presidency of the Georgetown Citizens Association and Board membership on the National Capital area United Nations Association. He

served as a trustee of the Experiment in International Living from 1969-74 and as director of the Foreign Students Service Council in Washington.

Ambassador Deming joined the Foreign Service in 1943, after serving as Program Officer with the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. He served at Bangkok, Tokyo and Kampala before his appointment as Ambassador to Uganda in 1963. On his return to the States, he spent a year as senior fellow at the University of North Carolina and then served as Departmental Coordinator at the National Interdepartmental Seminar, before his retirement in 1968.

The Demings' older son, Rust, entered the Foreign Service in 1966.



Olcott Deming

Retired Representative Glenn G. Wolfe was born in West Virginia in 1907. After studying engineering and business administration at the Universities of Wisconsin and Pittsburgh, he held a wide variety of positions—as an advertising representative; as an engineer inspector and in budget and finance activities with the Forest Service; as Director of Finance, Civilian Conservation Corps; as a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force during World War II, as well as assignments with the Bureau of the Budget and the War Assets Administration, before joining the Foreign Service in 1947.

Mr. Wolfe's years in the Foreign Service included assignments to Rio de Janeiro and temporary assignments in Korea and Greece. He served as Director of Administration and later Executive Direc-



Glenn Wolfe

tor, HICOG; Counselor of Embassy and Executive Officer of US Delegation to NATO and OEEC in Paris; DCM, Republic of South Africa; Political Military Advisor, Bureau of African Affairs and Director of the Office of Cultural Presentations. He received the Distinguished Honor Award in 1964 and retired as an FSO-1 on April 30 of that year.

Mr. Wolfe then became Vice President, Institute of International Education in New York, until his second retirement in 1972 at their mandatory age of 65. He is now a management consultant primarily in the field of higher education. Mr. and Mrs. Wolfe live in Washington, have one daughter, Mrs. George L. West, Jr., three granddaughters and a great grandson.

Born in 1938, Alford W. Cooley grew up in Washington, D.C. and northwestern Connecticut. After graduating in modern European history from Harvard College he spent a year at Freiburg University in southern Germany and returned to Harvard Law School.

In 1965, following a brief stint as a lawyer at the House Judiciary Committee, he joined the Foreign Service and spent a year and a half in "central complement" in Taipei before being sent to Manila as a junior passport and citizenship officer. In 1968-70 he was the sole consular officer in Kabul, Afghanistan and was developing a certain expertise in destitution and drug matters when he was sent to Vietnam in the CORDS program to serve as chief "New Life Development" advisor in Ba Xuyen, a Delta province. He now works in

the Visa Office as the deputy of the "Coordination" Division, dealing with the security aspects of the visa law.

He is a past chairman of the Consular Officers Association and a member of Open Forum Panel and Two Thousand Plus. In AFSA he is currently a member of the Legal Committee.



Alford Cooley

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

The new Members' Interests Committee began work in July 1975 shortly after the newly elected Governing Board was installed. The composition of the committee is as broad as the issues which it hopes to handle. Chairperson of the committee is Roy A. Harrell, Jr. (AID); Vice Chairperson is Patricia A. Woodring (State); Members include Roger D. Benson (State); and Charlotte Cromer (AID). Until a full-time member from USIA is appointed, Paul Blackburn (USIA representative on the AFSA Governing Board) will be working with the committee on Members' Interests proposals.

The committee solicits suggestions from employees for Members' Interests Proposals. It is rare these days to find anyone in the Foreign Service who has not suffered inequities at the hands of the Service. We earnestly desire to correct these inequities and injustices. We handle any matters involving two or more of the foreign affairs agencies.

The subject matter of items handled in the past is varied. Past proposals have concerned travel, overtime, allowances, shipment of

household effects, paternity leave for male employees, (which we unfortunately lost thus resulting in an irreversible and reprehensible blow for men's liberation), insurance (although a separate committee soon will be appointed), and taxation problems. All AFSA members are urged to submit their ideas to AFSA, and we will do battle for you. That is why we exist. Only one caveat must be made—if a member wishes the committee to handle an individualized complaint as opposed to a general ill affecting the whole Foreign Service, we must be provided with specific authorization to pursue the matter on behalf of the affected individual. A form of authorization can be (but is not required to be) a power of attorney. The reason for this requirement is that the foreign affairs agencies are conscious that individual rights of privacy can be violated if AFSA is permitted to pursue individual grievances by employees. So please submit authorizations together with your gripes about the system.

Here are some of the items we have been working on since July. Some are good news, some aren't what we had hoped for. But we will keep trying.

Medical Per Diem

In the past employees and their qualified dependents abroad suffered under financial hardship when medically evacuated to the United States. Frequently, people awaiting medical clearance for return to post were paid only a percentage of the per diem, especially if they had to wait any length of time. As a result of consultations with Management of the three foreign affairs agencies and AFSA, people medically evacuated to the United States will receive full per diem for a maximum of up to 120 days. This change will be effective when the President signs the State Appropriations Bill.

