

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

NOVEMBER 1975

60 CENTS



The diplomatic way to save.

All of these outstanding Ford-built cars are available to you at special diplomatic discount savings. Delivery will be arranged for you either stateside or overseas. And you can have the car built to Export* or Domestic specifications.

So place your order now for diplomatic savings on the cars for diplomats.

For more information, contact a Ford Diplomatic Sales Office.



Mustang



Pinto

MAVERICK



GRAN TORINO

Elite

LTD

Cougar

Granada

Monarch

Marquis

Montego

MARK IV

Bobcat

Continental

Comet

Please send me full information on using my diplomatic discount to purchase a new _____.

WRITE TO:

DIPLOMATIC SALES: FORD MOTOR COMPANY
815 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006/Tel: (202) 785-6047

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE/COUNTRY _____ ZIP _____

*Cannot be driven in the U.S.

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

NOVEMBER 1975: Volume 52, No. 11

Diplomacy and Mortality in West Africa:

Domestic Life Abroad 11
LAWRENCE B. LESSER

Flowers in Granite: Oslo and Bergen 15
JOHN BOVEY

The Drug Enforcement Agency Abroad 18
DONALD C. JOHNSON

DEPARTMENTS

Editorials 4

Book Essay: Recommended Reading 6
MARTIN F. HERZ

The Bookshelf 23

Letters to the Editor 27

AFSA News 30

American Foreign Service Association

Officers and Members of the Governing Board

JOHN D. HEMENWAY, *President*

LARS HYDLE, *Vice President*

JOHN PATTERSON, *Second Vice President*

CHARLOTTE CROMER &

ROY A. HARRELL, JR., *AID Representatives*

ALFORD W. COOLEY, RICHARD J. HARRINGTON,

KENNETH N. ROGERS & PATRICIA WOODRING, *State Representatives*

PAUL P. BLACKBURN, *USIA Representative*

OLCOTT DEMING & GLENN G. WOLFE, *Retired Representatives*

Journal Editorial Board

RALPH STUART SMITH, *Chairman*

G. RICHARD MONSEN, *Vice Chairman*

JOEL M. WOLDMAN

SANDRA L. VOGELGESANG

JAMES F. O'CONNOR

HARRIET P. CULLEY

WESLEY N. PEDERSEN

ARNOLD P. SCHIFFERDECKER

GEORGE F. SHERMAN, JR.

Staff

ALLEN B. MORELAND, *Executive Director*

CATHERINE WAELDER, *Counselor*

CECIL B. SANNER, *Membership and Circulation*

CHRISTINA MARY LANTZ, *Executive Secretary*

Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center

CLARKE SLADE, *Counselor*

Journal

SHIRLEY R. NEWHALL, *Editor*

McIVER ART & PUBLICATIONS, INC., *Art Direction*

Advertising Representatives

JAMES C. SASMOR ASSOCIATES, 521 Fifth Ave., Suite 1700, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 683-3421

ALBERT D. SHONK CO., 681 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105 (415) 392-7144

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

©American Foreign Service Association, 1975. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045

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



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

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

While the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL is responsible for its general content, statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under Executive Order 11636 on the editorial page and in the AFSA News, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

Membership in the American Foreign Service Association is open to the professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in Washington, as well as to persons having an active interest in, or close association with foreign affairs.

Membership dues are: Active Members—Dues range from \$13 to \$52 annually depending upon income. Retired Active Members—Dues are \$30 annually for members with incomes over \$15,000; \$15 annually for less than \$15,000. Associate Members—Dues are \$20 annually.

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

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

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

COVER: Wall hanging by Marie Skora

**AMERICA
ON \$1.04 A DAY.**

Or America on \$1.53 a day with collision.

That's all it has to cost for the auto insurance you need to drive through your beautiful country when you're home on leave. And for the same prices, you get Canada, too.

Add a little more to cover shipping insurance if you're taking your car over with you.

How little it costs is only outdone by how easy we make it to get.

Simply fill out the application at the bottom of the page facing this ad, send it to us with your check and we'll mail you your policy.

Do it now so not even a minute of your leave is wasted. A.I.U. claim facilities will be at your service 24 hours a day and, if you should have to collect on a claim, we won't keep you waiting.

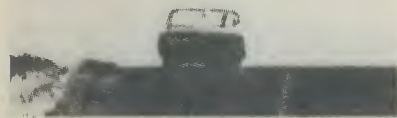
America on \$1.04 a day is based on a 90-day leave. Thirty days and the price goes up a little to \$1.86.

If somehow you've managed to accumulate four whole months, we give you America on \$.95 a day.

American International Underwriters, 1225 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, U.S.A. Telephone (202) 737-6855. Suite 415.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL UNDERWRITERS

**AMERICA
ON \$1.04 A DAY.**



TOURIST PREMIUMS UNITED STATES AND/OR CANADA.

PLANS OFFERED

(Excluding operators under 25 and/or sports cars)

PLAN A—Full Coverage:

Includes \$50,000 single limit third party Bodily Injury and Property Damage Liability, ALL RISK Auto Physical Damage (Comprehensive \$25. Deductible, Collision \$100. Deductible) and \$2,000. Medical Payments per person.

PLAN B—Legal Liability & Medical Payments Only:

Same limits as above, but no physical damage coverages.

C—House Trailers: (Third Party Coverage is automatically provided on UTILITY trailers—free of charge.)

1. For full coverage (Plan A) add value of trailer to auto value (deductibles shall apply separately to auto and trailer) plus 25% of the premium for the identical time period under Plan B for third party liability coverage.
2. For legal liability only (Plan B) add 25% to premiums shown in rating schedule for Plan B only. (All premiums are to be rounded off to the nearest dollar.)

PLAN A AUTO VALUE	TERM IN DAYS						ONE WAY MARINE SHIPMENT
	15	30	45	60	90	120	
to \$1,000	\$47	\$75	\$88	\$100	\$126	\$155	\$22
1-2,000	48	76	89	101	128	157	27
2-3,000	49	77	90	102	130	159	33
3-4,000	50	78	91	103	132	161	47
4-5,000	51	79	92	104	134	163	66
5-6,000	52	80	94	106	136	165	81
6-7,000	53	81	96	108	138	168	95
7-8,000	54	82	97	109	140	171	110
8-9,000	55	83	99	111	142	174	125
9-10,000	56	84	101	113	144	177	140
PLAN B	\$32	\$56	\$66	\$74	\$94	\$115	

D—Marine Shipment:

All Risk Marine insurance (\$50.00 deductible) may be included at the rates shown in the MARINE column (Plan A). Please complete marine shipment data on application. Available only if either Plan A or B is purchased. Rates shown above are for one way only. For round trip Marine Coverage two premiums apply.

AIU Automobile Insurance Application

Important: This application must be completed in its entirety and accompanied by a check or money order for the full premium (U.S. Dollars). Mail to A.I.U., 1225 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 415, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Name of Applicant: _____

Date of Birth: _____ Occupation: _____

Overseas Address: _____

Mail Policy To: _____

Model: _____ Make of Auto: _____ Year of Manufacture: _____

Serial Number: _____ Value: \$ _____

Will Car be Driven in Canada? _____

Name and Address of Mortgagee, if any: _____

House Trailer Data—Make: _____

Model: _____ Year: _____ Value: \$ _____

Marine Shipment Data—Port of Origin: _____

Port of Destination: _____

\$50. Deductible Sailing Date: _____

Via: _____

COVERAGE

CHECK INSURANCE PLAN DESIRED

PREMIUM

- ☐ PLAN A — Legal Liability—All Risk Physical Damage—Medical Payments
- ☐ PLAN B — Legal Liability, Medical Payments
- ☐ C — House Trailer coverage under Plan A ☐ or B ☐
- ☐ D — All Risk MARINE SHIPMENT (\$50.00 Deductible)

TOTAL PREMIUM ► \$

EFFECTIVE DATE OF COVERAGE _____ TERM _____ DAYS

Has any insurance company or underwriter declined to accept or refused to renew your auto insurance? _____ If yes, give particulars on a separate sheet. (YES OR NO)

Have you are any other persons or members of your household who will drive your car had any accidents during the past two years? _____ If yes, give particulars on a separate sheet. (YES OR NO)

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT _____

DATE _____

AFSA Urges House Intelligence Committee to Preserve Confidentiality of Policy Recommendations Within Foreign Service

Dear Congressman Pike:

I am writing on behalf of the Governing Board of the American Foreign Service Association to express our concern that your Committee's attempt to compel evidence on foreign policy recommendations individually attributable to career Foreign Service officers may damage the career Service and the foreign policy making process.

The Association is the professional association of the men and women of the Foreign Service and elected exclusive representative of some 11,000 Foreign Service officers and employees in the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, and the United States Information Agency.

The Association supports a thorough investigation of the intelligence community. We made clear in our testimony before the Murphy Commission that we believe far-reaching reforms, including greater Congressional oversight, are necessary to insure that intelligence activities contribute to our national security and foreign policy without threatening our free institutions. More generally, we fully recognize that the constitutional role of the Congress in foreign policy oversight cannot be played effectively without access to relevant policy recommendations, intelligence, and expertise.

At the same time, the Association considers that the role of the Executive Branch in foreign policy-making requires a measure of confidentiality between policy-makers and their advisers, a relationship which imposes obligations on both parties. The adviser, often a career Foreign Service officer, must provide his most intelligent and objective policy recommendations without pandering to the views he believes may be held by the policy-makers, whether in the Executive Branch or the Congress, at the time the advice is given or later. To protect the adviser from the consequences of the possible unpopularity of his or her advice outside the Executive Branch, the policy-maker is obliged not to attribute policy recommendations to individual advisers when explaining his decisions to the Congress, to whom he is accountable for these decisions.

Foreign Service people feel inherently vulnerable to pressures toward conformity in policy analysis and recommendations, whether from inside the Executive Branch, because we lack a grievance system which would effectively protect us against such pressures by our superior officers; or from outside, because we lack a substantial domestic constituency. In the McCarthy era, the policy advice of the "China Hands" was released by the Secretary of State to the Congress and the public, and misused to impugn their loyalty and blame them for the "loss" of China. Thereafter, we believe, overcaution in reporting and advice has damaged the national interest by delaying and inhibiting consideration of unorthodox foreign policy initiatives to adjust to changes in the world situation.

Efforts have been made to change this pattern in recent years. The Association sponsors a series of awards for

creative and responsible dissent by career officers. The Secretary's Open Forum Panel and the Dissent Channel have been established and used for the expression of non-conformist views and their communication to the policy level. Personnel policies have been changed to reduce career penalties for heterodoxy.

Unfortunately, this progress threatens to be reversed by the Select Committee's current attempt to compel the production of policy advice which would be individually attributable to the adviser. We do not believe the Committee has McCarthyite intentions toward the officers concerned; rather, we fear that the precedent would have a chilling effect on the confidentiality and candor between policy-maker and career officer which we believe essential to good foreign policy-making. It would tend to discourage the offering of unorthodox advice to avoid future embarrassment from some unforeseeable source in the Congress, and encourage a return to the post-McCarthy pattern of offering bland advice calculated to substantiate the decisions which officers believe their bosses want to take.

We are taking this stand because of our concern for the career Service and for good foreign policy-making, regardless of the position taken by the Secretary of State or the reasons he has taken it.

While recognizing your right of access to evidence on foreign policy-making, including policy recommendations, we urge you to reconsider your request for evidence on policy advice individually attributable to career officers, weighing its value to your investigation against the chilling effect on the foreign policy-making process and the careers of individual officers.

Thank you for your consideration of our views.

Sincerely yours,

LARS H. HYDLE

Vice President

For the Governing Board

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On behalf of the Governing Board of the American Foreign Service Association, I urge you not to transmit to the Congress information on individually attributable policy recommendations offered by career officers of the Foreign Service.

We agree with the view expressed by Mr. Eagleburger in his September 25 testimony before the House Select Committee on Intelligence that officers of any level should be available to the Congress to discuss facts relating to foreign policy events, but that only policy-level officers should discuss policy recommendations, without associating any particular individual with any particular course of action or recommendation. Certain past Secretaries of State have not protected career Foreign Service officers from Congressional and public scrutiny and distortion of their best professional efforts, with melancholy consequences for the career Service and for foreign policy formulation.