Per Diem at FSI

If you're FSI bound or University bound under one of FSI's programs, your per diem schedule is as follows:

- \$33.00 for first 21 days
- \$16.50 for next 99 days
- \$8.25 for balance of TDY assignment

Agreement on Parking

AFSA has finally succeeded in getting an agreement from the Department of State and AID on the issuance of parking permits in the Foggy Bottom area. Under this agreement 63% of the parking spaces will be assigned to carpools. In addition, a system will be established for applying for parking permits as well as establishing carpools. We realize that this agreement will have little benefit for members living overseas or those who are retired. Nonetheless, beginning January 1, 1975, rank and rank alone will no longer guarantee the issuance of a parking permit. Many members also will be delighted to know that parking fees charged will be uniform. In the past, higher ranking personnel have paid only \$15 for the privilege of parking in the basement of the Department of State while lower ranked persons have had to pay over \$30 for the "privileges" of parking in nearby buildings. The Department and AID were among the last of the government agencies in town to comply with guidelines concerning parking in federal buildings issued by the Federal Energy Administration. We realize that the top level personnel may not be as pleased as we are with this agreement.

Information Wanted

We would appreciate receiving one piece of information from all members who were evacuated from the Indochina area earlier this year. We are aware that many of you may have suffered great losses in that a great deal of your personal property had to be left behind. Most, if not all, insurance policies have a war exclusion provision. We also know that the Claims Act has strict limits not only as to the total amount which can be claimed, but by category as well and is probably not adequate to help individuals recoup all of the losses suffered. The Association has asked the management staffs of the three foreign affairs agencies to supply us with information as to those individuals whose claims are over \$15,000 (the maximum permitted by the Claims Act). The management staffs of the three agencies regard this request as an invasion of privacy. Thus, we must turn to our members themselves. We also would appreciate

hearing from any member who feels he has been adequately reimbursed for the loss suffered. After receiving this information, AFSA is prepared to sponsor private members' legislation in the Congress to help employees recoup some of their losses. We would therefore appreciate hearing from those of you who were severely affected financially by the evacuation from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

Auto Repair

One of the biggest ripoffs in the United States relates to repair (or alleged repair) costs of automobiles. The Association has received praise of the recently organized Automobile Owners Action Council (AOAC) in Washington, D.C. which for an annual \$10.00 membership aggressively pursues the interests of automobile owners who have been victims of cheating by automobile repair services. Returning Foreign Service personnel should give AOAC particular attention since many of us have been long removed from the D.C. area and represent particular vulnerability. The Association has brochures on AOAC or you may write directly to AOAC, 733 15th St., NW, Suite 236, Washington, D.C. 20005

Statement of Larue H. Velott On Taxation of Allowances

Thank you for this opportunity to appear today to testify with respect to Section C, Item 6 of the Topics for Tax Reform Package in First Phase.

The Association assumes that the goal of this proposed legislation is to provide a more equitable tax structure for all Americans whether working overseas or in the United States. With this in mind, I will today limit my remarks to comments which we feel relate to the satisfaction of that goal.

Specific Allowances Authorized by the Overseas Differential and Allowances Act

The present overseas allowance system is intended primarily to reimburse United States government civilians for the extraordinary expenses of working and living overseas. While there are other allowances which would be adversely affected by the proposed

tax reform section, the major forms of compensation of concern to the Association are listed below:

- *Educational Allowance:* This allowance is intended to reimburse Foreign Service employees for the additional tuition and travel expenses of living abroad. Travel expenses are reimbursed only if an adequate education is not available at the post of assignment. Most Foreign Service employees pay state income taxes even while abroad, and those who own property in the United States pay local property taxes to support schools back home. Children in the United States, of course, are entitled to a free education whether their parents pay taxes or not. Therefore, since the educational allowance covers only expenses for education that would not be incurred while serving in the United States, taxation of this allowance would, in essence, be double taxation for educational purposes.

- *Post Allowance (Cost of Living):* This benefit is paid only to those employees assigned to a foreign location where the cost of living exceeds that of Washington, D.C. At some of the posts, these additional costs are substantial. It is therefore not reasonable to ex-

pect employees to pay additional taxes simply because prices are higher in some parts of the world.

- *Temporary Lodging Allowance:* This allowance reimburses an employee for those temporary living expenses incurred while arranging for personal quarters at an overseas post. An equivalent allowance is paid to employees in the United States who are transferred from one city to another. If this latter allowance is not taxed, there would seem to be no justification for taxing the former.

- *Living Quarters Allowance:* Although one might justify taxation of the basic portion of this allowance, care must be taken to assure that the portions that cover high overseas costs and representation are not taxed. The average yearly cost of rent and utilities for a typical government employee rose between 1974 and 1975 by nearly \$2,000 in Copenhagen, over \$300 in Ankara, nearly \$600 in Lima, and more than \$2,000 in Beirut. We believe that it would be inappropriate to propose a tax on civilians when the military have tax-free housing allowances both in the United States and abroad. Also, housing is provided to some Americans, in both the private and public sectors.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



"But, Madame Ambassador, can't John wear just morning coat and striped trousers when he calls on the King?"

working in the United States. To assure equity these domestic benefits should be reviewed concurrently with the review of the living quarters allowance.