(Continued on page 10)

USAA protection and service. Anywhere you serve.

USAA insurance protection serves the same way the Foreign Service does. At home and abroad.

Stateside, USAA offers a full line of insurance. Insurance protection for your automobile, your home and household goods, your boat, and your personal property and liability. Insurance protection for less money than many companies charge.

In many overseas stations you can purchase policies that give you insurance coverage designed for your location or adapt the coverages you have already bought stateside. But being overseas doesn't mean being far from USAA. By doing all our selling and service by mail, we're close by, fast and efficient.

USAA isn't far away when you have a claim to make, either. USAA backs up its

coverage with a network of world-wide claims representatives for fast, fair claim settlement.

Once you establish your membership in USAA by becoming a policyholder, you are eligible to buy additional insurance at any time. Even if you leave the Foreign Service. Or retire.

Mail the prepaid coupon for information; there's no obligation.



INSURANCE

AT YOUR COMMAND

SEND INFORMATION FOR INSURANCE CHECKED BELOW

CLIP THIS CONVENIENT COUPON

(Available only to ambassadors; career ministers; commissioned officers of the Foreign Service and the United States Information Agency, including officers in the Junior FSO program whose Presidential appointments are pending confirmation; Foreign Service Reserve Officers and Foreign Service Staff Officers while holding Presidential appointments as Consular Officers or as Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service; and those who are retired as commissioned officers.)

PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE WITHIN SPACE BELOW

5316

Full Name

Personal Rank and Class

Soc. Sec. No.

Street Address City State Zip Country

Area Code Phone Number (if Stateside)

USAA Membership No.
☐ Not a USAA Member
☐ Former USAA Member

R and S classes not eligible unless holding a Presidential commission.

UNITED SERVICES AUTOMOBILE ASSN. (A reciprocal interinsurance exchange)

☐ Automobile ☐ Insurance for Renters ☐ Boatowners
☐ Household Goods ☐ Combination Household ☐ Homeowners or Dwelling
and Personal Effects— ☐ Goods and Comprehensive ☐ Fire and Allied Perils
Worldwide (clothing, china, ☐ Personal Liability
cameras, golf clubs, etc.) ☐ Personal Articles
☐ Comprehensive Personal ☐ Floater (expensive single
items—jewelry, furs, art, etc.)
Liability

First Class
Permit No. 707
San Antonio, Texas

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No postage stamp necessary if mailed in the United States, its territories or possessions, or from U.S. military installations overseas.

Postage will be paid by

USAA

USAA Building
San Antonio, Texas 78284

CLIP, FOLD, SEAL ALL SIDES, AND MAIL AS POSTAGE-PAID BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE.

Recommended Reading

MARTIN F. HERZ

IN ASSEMBLING this list I have been assisted by a panel of experts, some in academia, some in the Department, some in the press. They were promised anonymity, and their recommendations in any case only rarely yielded a consensus, so I will once more take personal responsibility for the selections. The criterion was not the importance of the book, not even its excellence, but *usefulness* to the practitioner of foreign affairs. Since the last such list appeared in the JOURNAL in 1971, only books that appeared since then were considered.

General. Most of the current literature in foreign affairs, when it is not specialized, is critical of American policy. This is especially true of survey volumes. It is also true of some of the Congressional Hearings reports, even though there the government does at least get its day in court. There simply is no single, reasonably up-to-date volume to which a reader can turn for a systematic exposition of the purposes and rationale of our foreign policy, particularly since there has been neither a President's Report nor a Report of the Secretary since 1973.

Under these circumstances it can only be hoped that readers in the Foreign Service keep up with the statements of the Secretary of State. Having found no one with the temerity to single out those which are "most important," I will on my own authority recommend four, which most readers will already have read: (1) The Kissinger statement on détente on September 19, 1974 which appeared in the State Department BULLETIN of October 14, 1974; (2) his interview with James Reston of the New York TIMES, reprinted in the BULLETIN of November 11, 1974; (3) his speech to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council in the BULLETIN of February 17, 1975; and (4) the one to the St. Louis World Affairs Council, in the BULLETIN of June 2, 1975.

Incidentally, the complete record of the Senate Foreign Rela-

tions Committee hearings on détente makes interesting and useful reading and is available from the GPO for \$4.40. Oddly enough, the Secretary's formal statement is in tiny print because he did not deliver it orally. But in readable size there are statements by such experts on US-Soviet relations as Marshall Shulman, Adam Ulam, George Kennan and Averell Harriman. There is also, of course, the wide-ranging colloquy between Kissinger, Fulbright and the other Senators. A good item to have in one's library.

Surveys. There are three noteworthy books: Raymond Aron's "The Imperial Republic"; Alastair Buchan's "The End of the Postwar Era" and, on a much more systematic level, "The Next Phase in Foreign Policy" by a team of the Brookings Institution. How to choose among these books? The Brookings study, edited by Henry Owen, is organized by subject (US-Japan relations, US-Soviet relations, US Policy in the Middle East, etc.), each chapter contributed by a specialist. Naturally it is uneven. It is written for those who wish to have the gamut of problems interpreted by experts, and doesn't struggle to elaborate large principles. It is a book useful especially for the professional who wishes to obtain breadth of understanding by reading about areas outside his own specialized interest.

The Aron and Buchan books are both useful. It is no accident that both authors are foreigners—the best analyses of the American polity have usually been written by scholars looking in from the outside, such as de Tocqueville, Bryce, and Brogan. Aron's book does not deal with the current agenda but attempts to lead the reader from 1945 to the present. His perspective is French and sometimes acidulous, but it is less painful and perhaps more profitable to see this Olympian scholar dissect what he considers our mistakes than to see it done by partisans at home; and his perspective on Kissinger, for instance, is that of a fellow-historian and political scientist.

Buchan's volume is organized to cover the gamut of world problems, and at the same time attempts to conceptualize and set out the broad trends which are likely to confront

us during the last quarter of this century. It is remarkable for its clarity, but is heavier going than Aron. I will not attempt to break the tie between the two books. It is noteworthy that both Aron and Buchan, despite criticisms of American mistakes, display anxiety over the decrease of American power and influence, and a concern for that much-discredited but necessary concept, a balance of power(s) in the world.

The Home Front. Easily the most useful book to appear on developing American attitudes not only on foreign affairs but on the whole agenda of our country is "State of the Nation 1974" by William Watts and Lloyd A. Free (not to be confused with an earlier volume of a similar title by the same authors). Its value derives from its combination of masterful summaries of the "objective" scene with respect to such subjects as Urban Affairs, The Young, Health Care, and of course International Affairs, and lucid expositions of public opinion trends on the basis of polling data. Anyone abroad who wishes to keep abreast of changing attitudes at home should read this book.

But there is one even more useful that illuminates trends on a completely different basis, namely "The Real America" by Ben J. Wattenberg. Few of us, who depend on first-hand observations and reading of the daily press for our perceptions of America, are aware of the tremendous social changes that have occurred in our country over the last decade. Wattenberg brings these out on the basis of data from the latest census—and manages to do so in an exciting manner. He demonstrates that we have been experiencing the equivalent of a revolution through a quantum jump in the size and affluence of the middle class, including the black middle class. Although Wattenberg takes aim at what he calls the "failure and guilt complex" in the United States, his views and the facts on which he bases them have had some acceptance in the liberal camp because he raised the question whether liberal social policies aren't better justified by demonstrating past success than by claiming that our system has failed. Although the book came out before

the current recession, its basic findings have lost none of their usefulness particularly to those of us who must try to explain broad social trends in our country to foreigners.

China. Here I am happy to report a unanimous choice among experts who were consulted: A. Doak Barnett's "Uncertain Passage—China's Transition to the Post-Mao Era." There is no runner-up. Although it starts, as it were, in the middle, not bothering much with how we got to the present, it contains enormously valuable insights into the Chinese power structure, economy, and foreign policy, all in the context of an analysis of China's options and likely courses of action in the future. Perhaps the excellence of this volume is due to the fact that the subject is no longer controversial: Barnett does not have to try to show any longer what went wrong and why; he has no ax to grind. Instead, he deals with the current situation dispassionately and on the basis of profound scholarship.

The Press. Whether we like it or not, the Foreign Service is in urgent need of a greater understand-

ing of the American press, how it operates, interacts with government, and what is its value system. I am indebted to one panel member for signaling a little-known volume, "Reporters and Officials" by Leon V. Sigal, which is useful because it describes in terms of concrete situations how press and public officials interacted, sometimes disastrously, sometimes to mutual profit. This is a short, scholarly book which leaves it to each reader to draw his own conclusions.

If you want something more entertaining, I would recommend "The Boys On The Bus" by Timothy Crouse. While it deals on one level only with the interaction of the press corps and the Presidential candidates in the 1972 elections, on a broader plane it contains a wealth of insights in the form of anecdotes illustrating the power of individual newsmen, or of a developing consensus among them, to shape events. It shows how dull events can be made exciting and vice versa, how presidential candidates can humble themselves and be humbled, and how certain newspapers influence the

news reporting of the networks. Depending on the point of view of the reader, such anecdotes are not only enlightening but also amusing—or frightening.

In the field of foreign affairs there is one fascinating case study, but it has never been published. I recommend it nevertheless because your Bureau or Embassy can obtain it from the State Department Library by requesting xerox copies of pages S 4187 to 4194 of the Congressional Record—Senate for March 21, 1974. That item contains an article from the New York TIMES entitled "Vast Aid from United States Backs Saigon in Continuing War," together with 69 corrections or refutations provided by Ambassador Graham A. Martin (of which the TIMES and the Washington POST reported only a fraction, and not the most telling points). The controversy itself is now over the dam, but the case study has continuing poignancy, and the subject will no doubt continue to be discussed.

Disarmament and Military Affairs. Far and away the best book on SALT I has been written by

Does your wine list include one of the finest names from home?

The Christian Brothers, with headquarters in the prestigious Napa Valley, are among the oldest vintners of California wines.

Their reputation for fine varietal wines is established throughout the world. Gamay Noir and Zinfandel were acclaimed two "of the best California reds" by French gastronomes Henri Gault and Christian Millau, in a recent article in *Newsweek*. These and other fine wines from The Christian Brothers cellars can be served with pride, and the confidence that you are offering your country's choicest.

If you buy for Embassies or other American delegations, you will want a copy of our "Export Guide" to The Christian Brothers Premium California Wines. We offer complete service anywhere in the world.

The Christian Brothers
Vintners of The Napa Valley, California



WRITE: CHARLES J. CANDIANO, DEPT. F.S., FROMM AND SICHEL, INC., 655 BEACH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109
Worldwide Distributors: Fromm and Sichel, Inc. San Francisco, California.

Washington Bound?

The Best Way to Go...

Let Guest Quarters help make your stay in the nation's capital enjoyable. Reserve a room with us and we give you one or two bedrooms, a living room, dining area, and even a fully equipped kitchen. On temporary duty or relocating your family, you will appreciate the kind of "guest quarters" we provide.

Guest Quarters

Reserve A Room We Give You A Suite

Washington South
100 S. Reynolds Street
Alexandria, Va. 22304
(703) 370-9600

From \$18 per day

Washington Intown
New Hampshire Ave. & H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 785-2000

Three blocks from State Department
From \$30 per day

Other Guest Quarters in
Atlanta, Ga. and Greensboro, N.C.

"E. J. Kahn, Jr.'s best book?"

—ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

THE CHINA HANDS

E.J. KAHN, Jr.

AMERICA'S FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS
AND WHAT BEFELL THEM

"A delight to read."

—THEODORE H. WHITE

"Fascinating."

—ANTHONY LEWIS

\$12.95

THE VIKING PRESS

625 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

John Newhouse, in his "Cold Dawn: The Story of SALT." This is the most scholarly work on the subject in the public literature. An excellent volume that contains historical summaries on the negotiations of all existing arms control agreements was put out by ACDA in "Arms Control and Disarmament Agreement." Of course, it contains also the texts, but the historical summaries are the most instructive part.

The Department is blessed with not just one high-level conceptualizer and brilliant articulator of policy, but with two: Some of ACDA Director Fred C. Iklé's speeches are lucid and cogent summaries of complex nuclear arms control problems and therefore definitely belong in the category of "useful" reading for the non-specialist. I recommend especially two: "Nuclear Disarmament Without Secrecy," an address to the Council on Foreign Relations September 5, 1974; and "The Second Nuclear Era" given to an audience at the United States Naval Academy on April 23, 1975. These can be obtained free by writing to the Office of Public Affairs, ACDA.

Among other military issues, the question of US troops in Europe is perhaps the most important; and so it is a bit embarrassing to recommend another book by John Newhouse, but nothing better on the subject has appeared than his slim volume, produced with three co-authors in the Brookings Institution, entitled "US Troops in Europe—Issues, Costs and Choices." Published in 1971, it is a bit dated (for instance it expresses skepticism whether a CSCE will ever take place), but the analysis and general line of argumentation are still fresh. "US Troops in Europe" deals essentially with the question *whether* and how much are necessary. A later Brookings book, "US Force Structure in NATO" deals with the question whether we have the right kind of troops in Europe prepared for the right contingency.

Vietnam. Several panel members recommended David Halberstam's "The Best And The Brightest" as a book that sheds light on policy-making in the United States Government. Although it is exceedingly well-written, I do not like it

because it represents a concealed form of advocacy journalism, leaving out a lot that doesn't fit with the author's point of view. Yet it must be recognized that Halberstam has had enormous influence. For those who will read this book or have already done so, I would recommend—for balance—a reading also of "Peace Is Not At Hand" by Sir Robert Thompson, though only if you are still interested in binocular vision, i.e. in seeing the same subject from two differing perspectives.

Kissinger. I have read both books recommended by members of the panel, "Kissinger" by Marvin and Bernard Kalb, and "Kissinger: Portrait of a Mind" by Stephen R. Graubard. The Kalb book is journalism, the Graubard book (termed "too adulatory" by one panel member) is scholarship. The Kalbs write more entertainingly and carry you almost to the present, whereas Graubard is best when he deals with the early Kissinger. Both books are useful, and they complement each other nicely, the Kalb book by showing also the Secretary's working habits, Graubard by laying bare his intellectual roots. I think Graubard's is the more useful book. If you read it you will understand, for instance, that it is nonsense to speak of Kissinger as an admirer, let alone emulator of Metternich; if he aspires to emulate any 19th century diplomat, it is Castlereagh.

Then there is the expanded edition of "American Foreign Policy" which was originally published in early 1969 but now contains six policy speeches delivered in 1973, plus excerpts from the Senate hearings on the Kissinger nomination. For anyone who has not read the earlier volume, this new edition would be useful; but the new material alone would not warrant putting it on the list of recommended reading, particularly if you have access to the more recent speeches flagged under the heading "General" above.

Policy-Making. "Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy" by Morton H. Halperin was recommended by a number of panelists. While other books deal with the merits, or lack thereof, of certain policies, analyzing them either historically or in terms of ethical or balance-of-power or other criteria

relating to their *value*, Halperin has found it possible to analyze policy decisions entirely in terms of the selfishness, parochial interest, partisan political advantage, or cowardice of the individual players in the United States Government. Although incomplete as a source of enlightenment, this does add a perspective as well as piquancy for practitioners of our profession, particularly since he tattles freely about things that many would probably have preferred to see unreported.

While copiously footnoted, much of the documentation of Halperin's book represents opinions expressed about the motivation of other people—what the French call *procès d'intention*. It is a pity that this book must be recommended as "must" reading because it is the only case study material of its kind available. If the dimension of "bureaucratic politics" could be combined with the kind of higher-level analysis of case studies used in Neustadt's "Alliance Politics" (recommended in the last list of this series), we would have more useful material for instruction. The De-

partment should allow social scientists to undertake more complete case studies of policy formulation and execution which might remain classified for a number of years and which meanwhile would be useful for pedagogic purposes, for instance in the Foreign Service Institute.

Two other books dealing with policy formulation, but on a very different basis, are worth mentioning: Bernard Brodie's "War and Politics," which is probably the most thoughtful volume in years on how and why nations enter wars, win or lose them, and what has changed in this respect in recent years; and Lloyd C. Gardner's "American Foreign Policy, Present to Past" which consists almost entirely of documentary material, with the focus on Vietnam, Korea, and "Cold War Crises in the Third World." The book has a revisionist point of view, and if allowance is made for this it makes useful reading.

History. In the last article of this series, I recommended Louis J. Halle's "The Cold War As History" as the most useful and most

objective book on the subject. Since then, "The United States and the Origins of the Cold War" by John Lewis Gaddis has appeared. Detailed and scholarly, yet very readable, this is a balanced work that can be read with profit. For those who find the works of Williams, Alperovitz, Kolko, Clemens and Gardner plausible, a healthy antidote is recommended in "The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War" by Robert James Maddox. It is surely not the last word in the controversy.

A number of panelists recommended the book "Lessons of the Past" by Ernest R. May, subtitled "The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy." It is a strange book, devoted to demonstrating Schlesinger's dictum that "Santayana's aphorism must be reversed: too often it is those who *can* remember the past who are condemned to repeat it." In other words, false historical parallels got us into difficulties. But how to tell true from false parallels? The author's first example is hardly convincing: It is that

Continued on page 22

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.)

Security has worked hard to earn its reputation as the foremost authority on shipping conditions throughout the world.

We've followed government families everywhere. And, we've followed up. To the extent that our Chief Executive was in both Peking and Moscow within the short space of six weeks.



**Security Storage Company
of Washington**

MAIN OFFICE: 1701 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009
PHONE: (202) 234-5600/MARYLAND: Bethesda-Chevy Chase, Marlow Heights,
White Oak/VIRGINIA: Alexandria, McLean
PHILIP LARNER GORE, President

NOTE TO FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL



USE OUR LINE (OF CREDIT) AND SHRINK THE WORLD

Jet travel makes the world seem smaller. But get stuck somewhere without ready cash — and it's a pretty big world after all. That's why the convenience of American Security Bank's Ready Reserve Checking is even more important overseas.

Ready Reserve is a form of pre-approved loan, a line of credit up to \$6000. You apply for it once. You use it only when you need it. With Ready Reserve, when you need funds for any purpose—you simply write a check. In effect, your checkbook becomes an emergency loan fund that you can use anywhere in the world.

Get a line on this line-of-credit service. Write to American Security Bank for a Ready Reserve application. Or, when you're in Washington, visit any of our 30 offices. (There's one in the State Department Building.) Ready Reserve is one of the 99 services (at least!) that makes American Security the bank for the worldly wise.



**AMERICAN
SECURITY
BANK**

AMERICAN SECURITY
AND TRUST COMPANY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

20013

Phone 624-4000. Member FDIC.

EDITORIALS from page 4

However, we are dissatisfied with certain aspects of the Department's efforts to "protect the integrity of the personnel of the Department of State and the Foreign Service." It seems clear that the mandatory presence of a Department representative at interviews between officers and the Committee, regardless of the presence of the individual officer's own legal representative, is really for the protection of the Department and raises questions about the Department's attitude toward the constitutional rights of its employees to contact the Congress. It would be more helpful if the Department would arrange for legal assistance from the Justice Department for career officers summoned before the Congress, as it routinely does for policy-level officials.

More importantly, Mr. Secretary, it is not enough to protect Foreign Service people only from threats from outside the Executive Branch. Inside, we still risk damage to our careers by expressing unorthodox views and advice, in the absence of an effective grievance system. We welcome the foreign affairs agencies' recent decision to seek grievance legislation, and we urge you to demonstrate your concern for the protection of individual career officers and employees, and of the policy-making process, by pushing strongly for grievance legislation offering due-process guarantees against the victimization of dissenting or unorthodox career officers and employees.

Sincerely yours,
LARS H. HYDLE
Vice President
For the Governing Board

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION Act of August 12, 1970 (Section 3686, Title 39, United States Code)		
1. TITLE OF PUBLICATION FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL	2. DATE OF FILING 8/29/75	
3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE 12 times a year	3A. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE \$6.00	
4. LOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS OF PUBLICATION (Street, city, county, state and ZIP code) (Not printers) 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037		
5. LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF PUBLISHERS (Not printers) 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037		
6. NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR		
PUBLISHER (Name and address) American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C.		
EDITOR (Name and address) Shirley R. Newhall, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 20037		
MANAGING EDITOR (Name and address) 		
7. OWNER (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.)		
NAME ADDRESS American Foreign Service Association 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037		
8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES, AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING 1 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES (If there are none, so state)		
NAME ADDRESS American Foreign Service Protective Suite 1305, 1750 Penna. Ave., N.W. Association Washington, D.C. 20006		
9. FOR OPTIONAL COMPLETION BY PUBLISHERS MAILING AT THE REGULAR RATES (Section 132.121 Postal Service Manual) 36 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4355 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rate." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail my publication under item 3 at the reduced postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signature and title of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner) <i>Shirley R. Newhall</i> Editor		
10. FOR COMPLETION BY NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AUTHORIZED TO MAIL AT SPECIAL RATES (Section 132.122 Postal Service Manual) (Check one) The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes: ☒ Have not changed during preceding 12 months ☐ Have changed during preceding 12 months (If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.)		
11. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION		AVERAGE NO. COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED (Net Press Run)		8616
B. PAID CIRCULATION 1. SALES THROUGH DEALERS AND CARRIERS, STREET VENDORS, AND COUNTER SALES		8600
2. MAIL SUBSCRIPTIONS		8168
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION		8213
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER OR OTHER MEANS SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY, AND OTHER FREE COPIES		200
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C and D)		8368
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED 1. OFFICE USE, LEFT OVER, UNACCOUNTED, SPOILED AFTER PRINTING		248
2. RETURNS FROM NEWS AGENTS		191
G. TOTAL (Sum of E & F—should equal net press run shown in A)		8616
H. ACTUAL NUMBER OF COPIES OF SINGLE ISSUE PUBLISHED NEAREST TO FILING DATE		8600
I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. SIGNATURE OF EDITOR, PUBLISHER, BUSINESS MANAGER, OR OWNER <i>Shirley R. Newhall</i> Editor		

PS Form 3526 (Page 1)
Jan 1975

(See instructions on reverse)

Who then to frail mortality shall trust
But limns on water, or but writes in dust.—Bacon

Diplomacy and Mortality ***in West Africa:*** **Domestic Life** **Abroad**

LAWRENCE B. LESSER

The difficulty in writing a poem about routine family life in West Africa lay in consecrating the time. The day chosen, a Sunday, full of interruptions.

The interruptions are the stuff of the poem.

Here is the calm, advanced family, entertaining itself.

It's an intrusion, an indulgence of self-consciousness, to distance oneself—and I'm speaking of me, the father and nominal chief—from the events and write them up, choosing them, ordering and reordering them, inventing and reinventing them for paper, and all the time events that are happening before my very eyes.

And besides, poetic language itself is hard for me to do without making sentimental lapses.

Or worse, exposing the soft core in my own, carefully composed,

hardboiled sensibility;

Or worse, exposing the nearly cosmic despair at the core of the sentiment.

Exposing that, exposing truths better hidden

That rise to expression unbidden

You know, all around me are children,

My own and my friends', noisy and vital;

They ride and shout, argue and resolve.

My daughter, three and a half. In the blue pedal-car crashes her friend.

"We're going slowly, 'cause there's traffic."

"Oh, I forgot to go to the market."

The boys cycle through the neighborhood like princes in boots and holsters, free to explore and greet, wander and practice diplomacy. All of it they do well, thrilling their parents at their poise, at their own joy which they articulate at discovering how much they can do and how easily. At six.

They remind us as they grow of what we were

And of what we must become;

That there is no returning

*That prospects, for so long bright, are bleak
Or will be bleak
That maintenance of ardor
Is harder*

My life shall be a seamless web, harmonious, yet subtle and modern.

I am a conglomerate in myself, yea, a multinational corporation, me.

There, here is no poem, no story line, no image to hum—

It will not end happily.

—Upbeat—

My wife knows all I know, but the despair.

*"Those are the rules." Play around old friends,
And playing admits no break to prepare*

For sad endings to days time spends.

(My doggerel. That it should come to this.

That I should so impose.