• *Post Differential Allowance:* We believe it is important to mention in this discussion that one important Foreign Service allowance is already taxed. This is the Post Differential Allowance, which is intended to offset the hardship of serving in particularly dangerous or unhealthful areas of the world. Since this allowance is not intended to reimburse employees for extraordinary expenses of living

abroad, we believe it is appropriately subject to taxation.

Conclusion

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that the proposed taxation of overseas allowances for United States government civilians does not move toward the goal of equity between taxpayers, but rather would create new inequities at the expense of Foreign Service employees and other government civilians abroad. We believe that this will seriously affect the morale of such employees serving their country in foreign lands. This would particularly affect those at the lower end of the pay scale and those in hard-to-retain, vital specialties, such as communications technicians. Mr. Chairman, I have attempted to keep this presentation brief, realizing that many others have commented upon this problem at length. We believe that our position in this matter is straightforward and clear, and will be willing to offer any further details if requested by the Committee or its staff.

AFRICAN PHOTOS

The Museum of African Art is looking for photographic material on Africa for use in their educational programs. The Museum's Eliot Elisofon Archives comprise the most complete photographic resource on Africa in the United States. These collections of color slides, black and white photos, and motion picture films are in current demand for publishing, for use by museums across the country in exhibits, in slide presentations in educational institutions, and as a research facility for students, scholars, and professors.

The Archives would be interested in receiving photographic material from all parts of Africa as donations or loans. Donors of color slides, color negatives, black and white negatives or prints, or motion picture film would be eligible for a tax deduction on their gifts, and will receive photo credit for any published or exhibited material. Lenders of such material will receive photo credit for exhibited or published items and will receive a royalty from any publishing fees or profit otherwise realized.

All persons interested in donating or lending their African photo-

graphic material to the Museum of African Art for this purpose should contact the Museum Archivist: Fred Lamp, Museum of African Art, 316-318 A Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Telephone: 546-7977 (area code 202).

MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP

The University of California, Berkeley Foundation recently established a scholarship fund in memory of the late Ambassador Rodger P. Davies who was assassinated in Nicosia last year. The first awards were made this summer to two outstanding Berkeley graduate students in the field of international relations.

Tax-deductible contributions to make the Rodger P. Davies Memorial Scholarship an on-going fund can be made to:

University of California
Berkeley Foundation
10 North Gate Hall
Berkeley, California 94720

Foreign Service People

Birth

Kosheleff. A son, Damon Iver, born to FSR Bruno and FSO Mary Kosheleff, on July 30, in Nicosia.

Deaths

McGonigal. Virginia E. McGonigal, FSR-retired, died on August 8 in Ann Arbor. Miss McGonigal joined OWI in 1942 and served at Cairo, Rome and Sofia. After a tour in the Department, she served at Rome again, then Tehran and Cairo. She retired from USIA in 1960. She is survived by her sister, Mrs. Dorothy Buffington, 4317 242nd St., Douglaston, New York.

Paddock. Paul E. Paddock, Jr., FSO-retired, died on August 29 in Palm Beach. Mr. Paddock entered the Foreign Service in 1936 and served at Djakarta, Casablanca, Moscow, and Dairen before his retirement in 1956. He was the co-author of "Hungry Nations" and "Famine-1975." He is survived by his father of Marshalltown, Iowa, and two brothers. Memorial contributions may be made to the Mahaley Neurosurgical Research Fund, Duke University, Durham, N.C. or the Adirondack Lakes Center for the Arts, Blue Mountain Lake, N.Y.

Weinmann. Frances L. Weinmann, FSO, died on August 28 in Naples. Miss Weinmann joined the Foreign Service in 1951 and served at Rome, Tokyo, Bonn, Tehran, Manila, Belem, Mexico City and San Salvador.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

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.

GIFTS

THE AAFSW OFFERS an assortment of ten informal notepapers with envelopes depicting five scenes from the Department of State Reception Rooms. They may be obtained at the Housing Office, Room 1248, Department of State, for \$3.00, or by mail, AAFSW, Publications Sales Committee, P.O. Box 8068, Washington, D.C. 20024 for \$3.25. All proceeds go into the Educational Aid Fund.

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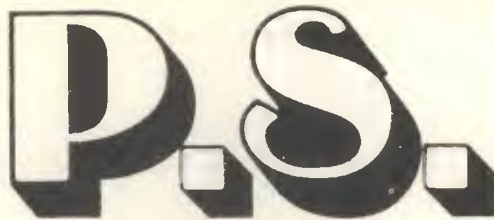
EDUCATION

PARENTS—selecting a private secondary school in the United States? Contact specialists in Northeastern residential high schools. PRIVATE SCHOOL GUIDANCE, 1471 Ridge Road, North Haven, Conn. 06473. (203) 281-3746.

BOOKS

INSIDE FOREIGN POLICY by John Esterline and Robert Black available by mail from: The Book House, 250 Harvard Ave., Claremont, CA 91711, price \$4.95, plus .50 per copy handling and postage and 6% if ordered in California; Sidney Kramer Books, 1722 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, price \$4.95, plus \$1 handling and postage.

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