Don't be embarrassed to go on out before I'm through.

No need to stand on ceremony with me.)

"Daddy. Daddy. Stacy wants a drink."

"Wait a minute, Stacy. My Daddy will get it in a minute. He's just writing."

The sworn truth is that this is no poem, no short story. It is an informal essay, and if it has a theme I should state it, not to waste your valuable time. I may shout it out before the end. Dear listener, this plain informal essay, you must be persuaded is the product of

A Normal Mind

Otherwise insignificant.

Furthermore, audience, your mind is required to be equally normal, to get the full force of all the shattering things I am reporting.

There is no story today.

Today I am happy, today.

Today I am the spirit of the age,

And more; of all ages, of old mortality.

Of all ages, my adored daughter, my admired son,

Never having visited any place but earth.

Life high-stepping along, hardly begun,

(A rhyme scheme slowly imposing order,

The appearance of order on the free-wheeling)

Larry Lesser, a former member of the JOURNAL Board, is presently serving at the American Embassy, Brussels. His previous assignments have been Washington, Ouagadougou and New Delhi, plus a hitch with the Peace Corps in Enugu, just like it says in the essay. He also has a family like the one you will read about, a madcap bunch taking their good time about growing up together.

*Illuminations painted on the border
Comfort me with slogans, discipline
your feeling.
Watch those children—energy, optimism,
mirth.*

(not a bad stanza; from here
where do we go?)

THE STREET outside our house is always quiet. Opposite our luxurious house stands the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany. On its flanks are, respectively, a French family's house (we don't know them), and the national headquarters of the largest political party. On our own side of the street we have lots without completed houses on both sides. The left lot has walls raised in cement blocks, but no construction has taken place for at least a year. Grass is growing there in the courtyard, a sure sign of abandonment. We of course have grass; it is our lawn. Foreigners may have lawns, but otherwise in this country only unused spaces have grass. Built-up places have either beaten dirt, gravel, or cement. On our right, there is only a humble shack, busy with people. No construction of a modern villa is even in prospect.

Our house is immense and handsome, a tribute to the power, wealth, and good taste of the leading government—even in these troubled times—of the entire world. Americans did not build the house but rent it, live in it, and are well paid for our trouble. At that fine house vehicles are strewn everywhere about this Sunday—our car, our motor-bike, two bicycles, a scooter, a large rideable ladybug, a large rideable choo-choo train.

(In the room the women come and go

Talking of Bobo-Dioulasso.)

We are but four. We four family are perfectly planned—every sex is represented in two generations, without waste or inefficiency. Me and my wife, our son and our daughter. We provide direct employment for three more; a cook, a houseboy and a gardener. We deliberately keep a dog, and many other animals keep us: mice, rats, lizards, insects.

We have all the modern helps to survival such as air conditioning, a gas range, hot water, glass windows, but still we live much closer

to natural things than in an American city. (Anyway, strictly speaking, no matter how many helps one has to survival, in the end he never survives.) We always know that we are living in tropical Africa.

We use the power, the handsome salary, first to play the role proposed to us. It is a complicated role, permissive of endless variation, but it has its limits. I am my country's eyes and mouth in this foreign country: I tell America how Upper Volta looks to me, and I tell Upper Volta what America wants me to. Noble and appropriate work, I think—good in itself. It is communication, one of the goods-in-themselves still generally unchallenged.

But the eyes/mouth jazz is just the beginning. The whole role is profoundly more complicated: to personify the Good America. To embody the characteristics of which She is characteristically most proud. To make of my life a lesson.

All nonsense, perhaps, but I am not the only one who takes such nonsense seriously. There is no other way but seriously to take it. Look.

Take the following commonly-held American belief—almost universal, I guess—that each individual is unique and that one of society's chief purposes is to guarantee that he can develop his potentialities to their fullest. Every individual realizing his full potential. We don't always do it, but does any American argue against the idea?

Not everybody in the world agrees. Traditional societies like Upper Volta's have not trained on individual differences. They teach each child his place, fit him into it, and go on to the next. "Here you don't get ahead, you get along." But in 20th Century Earth the individualism idea is easily caught, and the post-traditional Voltans ("evolved" was the word the French used for them before greater sensitivity felled the word from favor) are much more like us, but they are also sources of stress and instability to their own society. One of the few fortunate circumstances of this poor country has brought a few modern young men to influence and power while letting the traditionalists down gently. The elite rule.

And the American, theoretically

on the side of modernity, proud of freedom of expression and dissent in his own country, proud of the bold and risky cultural leaps—dirty words, technological flashiness, rock music, civil disobedience—what does he tell the foreigners who see little to admire in such manifestations? How should he choose to play America? He, like any actor, must study and plan his interpretation, that he may communicate with fidelity the author-director-artist's viewpoint without alienating his suspicious audience. It's a fancy trick when it works, and it deserves your applause if you are still with me.

These considerations, and this manner of expressing them—expository, genteel, non-emotive reflections concerning proper cultivation of the diplomatic personality—are still only a single coat of cool over more fundamental considerations, and a manner of expression full of passion and despair; truer, sadder, and ultimately self-destroying, yet never very far from the surface.

See below.

The problem proposed.

At once like a bladder and like wind;

*You kick it and hit it, it moves,
but not its shape;*

*That don't change, not its size
either . . . and it bounces.*

*Or you feel it and watch for it,
but it's there*

*And gone, and not under control
when there*

*And not easy to describe in
words either way.*

*The problem: I am Old
Mortality, a dark rider.*

*What I know is that all men
are equal.*

*They are all heading down the
same dark corridor.*

*And maybe it ain't a pretty
sight, no, at that time.*

*When they get to where they're
heading, forget 'em.*

The end is contained in the beginning, even my adored admired children's, health-bursts talking sixteen to the dozen, picking information up from the very air. Picking things up from me and from their mother, Harriet, and from their little good friends and the good fathers and mothers of those friends.

Richard told Nina to eat her food. I listened as they debated—

he almost six, she three and a half—how long you have to not eat before you would die.

"No, Richard. I don't eat lots of times and I don't die," says Nina.

Richard laughs his elder condescension and says, "No, you have to not eat for a long, long time."

I explain patiently again that you have to eat good food regularly in order to be strong and healthy. I don't explain that even if you follow that unexceptionable regime for eighty years or so, where does it leave you? And after another fifty years or so?

Why worry?

The problem agonized over.

Death is coming, the end of life.

Hide the children, warn the wife.

He's come to some; we still remain,

*So far so good, but how detain
That damned persistent sou of a bitch*

*When he checks his watch and
throws our switch*

*And dumps us one by one
abroad*

*And puts us up by the throne of
gawd*

Aud laughs up his sleeve.

I didn't believe!

*You see he's coming, late or
soon,*

*The pig-eyed thug, the fat buf-
foou,*

*He'll take us all, the big, the
fat,*

And he'll take you too, you

*(stupid, cookie-pushing, ass-
kissing, strutting, snug) dip-
lomat!*

THE GENERATIONS pass gently through like a great old river: people get born, grow up, grow old, and die. We flow downstream toward the inevitable ocean and beyond. Only God gets to sit on the bank, an old black man fishing off the side, puffing on a gray pipe, whiskers two weeks grown.

I think about my father, twenty-five years older than me, as I am twenty-five years older than my son. The link that places me between them slipping downstream from the child's place towards the grandfather's invites me to consider what miracles brought us here, to Ouagadougou.

Because it's crazy enough to

contemplate in isolation what could put a man in Ouagadougou at all to do diplomacy; an American pursuing his own and his country's interests by getting to know and love such a remote place and people for two years. And—since he does not come alone—his wife and children fitting their lives to his, appearing not to mind, maybe even strengthened and more fulfilled for it, as he is himself. Well, why not? Where could we go in the world that would not be miraculous? Looked at through the wide open eyes of reason. I think I know how I look to the natives.

"The generations pass gently through like a great old river: people get born, grow up, grow old, and die. We flow downstream toward the inevitable ocean and beyond. Only God gets to sit on the bank . . ."

Interlude: Passing Strange

*Lope past tropical wildlife,
tourist,*

*Short-timer, meat-eater, vitals
surest,*

*Raised for tasks denied the
poorest.*

Run in our forest.

*You were raised in streets and
rubbish*

In your father's city's chaos.

*Why do you think you ken our
fetish,*

Stamping in the forest?

*Fathers and sons, villages and
uations,*

*Our vision little changed by
machines,*

*Although we show you pa-
tience*

To negotiate in the forest.

The forest is turning to sand

*By force of nature, people,
time,*

*In spite of what development
planned*

*Agriculture and politics com-
bine*

*To heave up the cracked
earth,*

Fell trees too tall to stand,

*Mock the joy greeting new
birth*

In such a sterile land.

*Then you bound forward full
of power,*

*Not of our place, nor to re-
main long,*

*Stretching for your particular
hour*

*Among us, but different; bol-
der than we are.*

Where is your village, tourist?

Where does your father live?

*Your own child, where is his
place?*

*Where does he come from;
where is his home?*

*For though I see you running
past*

I think it passing strange,

*To choose to live as though
outcast*

Wandering a widening range.

*When howsoever you may
roam,*

*You must remember; and your
child will grow;*

*And as time passes you won-
der about home,*

*Your home, the place you
must know.*

There was that tribal impulse in me as well as the national impulse. I thought of myself coming from somewhere, but since I am an American the place shifts as I go back in time, to somewhere else, where immigrants come from. My father was born in New York City a few years after his parents landed there from Eastern Europe: Poland, Russia. They didn't tell their children or grandchildren about where they spent their childhoods, and in fact they were hardly ever asked about it. Now they have died without decent biographies.

My father grew up tough then, because his parents didn't master the system in America, because it is tough growing up in New York anyway, and because the depression came along to make things much worse and led him to leave school early. But he had the right temperament for the tough/tender style that those hard times encouraged. He fascinated people with his enormous energy. He was well liked, but it was more than that; he was ferocious in expressing himself, self-disciplined and

single-minded in a narrowly bounded world. He knew he was talented, but since the circumstances and the times kept him from becoming a professional or an intellectual he seemed instead to welcome disadvantage and the come-from-behind fight. He was street wise, and in his young manhood he tried doing many different things all around New York, doing them well, but only small-scale things. And he married my mother, pretty and rather refined; her immigrant father had done better in America than his had.

My father was twenty-five when I was born. He was beginning to harness his angry energy to a task he would pursue fiercely for the next quarter century, his own business. In that time he would bring himself shoulder to shoulder with more comfortably endowed contemporaries or those immigrants' sons who had got out ahead of him and had achieved respectability as lawyers and doctors and dentists and clothing manufacturers and wholesalers. His business was the cleaning of furniture, rugs, curtains and draperies.

My three brothers and I grew up in a home that gradually became grander. Over the years, friends of my parents became less rough-hewn, better educated. Never were they a match for my father in sheer brute energy, and he was often delighted to show them up in one way or another for being several steps behind him, less incisive, less fit for the harsh world that was no respecter of backgrounds and paper credentials. But he also envied these people their easier styles. Did they fake it? Were they really at peace with themselves, or were they pretenders, sealing themselves into a manageable social circle with their peers? To be more like them, my father took up golf, a pastime he had ridiculed in earlier years, and brought his characteristic ferocity to the game. He also took up bridge seriously, and his penetrating mind and defiant arrogance made him a superior player.

Over the years my father's business grew and his children grew up and he and my mother sensed various milestones passed and goals achieved that brought plenty of fulfillment, but never enough, and that also signalled the passage of time closing off still other desired

possibilities; in short, my father wanted things he couldn't have. He wanted to start again, perhaps, and be a different sort of person next time. He was furious as he thought about it, I think, that life itself is so unfair, so rigid in its rules and bounds. He would have liked to blame his dissatisfaction on having had to leave school too soon, but lack of education hadn't really held him back; he had caught up with the better educated and strode past most of them. He got to see enough of doctors, lawyers, professors, and dentists to confirm that many of them are not only venal, corrupt, or boorish, but sometimes pretty damn stupid. Clowns called genius, saint or philosopher by their fellow-professionals. Lazy or mean sons of bitches. My father developed a disguised contempt for the people who had attained a fraudulent peace of mind. Privately he sometimes told himself, I guess, that the swells and blowhards he came to associate with were, in terms of real accomplishment, often his inferiors. But they acted superior, and over the years my father adjusted his behavior to be more like theirs.

As he grew older he wanted reassurance that his life had a meaningful and special purpose. The world offered little such assurance. Why should he be special? But he thought he was, and he started searching for a manifestation of it, and for a way to demonstrate it to everyone. This idea was never articulated, but it could be inferred from the growing measure of desperation in his behavior. He became more difficult to live with in harmony, a problem I had little contact with because by this time I had grown up and moved away. My mother and my youngest brother were the only ones left at home. I had begun the strange journey away from New York; to Ithaca, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Enugu, New Delhi, and then Ouagadougou. But we always kept in touch.

My father diverted his energy from his business. He made maybe a million dollars in dry cleaning, but at last he sold the business, on excellent terms, to a much larger corporation, hoping to climb high in the larger corporate management by force of merit. Experience had taught him, surely, that it doesn't

happen by merit, but he insisted that it might work for him. It didn't. He tried to get a toehold in the boardroom, which was all he would need to establish his credentials.

But those fellows already there didn't want him—he was too aggressive, too hungry, too blunt, too threatening, perhaps even too talented; and they kept him out with ridiculous ease.

For once he was thoroughly beaten. He changed his life again to accommodate this disappointment. He even left New York, for an effort at retirement in Florida; a man with enormous unspent energy and no clear idea what to do with it. Has he now nothing better to look forward to than a comfortable old age and the slow banking of the fires of his mind and body?

Maybe there is something else. His heroic efforts to make of his life an inspiring and comprehensive whole were perhaps overreaching, but they gave a decisive turn to the slow wheel of the generations. My father knew from the beginning that his children would be important in defining his own life. That frightened him, because he had rejected his own father, a man of unrealized potential whose emigration from Russia to America had not turned out well for him, and who took out his frustration in raising his six children. They all eventually left him alone, and even his old-country wife divorced him. He, of course, was a first-generation American, and he lost all contact with the previous generation of his own family. All that comes down to me about his father is that he worked on riverboats and was a powerful man.

The history of the family in Russia is rudely cut off when the emigration occurs. How long does it then take to achieve stability in the new country, and how long to develop a serene and joyful disposition? It can't be done easily in the space of a single lifetime. My father couldn't do it all by himself, but he can appreciate the progress made by his children and grandchildren, following the path he cleared for us.

Lives should grow brighter for many years before they grow dim. And they cast a reflection that helps others to see.

Continued on page 26

In a crevice of that immitigable granite, he sprouted and bloomed.

—Henry James, "Hawthorne"

Flowers in Granite: *Oslo and Bergen*

JOHN BOVEY

IN WRITING of Ibsen, Elizabeth Hardwick says that the long winters of Norway "make for social repetition and a kind of solitude at the center of everything. When the bell rings and eyebrows lift at the unexpected caller, it is almost sure to be an old school friend . . . Everyone else you know is right there."

Repetition and solitude: this perpetual circling about the unexpected familiar characterizes Norway's whole relation to the past. Oslo has never sacrificed openly to the ivory gods of leisure and art. You have to go abroad, like Ibsen or Munch or Heyerdahl, to do that. And nowadays the capital is far too preoccupied with the politics of minority rule and with a fragile economy, suddenly confronted by the inflationary temptations of petroleum discoveries in the North Sea. There are many Norwegian rituals—those of summer sailing, of the ski contest at Holmenkollen, of United Nations Day and the Nobel Peace Prize—but esthetic form in any collective sense is sparse and eccentric. One has to dig long and hard for the roots of history; rather early in the game one realizes the rarity of that commodity. So the essence of Norway remains elusive, even though its outward visage has attained universality in the works of Ibsen, Grieg and Munch,

or in the careers of Nansen and Heyerdahl, of Trygve Lie and Halvard Lange.

The monuments of Oslo are counted on the fingers—unkind visitors would say on the fingers of one hand. From the far reaches come the Viking Ships, shamefully neglected for a millennium but miraculously preserved in the clay barrows at Gokstad and Oseberg. In 1880 and 1904, when Norwegian nationalism groped for the golden age, these marvels were exhumed, together with carved artifacts from the same tombs, lightly retouched, and transported to a special museum at the seaward limits of the capital, where they still open magic casements on the pagan past for the visitors of today.

Not far from the Viking Museum, the maritime note sounds again in the modern context. A gigantic triangular shed, visible from the fjord, houses Nansen's polar ship the *Fram* ("Forward"), with all the relics of the heroic crew and the three years (1893-1896) in the Arctic ice: surgical and dental instruments, dishes, books, oil lamps, toothbrushes—everything. "You can practically hear the pack ice growling," said my companion as we crawled among the timbers of the hold.

Across the little square lies the rather theatrical setting which has been contrived for the *Kon-Tiki* of Thor Heyerdahl. A silver age reincarnation decidedly, the Heyerdahl exhibit, complete with rustling palms and ravaging sharks in papier-mache. But here as elsewhere in Norway, you feel the

tough fibers of adventure, and the national pulse beats strongly.

The other monuments of Oslo rarely go beyond what the French call *honorable*. There is the lugubrious National Theater of Ibsen and Björnson; there is the town hall, with its ceramics and outsize murals and lumpish effigies of toilers, so dear to the hearts of the social democrats who built it. More attractive are the fairy-tale pinnacles of ancient Akershus Castle hanging over the harbor, and the solid and cheerful Lutheran Cathedral dating from 1699. In the winding Damstredet or the charming manor that houses the city museum, one finds traces of the universal France of the eighteenth century, which flickered in the distant corners of Christiania, only to be snuffed out in the gloomy parlors of the Alvings and the Gablers.

The Government is conspicuous at both ends of the Karl Johan Gate. (It is notable that nationalist rancor never extended to rebaptizing the main artery of the capital, which still bears the name under which Napoleon's ex-Marshal Bernadotte, as King of Sweden, reigned over the rebellious Norwegians after 1818.) At one end stands a champagne-colored neo-classic cube, which rather anachronistically houses the present monarch. At the other, an outlandish brick castle in neo-Romanesque, built after the separation from Sweden in 1905, houses the parliament, the Storting. "We call our building 'the Swedes' Revenge,'" one Stortingsman told me, with that little twinkle of malice which invariably

John Bovey is a former FSO who has served in Rotterdam, Casablanca, Paris, Oslo, Washington and The Hague. He and his wife now live in Paris and in a small village in the Cevennes. He has published articles and stories in Great Britain, France and the United States.

accompanies references to the wealthy neighbor across the border, but which non-Scandinavians will adopt at their peril.

It would be whimsical to read into these structures any but the most fleeting symbolism. The monarchy is an imported product, dating from the Separation, a cutting from the Danish royal tree, thrust into the Norwegian soil without any underpinning of aristocracy and thriving largely because Haakon VII, who became a national hero during the German occupation, and Olav V, who is only the second modern king (one is startled to realize that he is the grandson of Edward VII), have both managed so completely to incarnate the Norwegian ethos. The monarchy is respected, even vaguely popular, and now that the Crown Prince and his commoner wife have produced a male heir, its lease on life seems stronger, although most Norwegians, even on the Right, hesitate if you ask for a prognosis. As for the Storting, one may smile at its lodgings but one cannot question its seriousness: despite multi-party tensions and apostasies, it embodies the highest parliamentary traditions and remains the central pillar of the Norwegian democracy.

Oslo's adventures in sculpture illustrate vividly the eccentricities of its decorative tradition. The iron athletes and maidens, shivering naked in snow and rain; the bronze animals (the political fauna include Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt, with the Atlantic Charter in his hand); even the admirable abstractions of Haukelund—all give the impression of creatures heartlessly plumped down to fend for themselves amid structures to which they bear no organic relationship. Finally there is the famous, the notorious, allegorical multitude of granite and bronze with which Gustav Wigeland, under the rash authorization of the city fathers, has populated the Frogner Park. These figures are strangely un-Norwegian in their tortured postures and squat physiognomy, but they constitute an object lesson. For Wigeland, alas, was a genius, if not a very wholesome one, and this grim proliferation of the Life Force demonstrates what can happen when genius struggles in solitude—even a

socialized solitude—without benefit of the sense of historic community that hovers over the squares of Paris or Florence, of Vienna or Washington.

In the old commercial section of Oslo you still encounter the blank stucco and grim doorways of Knut Hamsun's "Hunger." Although slums, at least those in the old style, are lacking, you occasionally come upon survivals of the lumpen-proletariat when some sweated derelict careens drunkenly into the headlights of your car. At such moments you remember the cruel '30s, and while you may deplore the high prices of alcohol at the Government Monopoly, you have to doff your hat to the Labor Party and the welfare state, both of which were a crying necessity in the paper-thin economy of Norway.

"Donald Connery calls it the 'nanny state,'" one veteran of the Labor Party told me. His blue Viking eyes clouded slightly. "He's right of course. It saved our society but it strangled our imagination."

But in the pure air of Norway the imaginative will find many consolations. For one thing, the drabness is exclusively urban. It is everywhere mitigated—even handsomely compensated—by rock and water and forest, which tower and sparkle and spread wherever one's eye may travel: blues and steel grays, almost Japanese in their harmonies, but untainted by industrial detritus. Even in the heart of Oslo such sublimity is never far from one's vision, and it undoubtedly affects the whole "tone" of Norwegian life.

In the cities of the west coast and the south, which have historic maritime connections with Britain and the Continent, one becomes conscious of a more complex relation to the world outside, a more settled tradition, a more continuous sense of form. Stavanger, for example, with its fine Norman church and hilly streets, lined with whalers' houses that recall New England, is more congenial than Oslo. Trondheim, the ancient royal capital, bears still the marks of historic glory, especially in the Nidaros Cathedral, where the Kings of medieval Norway were crowned. Crumbled by the ages, gutted by the periodic fires that ravaged the wooden town around

it—and restored, no doubt, beyond its builders' recognition—the shrine of St. Olav, unique specimen of high English Gothic in Norway, still towers inexplicably against the northern sky.

"How in the world did it get there in the first place?" one American professor brooded as we gazed. "And there must have been a network of roads and inns for all the pilgrims. I guess some go-getting bishop put the bite on Canterbury. It's like finding Salisbury Cathedral on the north shore of Lake Superior."

In Bergen one feels closest to Britain and the older Europe and, finally, to the older Norway. Despite centuries of pillage and fire at the hands of Vikings, Hanseatic outlanders, and Nazis, the city still boasts a number of architectural achievements, whose charms are enhanced by the long tongue of blue-green fjord at the end of every perspective. The stepped gables and heavy pediments of the Haakonshall, the delicate Romanesque of the little Mariakirk, the thin, leaning houses of the Bryggen, the bustling Fish Market, with the smell of the ubiquitous cod, mainstay of Fridays in Catholic Europe for centuries—all this recalls trading connections of the Middle Ages and the lost European unity that reached even to this half-pagan peninsula. *Toute proportion gardée*, the town bears a relation to Oslo not unlike that of Boston to New York. And there is more than a touch of Boston smugness: "It's bad form to boast," said one Oslo schoolboy when challenged as to why he had concealed his Bergen origins from his classmates.

Unlike Boston, Bergen produced few literary giants, even though it kindled the brands of genius—in Björnson and Ibsen, for example—that blazed into glory elsewhere. Bergensers claim that their theater antedates that of Oslo, and one sees everywhere the effigies of Ludvig Holberg, the "Molière of the North," and Ole Bull, the pupil of Paganini, whose gigantic figure became a familiar sight throughout the Norwegian colonies of the American Midwest. But the city's greatest contribution to the national flowering was the work of Edvard Grieg, who was both cosmopolitan and intense-

ly—even ferociously—Norwegian.

At Trolldhaugen (Troll's Hill), the home of Grieg (or of Nina and Edvard, as the uxorious Bergen-sers say), the New England analogy becomes almost overpowering. The atmosphere strikingly recalls that of Hawthorne's "Wayside" or the Emerson house in Concord, Massachusetts. The house itself, with its clapboards, glassed-in bays, turreted appendages, and lace curtains, brought an apt, if less amiable, appreciation to the lips of our former Ambassador in Norway, herself a gifted New Englander: "Good heavens!" she exclaimed. "But it's pure Waltham, Mass—about 1910, I'd say."

In June, during the Bergen Music Festival, special concerts bring tourists from downtown to stroll through the grounds and listen to the silvery tones of Grieg's piano in the pine-panelled salon. The green water, the riot of wildflowers, the pines and shimmering birches are bathed in the erotic light of the sudden northern spring, which Grieg's music has consecrated for all time. In the pavilion-studio one can almost recapture his voice—one thinks of him as piping rather than bellowing—as he flung open the window to berate the boys and girls whose moonlight boating on the fjord used to interrupt the ardors of composition. But the young scapegraces only compounded their sins by playing accordions and guitars instead of the Hardanger fiddles and cowhorns so dear to Grieg's Norwegian heart.

In the parlor at Trolldhaugen, one perceives the modest but authentic genius of Grieg in clearer perspective than in the concert hall, where his symphonic efforts sound strained, even a little slushy. The clear, frosty tones of the songs and keyboard pieces stir a deeper melancholy. One remembers not only the rustling spring but also the long winter, the mists of Bergen, the stove-heated austerity of Ibsen's world. The death of Grieg's child helps to explain the ordeals of infancy that recur in the lyrics he set to music, as they do—literally *ad nauseam*—in the canvases of Munch, who was obsessed with the theme of consumptive children. The Scandinavian environment is not kind to the weaker specimens of humanity, and it puts heavy

stresses even on the stronger. The resulting strain of morbidity, which dominates the genius of Ibsen, has survived the subsidized milk and vitamins of the "nanny state." It crops up in the work of artists as disparate as Munch and Tarje Vesaas and Ingmar Bergman. And the irrational outbreaks among blue collar beneficiaries of the Scandinavian social democracy, like the subterranean mayhem of the multi-party system, betray the obverse of a bland surface that has inspired too much amiable nonsense from foreign journalists—Marquis Childs, for one—who mistake gloomy reticence for the golden mean.

In the hallway at Trolldhaugen, among the relics that line the walls, there is a sketch of the diminutive Grieg, vehemently shaking his finger at the Goliath of Norwegian culture, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, author of the national anthem and a thoroughly unpleasant customer, if

"In the eyes of the psalmist, a thousand years may be but an evening gone: in the life of a people they make rather a long time, especially if the backward void echoes with catastrophic epidemics, the isolated life of valleys and fjords . . ."

one is to judge from his overbearing scowl and bad-tempered chin.

"What in the world is eating them, do you suppose?" said our speculative professor. "Norwegians get terribly up-tight at times. Maybe they're arguing the ethics of nationalism."

Another member of our excursion was convinced they were fighting the perennial linguistic quarrel of Norway, which persists to this day: traditional Danish *riksmal*, preferred by Ibsen, versus *landsmal* and *Ny Norsk*, a highly nationalist synthesis of indigenous dialects that might better be called Old Norse. If the Norwegians of the 19th century were really the heirs of Norway's medieval glories, then the old language could prove to be a vital link with the past.

It all seems rather harmless nowadays, this intense but slightly anemic nationalism. In these frail monuments and faint memories there is no trace of any *herrenvolk* complex, and when one realizes how brief a period they span, one even begins to resent history's lack of fair play. In Norway a "Renaissance" occurred in the 19th century, just as it did in New England (what was reborn is harder to define), and this rallying of spiritual forces passed through similar phases. At first it was derivative, like American literature before 1850, and markedly continental or Danish. Suddenly in the next generation comes the unmistakable unifying flame of national genius—perhaps the last of its kind in Europe—with Bjørnson and Ibsen and Grieg. The second half of the century embraces also the age of exploration, when Nansen and Amundsen, whose heir is Thor Heyerdahl, created a latter-day Norwegian *rayonnement* in the Arctic and Antarctic, the only areas left for expansion at the end of the imperial age. In Edvard Munch the later period also produced one painter of uncontestable genius.

The torch then passes, not without dwindling, to Knut Hamsun and Sigrid Undset and their disciples, and in America, to a curious emigrant offshoot in the person of Ole Rolvaag. After that the light flickers: poetry and fiction, music and painting, become conventionally experimental and a bit forcible-feeble when they strive for the epic note of the *skald*.

In the eyes of the psalmist, a thousand years may be but an evening gone: in the life of a people they make rather a long time, especially if the backward void echoes with catastrophic epidemics, the isolated life of valleys and fjords, a primitive agriculture, the cruel sea, the drain of epic migrations, the yoke of alien monarchs. But such is the history of Norway between medieval and modern times.

In Sweden the traditions of Lutheran reform and imperial power still project themselves into the pseudo-socialist present. Even amid the chain store opulence of Stockholm, you feel the presence of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII, the "Alexander of the

(Continued on page 24)

There are no distant points in the world any longer . . .
Our thinking in the future must be world-wide.—Wendell
Willkie

THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT AGENCY ABROAD

DONALD C. JOHNSON

THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT Administration should serve as an object lesson for bureaucracy. It has used its singularly unsuccessful record in the domestic "War on Drugs" as the rationale for assigning people abroad. It is my thesis that the DEA's "War on Drugs" abroad will be no more successful than it is at home—a series of costly and inconclusive skirmishes in which the principal casualty is the US taxpayer. We should therefore scrap the entire "DEA abroad" policy and replace it with domestic policies which show more promise of ultimate success.

The export of DEA agents rests on a simple, seemingly logical, rationale. If our drug fighting effort is conducted only on our shores, the smuggler need only clear one major hurdle before he is "home free." By establishing a series of "points of interdiction" the risks to smugglers are multiplied and the prospects of catching them are increased. Stated another way, the theory is that by casting a wider net, more and bigger fish will be caught. The United States has therefore trotted its agents off to places like Jamaica, Guatemala, and Afghanistan in hopes that drugs will be kept out of the United States.

Upon more careful examination,

Donald C. Johnson was born in California and received degrees from Lewis and Clark College and the University of Oklahoma. He is a member of the D.C. Bar and the American Bar Association and a former law review editor. Mr. Johnson joined the Foreign Service in 1974 and is serving as a political officer in Guatemala.

I believe that the rationale upon which we are basing our "War on Drugs" abroad is extremely weak. In the first place, there is some confusion about what drug is the enemy in this war. If measured in terms of social impact, it should be heroin. If measured against amount consumed, it should be marijuana. If measured against some intermediate standard, it should be cocaine. When we examine DEA operations it turns out that in different parts of the world we are fighting different kinds of drugs; marijuana in Mexico and Jamaica, heroin in the Near East, the Far East, and Mexico; cocaine in South America and points north. This paper concentrates primarily on heroin and cocaine, two hard drugs that the DEA is most interested in stopping, and not on marijuana because the war on marijuana has been such an acknowledged flop that it is hardly news to say it again.

In the second place the entire program is based on the assumption that a reduction in supply of illegal drugs will ultimately reduce demand. The criminal laws are not enforced merely for their own sake, but to accomplish some relatively definite social objective. Therefore the short-term objective of catching smugglers must be related to the long-term objective of having fewer addicts at home.

Even one with only a rudimentary knowledge of economics, such as this writer, knows that where demand is inelastic, a reduction in supply merely increases price. A simple illustration will suffice. Every human being needs a

minimum supply of water with which to stay alive. Human beings need that water regardless of its price. Even if water decreases in availability, people will seek to satisfy their need for it. In such a situation a decrease in supply will simply produce an increase in price, as people reallocate their resources in order to compete for the indispensable item. The heroin addict is a person whose demand for heroin is relatively inelastic. The addict needs heroin regardless of its price. As price increases, he simply must compete harder in order to achieve satisfaction.

Our efforts to constrict supply of the addictive drugs, mainly heroin, have affected price in two ways. In the first place, by making possession, importation and sale of those drugs a crime, we inexorably raise prices by creating a situation in which only those willing to expose themselves to risk of criminal penalties will act as suppliers. We thus create an "oligopoly of risk" which excludes all except those willing to risk criminal penalties from the marketplace. This creates a perfect opportunity for organized crime.

Naturally, the more hurdles the government sets up in its efforts to catch the drug smugglers, the greater the risk the smugglers must incur. The greater the risk incurred, the higher the price. So by sending agents abroad we automatically help inflate the cost of heroin in the United States.

Aside from the law's effects on risk creation, how does effective enforcement affect persons in the United States? Because price is dependent on a small supply and on inelastic demand, a successful War on Drugs would disrupt supply, not demand. Prices would therefore be expected to go up. This consequence of a successful drug program would not be important except for the fact that increased effectiveness means more crime in the United States. This is because most heroin addicts (some 250,000 of them) finance their habits through crime. And since it takes \$5 stolen to produce \$1 in revenue from fencing stolen items, the multiplier effect is huge. Some simple arithmetic: if 250,000 addicts finance \$30-a-day habits through crime, the amount which they would have to steal over a year

would be in excess of \$13 billion. A successful War on Drugs therefore results in doubly victimizing the taxpayer. On the one hand he must contribute to pay for the vast network of agents worldwide, and on the other hand he is the victim of the effects produced by reduction in supply.

Fortunately the taxpayer need worry only about the expense of the War on Drugs because the effort has not produced any long-lasting reduction in drug supplies in the United States and is, in my estimation, unlikely ever to produce them. On the contrary—we can see that even the few federal successes have created challenges which DEA cannot possibly expect to meet.

The basic reason for my belief that DEA effort abroad is fated to be only a series of skirmishes is that the net can never be cast so wide, nor can agents be posted so carefully as to catch the traffickers. The net simply has too many holes—there are so many variables for transporting a shipment of drugs that it is virtually certain that DEA is missing many, probably most, of them. A kilo of heroin can be concealed in so many different places, and shunted through such a maze of different places and persons before reaching the US that it would take a simply unimaginably expensive detective apparatus to prevent its reaching US shores. It does not take a great deal of space to conceal a shipment of heroin that could supply the entire addict population of the City of New York.

Present problems with finding and tracking the shipments of illegal drugs are in my view directly linked to an operation we proclaimed as an immense success only a few years ago. Through some uncanny bit of self-deception, we managed to convince ourselves that if only opium production in Turkey were eliminated, our drug problem would disappear. We then coupled energy to lack of foresight and managed to convince the Turkish government to prohibit poppy production, in exchange for some \$40 million in US aid. What were the results? The French Connection was disrupted, but while we were waiting for our drug problem to disappear from the scene, the smugglers were busy changing their

zone of operations. Heroin from the Far East's Golden Triangle (Thailand, Laos, Burma) took the place of the Turkish heroin—with the problem compounded by the Vietnam War. Brown heroin from Mexico began to be sold in the US. And cocaine from South America was introduced to the United States as a substitute for heroin. Turkey later acceded to demands from its farmers and lifted the ban on opium cultivation. The result: we still must contend with Turkish opium, but at the same time fight Far Eastern opium, Mexican brown heroin, and South American

"Through some uncanny bit of self-deception, we managed to convince ourselves that if only opium production in Turkey were eliminated, our drug problem would disappear. We then coupled energy to lack of foresight and managed to convince the Turkish government to prohibit poppy production."

cocaine. Not to mention marijuana from just about everywhere.

The net result of the Turkish experiment has been to make the present problem so much more complex as virtually to guarantee that DEA will be unsuccessful. But probably the best indicator of the magnitude of DEA's inability to do anything but convince Congress of the need for more millions is the addict population. Returning Vietnam veterans swelled the numbers of addicts in the late '60s and early '70s. Then the number dropped somewhat. But in 1974 the US government estimated that the number had leveled off at 250,000, and that there were some indications that the number was on the rise again.

These figures should be contrasted with the DEA's efforts. At the time that the number of addicts was not dropping, the DEA was pouring millions into setting up its overseas operations. And we are still waiting for some indication that the millions spent have produced significant results. Lack of sustainable progress in these areas may have played a part in the recent resignation of the DEA chief.

The preceding sections have, I believe, outlined why DEA probably cannot and will not be effective. In this section I will argue that the dangers caused by DEA to our foreign relations are sufficiently compelling so that DEA should be completely removed from such operations abroad.

In the first place, the idea that we can in effect expand our frontiers for the purpose of fighting the drug traffic is rather presumptuous. We assume the right to enlist support of foreign governments for the eradication of a problem which in many cases does not really affect them. We argue that "We have a problem so we need you to accept our law enforcement officials." In an age when taking up the American burdens is not every country's aspiration, our invitation to do so can only reinforce prejudices.

Secondly, the agents who are placed in the field are operation-oriented. They see themselves as holding hunting licenses in an open season on drug pushers. Although their stated aim may be to make local drug law enforcement effective, the barriers which they usually encounter tend to increase their action orientation. This is because most places where we have agents are less developed countries, usually ones in which the police are underpaid, unsophisticated, and sometimes corrupt. These institutional weaknesses make for a situation in which DEA's brand of professionalism is often met with a great deal of indifference. The combination of institutional weaknesses and professional indifference makes for a situation in which substandard performance is guaranteed.

The result is that the longer the agents are in the field, the more they will want to "supervise" local police action, to insure that "things are done right." The pressures for more involvement lead to a situation in which the DEA agents displace the local police.

The greater the involvement, however, the greater the risks. There are reports that at least two DEA agents have been wounded in a foreign country, and although the DEA has been able to spirit the agents out of the foreign country without a major incident, we cannot expect that DEA will be successful indefinitely. If a DEA agent

were to kill or seriously wound a foreigner in a foreign country, even in self-defense, the prospects for an acutely embarrassing incident are very great. The host country would naturally turn to us to "bail them out," and we would have a very difficult time trying to do so.

The whole process can (and has) worked in reverse, too. A recent case should be illustrative. DEA agents fingered an American citizen who was arrested by the authorities of country Y. In the process of interrogation, the American was hog-tied and beaten by the local police. When the American was visited by the US consular officer, he naturally aired his complaint. The Embassy therefore had to make a complaint to officials of country Y for doing too zealously what we had asked them to do in the first place.

Our desire to ensure that the prospects for embarrassment are never realized has led to the investment of a great deal of time by Foreign Service officers who must help devise standards of conduct, lines of communication, staffing levels (because the DEA can always justify more people), and in general coordinate relations between agencies.

Try as they might, however, Foreign Service officers cannot resolve the basic ambivalence of our foreign policy—that of having DEA catch criminals (including Americans), while consular officers try to protect US citizen interests to the fullest.

This ambivalence is accentuated when DEA officers participate in training foreign officials. By encouraging local drug enforcement officials to take a more stringent view of drug use we virtually ensure that more American citizens, many of them casual marijuana users, will be arrested abroad. This is because the big drug pushers will remain beyond the level of competence of most local officials, and the inevitable temptation for them will be to go after the easy cases, where large numbers of arrests make for good public relations. To have DEA promote, wittingly or unwittingly, a situation in which more Americans are arrested is a prospect which I do not believe is supported either by the public or by the executive.

The ambivalence produced by DEA on our foreign policy has also in my mind affected our judicial system. Our judiciary has recently been faced with the question of how to treat some of the less savory tactics allegedly adopted by drug agents abroad. Two recent cases have sought to have the federal courts reconsider the so-called *Ker-Frisbie* rule (first announced by the Supreme Court in 1866) that states that it is irrelevant how a court acquires jurisdiction over a defendant: as long as he is found within the court's district the court will not inquire into how he appeared there. In one of the recent cases the defendant alleged that he was kidnapped and brought to Brazil, where he was interrogated and tortured, supposedly with the approval of US agents. He was then shipped off to New York. The man moved to dismiss the indictments on the grounds that violations of due process robbed the court of jurisdiction. The trial judge denied his motion to dismiss, but the appeals court reversed, remanding the case for a hearing on defendant's allegation of brutality. If the allegation were found true, then the motion should be granted.

The second case is probably more interesting. Here the Argentine defendant was lured into Bolivia by a ruse worked by American agents, where he was seized by Bolivian police and packed off to New York. He also moved to dismiss the indictment, charging due process violations precluded jurisdiction. Here the appellate court affirmed the lower court's denial of the motion. Probably the most succinct statement of the rule of law is the following: "whenever a foreign national is abducted or kidnapped from outside the United States and is forcibly brought into this country by United States agents by means of torture, brutality or similar abuse the federal court acquires no jurisdiction because of a violation of due process. Otherwise the holdings of the Supreme Court in *Ker vs. Illinois* and *Frisbie vs. Collins* govern."

This new legal standard is open to criticism in two respects. First of all it makes the constitutional principle of due process rest on the relative outrageousness of police conduct. This is a standard which allows, indeed encourages, the police

to continually probe for the outer limits of permissible conduct. By having our judicial system look the other way in cases and places where we have a reasonable certainty that due process will not be observed, we inevitably cheapen our own judicial system.

The reluctance of courts to set a standard is compounded by their unwillingness to enforce one either. The courts have been all too willing to defer to the executive in matters relating to foreign policy, even when police operations are involved, clinging to an anachronistic standard which is no longer even bad law—it is wrong law.

The United States is concerned about drug abuse because of its perceived pernicious effects on citizens and because of drug users' association with criminality. So far we have concentrated our effort on supply reduction, in the hopes that less supply would mean less demand and therefore less crime. So far efforts to curb supply, both at home and abroad, have been resounding failures. The only way in which supply reduction would in my view be effective would be to have the United States buy up all the supply worldwide—going to the sources in Turkey, Indochina, Mexico, and South America and paying top dollar to buy the entire stocks of opium and cocaine.

Such an effort to displace criminal monopolies in favor of a governmental drug monopoly would have the advantage of making unnecessary the posting of hordes of DEA agents in countries which now serve only as transshipment points. But there would be problems. Since most countries have laws which make possession of drugs illegal, the US would have to negotiate agreements whereby American agents could be allowed to purchase clandestine stocks. That might be a ticklish business in Third World countries which would view this as an admission of their inability to effectively enforce their own drug laws. More important, however, is the fact that an announced US government intention to become a hard drug monopolist would give potential growers an incentive to produce the drugs in order to sell them to a guaranteed purchaser.

The best solution would be to have the United States abandon its

WORTHINGTON'S ORIENTAL PORCELAIN GALLERY

*Specializing in Early
Chinese, Annamese,
Siamese*



Sell • Appraise • Purchase
ACCEPT CONSIGNMENTS

by Appointment Only

703/938-5935

Amos D. Worthington, Jr., FSR-ret.
2506 Babcock Road
Vienna, Virginia 22180

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL  ELECTRIC
-U.S.A.-

Refrigerators • Freezers • Ranges

Washers • Dryers • Air Conditioners

Dishwashers • Radios • Phonos

Small Appliances

Available for All Electric Currents

Local Warehousing for Immediate

Shipment

General Electronics, Inc.

SHOWROOM: 4513 Wisconsin Ave.,
Washington, D. C. 20016 EMerson 2-
8300

WRITE FOR CATALOG. Our catalog is
sent to administrative officers em-
bassies and consulates throughout
the world.

efforts to become the monopolist of drugs—either through the criminal law or through a buying program. It would be both more productive and more humane for the United States to concentrate on reducing demand, with the knowledge that reduced demand makes efforts to control supply unnecessary. For the short and intermediate term this would mean a system under which the United States would adopt one of two plans. The first would be to simply ignore supply and concentrate on making rehabilitation available and attractive, while attempting to educate potential drug users and convince them that the disadvantages far outweigh the advantages of drug use. The principal drawback of this program would be its lack of short-term results.

The plan which would have the greatest impact on crime in the United States would be one in which the government supplied the drug for the addicts. At the same time, the Government could accelerate its research to develop blocking drugs or other agents that would eliminate the physiological craving for the drug. The whole program would be combined with compassionate rehabilitation efforts and with intelligent education campaigns that would eliminate the socially disruptive aspects of drug use. The most attractive feature of a program of this kind would be that it would greatly reduce the incidence of crime. If addicts were no longer required to steal \$5 for every \$1 in heroin consumed, society would be a good deal better off.

One thing is certain: the program proposed above would not only free society from the costs of crime, but would also free it from the swollen costs of maintaining hundreds of agents, confidential informants, and equipment in the field. The yearly cost of one small clinic to provide heroin to addicts would not even come close to the cost of the four helicopters we recently gave Jamaica to fight its marijuana production.

Best of all, however, would be that our foreign policy (and our Embassies) would be freed from the weight of a criminal law enforcement program. Our foreign policy can no longer afford the luxury of preserving or expanding policies of known worthlessness and certain embarrassment. ■



RIVERSIDE TOWERS
Apartment-Hotel
of Washington, D.C.
**PROUD IN BEARING A TRADITION OF
DISTINCTION IN SERVICE
TO THE WORLD'S TRAVELERS**

—EXQUISITE—

Exclusive Seventy-two suite construction elegantly decorated and fully prepared to service one's temporary resident needs.

—CONVENIENT—

A superb location, directly opposite the Department of State and amidst the centers of business, culture, and government.

—ECONOMICAL—

Less expensive than most conventional hotel rates offered for the same daily, weekly, and monthly rental plans.

"A unique concept in furnished apartment-hotel accommodations designed to meet one and two person apartment requirements."

As a guest of Riverside Towers Apartment-Hotel special privileges are extended to you at Wayside Inn Since 1797, Battlefield Crystal Caverns, and the GAFIA Lodge Recreational Complex, in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley.

for reservations contact:

RESIDENT MANAGER
RIVERSIDE TOWERS APARTMENT-HOTEL
2201 Virginia Ave. NW, Washington,
D.C. 20037
phone (202)452-4600 Cable: RIVERSIDE

Be Wise Shop Riverside

**Liquor
Discounts**

ATTENTION:
**State Department and
Foreign Service Personnel**

10% off on estate bottled wines
5% off on our regular low prices
on liquor

**Riverside
Liquors**

2123 E St., N.W. 338-4882

(conveniently located across from the
State Department on E Street, next to
Peoples Drug Store)

Our 40th Year

We loan glasses for parties
NO CHARGE

BOOK ESSAY from page 9

Roosevelt, instead of taking analogies from the experience of his own lifetime, should have foreseen that the United Nations "might resemble the congresses of Aix, Troppau, Laibach and Verona." Elegantly written, May's book demonstrates that historical parallels used in making policies that didn't work were false. Although there lurks a danger of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, the book is short, easy to read, relatively cheap, entertaining and perhaps instructive.

Theory. Nothing better has come out than the book, "Contending Theories of International Relations" by Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff which was first published in 1971 and has since been recommended by several panelists even though it was mentioned in the article on recommended reading that year. However, one very exciting theoretical work of "social forecasting" has meanwhile appeared. Even though it does not deal with foreign policy, it has implications for the relationship between East and West since it claims to have applicability to trends in both the developed open societies and those in Eastern Europe: "The Coming of Post-Industrial Society" by Daniel Bell. This is heavy going, but worth the effort. The fact that it continues to be attacked by communist theoreticians shows that it has ideological implications—although this dry-as-dust scholarly tome is devoid of ideological pretensions.

Resources. Here it is necessary to insert a "commercial" for the two magazines on foreign relations, FOREIGN AFFAIRS and FOREIGN POLICY; for the most important scholarly contributions on resource questions have appeared in their pages—as well as, of course, important articles on other subjects. But every FSO should have read, for instance, C. Fred Bergsten's "The Threat From The Third World" in the summer 1973 issue of FOREIGN POLICY, which was prophetic and of seminal importance. Similarly, anything written by Walter Levy on the subject of oil (and he apparently doesn't write books) is "must" reading. In fact, some of the best current writing on resource problems appears in periodicals. Although some pan-

elists thought the book old hat, I believe that anyone who has not yet read "The Limits to Growth" by Meadows (a report for the Club of Rome) should still read it. Contrary to what was claimed by those who sought to refute it, "The Limits to Growth" does not predict disaster—it only shows the implications of certain present trends in population, production of food, use of non-renewable resources, and environmental pollution if they continue. Among more recent works, "By Bread Alone" by Lester R. Brown deals in easily readable form with the food problem from a larger perspective that takes in land, energy, water, population and other factors, thus going over some of the ground of the earlier Meadows book.

I. BOOKS RECOMMENDED

Kissinger speeches in Department of State Bulletins of October 14, 1974; November 11, 1974; February 17, 1975; and June 2, 1975.

THE IMPERIAL REPUBLIC, by Raymond Aron. Cambridge, Mass., Winthrop Publishers, Inc. Paper. \$5.45

THE END OF THE POSTWAR ERA, by Alastair Buchan. New York, Saturday Review-Press, E. P. Dutton. \$8.95

STATE OF THE NATION 1974, by William Watts and Lloyd A. Free. Washington, D.C., Potomac Associates. \$4.50

THE REAL AMERICA, by Ben J. Wattenberg. Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday & Co. \$10.00

UNCERTAIN PASSAGE—China's Transition to the Post-Mao Era, by A. Doak Barnett. Washington, D.C. The Brookings Institution. \$3.95 paperback

REPORTERS AND OFFICIALS, by Leon V. Sigal. Lexington, Mass. D. C. Heath & Co. \$5.45

COLD DAWN: The Story of SALT, by John Newhouse. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, \$3.50 paperback
Ikke Speeches of September 5, 1974 and April 23, 1975. Obtainable from Office of Public Affairs, ACDA.

KISSINGER: PORTRAIT OF A MIND, by Stephen R. Graubard. New York, W. W. Norton. \$3.45 paperback

BUREAUCRATIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY, by Morton H. Halperin. Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution. \$3.50 paperback

THE UNITED STATES AND THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR, by John Lewis Gaddis. New York, Columbia University Press. \$4.45

THE COMING OF POST-INDUSTRIAL

SOCIETY, by Daniel Bell. New York, Basic Books. \$12.50

BY BREAD ALONE, by Lester R. Brown. New York, Praeger Publishers. \$3.95

II. OTHER BOOKS MENTIONED

THE NEXT PHASE IN FOREIGN POLICY, Henry Owen, Editor. Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution. \$3.50 paperback

DETENTE. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office. \$4.40 (Stock number 052-070-02792)

THE BOYS ON THE BUS, by Timothy Crouse. New York, Ballantine Books. \$1.75

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE, March 21, 1974, pp. S 4187-4194 on Letter from Ambassador Graham A. Martin

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS, Washington, D.C., U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office. Stock No. 044-000-01565 \$1.80

U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE: Issues, Costs and Choices. By John Newhouse, with Melvin Croan, Edward R. Friend, and Timothy W. Stanley. Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution. \$2.95 paperback

U.S. FORCE STRUCTURE IN NATO, by Richard D. Lawrence and Jeffrey Record. Washington, The Brookings Institution. \$2.50

THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST, by David Halberstam. New York, Random House, \$10.00

PEACE IS NOT AT HAND, by Sir Robert Thompson. New York, McKay \$7.95

KISSINGER, by Marvin and Bernard Kalb. Boston, Little Brown \$12.50

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, by Henry A. Kissinger. Expanded Edition. New York, W. W. Norton Co. \$6.95

WAR AND POLITICS, by Bernard Brodie. New York, The Macmillan Co., \$8.95

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, PRESENT TO PAST, by Lloyd C. Gardner. New York, The Free Press. \$10.00

THE NEW LEFT AND THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR, by Robert James Maddox. Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press. \$7.95

"LESSONS" OF THE PAST—The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy, by Ernest R. May. N.Y. Oxford Univ. Press. \$2.95

CONTENDING THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, by James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff,

Jr. Philadelphia, Lippincott. \$6.25 paperback

THE LIMITS OF GROWTH, by D. H. and D. L. Meadows. New York, Universe Books. \$2.75 paperback

FSJ BOOKSHELF

REVOLUTION IN CUBA. *An Essay in Understanding*, by Herbert L. Matthews. Charles Scribner's Sons, \$15.00.

FEW CAN MATCH Herbert Matthews' qualifications as an observer of this century's political and social struggles, and no other outsider seems to have won Fidel Castro's confidence to a comparable extent.

This book summarizes parts of his 1961 "Cuban Story" and 1969 "Fidel Castro," bringing his account current to early 1975. By now, he makes clear, the Revolution has transformed Cuba around the core principle of social equality, and to this progressive transformation there is no alternative. Nor has any visible successor to its

creator yet won recognition.

Matthews points to three noteworthy achievements. Cuba has an honest government for the first time in its history. It is exerting a significant influence beyond its beaches, particularly in the Third World. Finally, though dependent on the Soviet Union, it isn't a Russian colony.

It is useful to recall that the warmth of the Moscow-Havana relationship has varied. After the 1962 Missile Crisis, it was cool through the rest of that decade. But since the 1972 trade agreement, Russian aid has flooded into the lush island.

Castro must be aware that in Soviet eyes he and Cuba are expendable. But the aid binds him to the USSR, and a Prime Minister who has devoted his life to freeing his country from foreign domination can hardly be comfortable under a new yoke. This may explain his present presumed amenability to normalizing relations with the United States. If he can place himself in position to play Moscow and Washington off against each

other, he will have won for Cuba greater freedom of maneuver and more independence than it has ever had.

Castro's success will prove the sterility of a United States policy that for a decade and a half tried to frustrate the efforts of the common people of Cuba to achieve the personal dignity, social equality, political independence, and better lives for themselves and their posterity that our example and precepts from 1776 on showed them was possible. Now that Cubans are closer to realizing these deep aspirations than they have ever been, it is well that our government is on a belated way toward accepting their progress.

The present volume is a welcome sign of better times to come. The author's 1957 report of an interview with Castro and subsequent writings led to his being pilloried as a Castro-dupe, if not pro-Communist. At long last he can be seen as pro-people, both American and Cuban, and, as before, worth reading.

—JOHN P. HOOVER

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE WOMEN Box 8068, Washington, D. C. 20024

- Housing Assistance and Orientation
Room 1248, Department of State, Tel. 632-3573
- Educational Counseling Center
- Language and Writer's Groups
- Monthly Meetings ■ Newsletter
- Book Fair ■ Welcome Home
- Scholarships ■ Teenage Activities
- Community Service ■ Career Workshops

Those Foreign Service women eligible for membership are dependents, officers, and staff of all government agencies serving or who have served overseas. The annual dues are \$10 which includes a subscription to the Newsletter. Send dues to Membership Chairman at address above.

Assignment Washington?

PANORAMA
REAL ESTATE



The largest complete real estate organization
in the Greater Washington Area.

For free brochures and advance information

Write or call:

2095 Chain Bridge Road, Vienna, Virginia 22180
703/821-3800



Retirement Means
Easy Living
When You Belong to
Your
Credit
Union



**STATE DEPARTMENT
FEDERAL CREDIT UNION**
Washington, D.C. 20520 (202) 632-3282

OSLO AND BERGEN

from page 17

North." But in Norway an unbridgeable gulf—ten centuries rather than three—yawns between the adventures of the Vikings and the prudent calculations of the welfare state, between the pagan splendor of the Gokstad ships and the drab edifices of Oslo. In nearly all the towns—especially those of the far north, which had to be reconstructed from zero after the scorched earth of the retreating Germans—the chasm is widened by the proliferation of American technology: supermarkets, aluminum smelters, vending machines, neon signs, and now the oil rigs that begin to stud the off-shore reaches. The fame of toothpaste and automobile insurance is blazoned across the sky of Odin and Freya, and the horned helmet of the Vikings is relegated to cans and packages.

Neither the technocrats nor the bishops of the established Lutheran Church, with their Elizabethan ruffs, have quite dissipated a certain lingering paganism, and one

still detects the sulphurous whiff of the troll in the thin air. But although they may allude wistfully to their wicked ancestors, the descendants of Haldan the Black and Eric the Red really bear little relation to ancient traditions except those of seafaring and sport. The austerity of their historical diet was brought into vivid relief by two Frenchwomen during our tour of the old manor at Bogstad. When we drew up before a canopied four-poster, our guide—a gentlewoman of the old Christiania stripe—explained, in stiff Anglo-English, that this chamber had been honored by the great Swedish King who had started life as a Marshal of France. One of the French ladies caught enough of this to be astounded—but not awed in the least. "*Regarde-moi ca, ma chère!*" she exclaimed. "*Ce pauvre Bernadotte a couché là.*"

To reduce a monarch to the status of an itinerant soldier is perhaps too brutal an adjustment of perspective. But for all the sympathy one instinctively feels for the handsome long-legged population,

with their shy smiles and amiable silences, one does find after a few weeks that the horizons of Norway, though physically sublime, are, in the historic sense, a little bleak. This may explain why Norway clings to a national identity which has been complete for barely 70 years. Many Norwegians find their integrity compromised by association with NATO partners who do such weird and wicked things in the Mediterranean and in Indo-China. Despite the bitter lessons of the Second World War and the cavalier behavior of their Soviet neighbor, who embarrasses the local disciples by sending submarines into the fjords uninvited, the Norwegians still nurture a hankering for the old neutrality. As heirs of Nansen, they pout at the alliances and entanglements that stem from Halvard Lange's realism and yearn for collective security in the style of the United Nations (UN studies are compulsory in the schools) or even the League of Nations. One parliamentarian did confess to me, however, that he wished it could be the blue-eyed

STUART & MAURY, Inc. REALTORS

Sales • Rentals • Insurance

Specializing in Residential Properties

Northwest Washington

Montgomery County, Maryland

Member: Multiple Listing Service

5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D. C. 20016

Telephone: (202) 244-1000

Let Us Know You Saw Our Ad In The Journal

SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL!

An ice cream soda is one of the few items we cannot mail. Drugs, cosmetics, sundries mailed to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. SEND NO MONEY—pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.



Western Pharmacy, Inc.

1/a Morgan Pharmacy

3001 P Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20007

FREE Relocation Kit

from Washington, D.C.'s largest Realtor.
Offices throughout the metropolitan area.

Write: Diplomatic Transfer Department
SHANNON & LUCHS
Honeywell Center, Suite 808
McLean, Virginia 22101

SHANNON & LUCHS

REALTORS • ESTABLISHED 1906

In Kabul or Kinshasa...

(or anywhere else in the world)

YOUR CORNER DRUGSTORE

The Capitol Hill Pharmaceutical Diplomatic Service offers 20% discount on prescriptions, 20% discount on over-the-counter merchandise, further discounts on quantity purchases. Overseas mailing.

MORTON'S PHARMACY

The Druggists Since 1909

301 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E.

Washington, D.C. 20003

PHONE 543-4103, 543-9278

UN, whose first Secretary General was Trygve Lie, rather than the UN of burnous and dark glasses.

These preoccupations are reflected in the controversies over the Nobel Peace Prize, the sole award which Alfred Nobel, to the rage of his compatriots, left in the hands of the Norwegian neighbors. In recent years the Prize Committee has wavered between laureates of irreproachable purity and dubious importance, such as Philip Noel-Baker or Norman Borlaug, and prominent statesmen such as Henry Kissinger or Eisaku Sato, whose records inevitably become tarnished in the glare of high office. Norwegians feel almost as intensely about the annual sweepstakes of international morality as they do about the ski contest at Holmenkollen: when the American Ambassador went to receive the Prize on behalf of Dr. Kissinger, who was busy elsewhere, he had to be sneaked in through a side door of the University Aula in order to escape the catcalls and snowballs of the enraged partisans of Andrei Sakharov and Archbishop Dom Helder Camara.

IF BRITAIN stands homesick amid the alien corn of the Common Market, Norway, for different reasons and after some hesitation, has frankly taken flight; and no Boaz in Brussels is likely to entice her back. Pride in Norway's solitary achievements, fear for her unpolluted mountains and fjords, are perhaps the underlying motives. The Norwegians' skittishness has only been increased by the dawning realization that their petroleum may ultimately make them as rich as their city cousins in Stockholm and Copenhagen.

One Stortingsman who toured Brussels recently, told me he had been taken to visit the huge glass Tower of Babel that houses the bureaucrats of the European Commission. "Thousands of them," he said, "and mostly speaking French, they tell me." And he added with typical Norwegian concision, "Our country will never be governed from there."

When I taxed him with isolationism, he reminded me that Norway had been independent for less than three quarters of a century. "Our

reflexes," he mildly observed, "are still anti-colonial and nationalist. We're even a bit underdeveloped. But of course," he added with a chuckle, "that doesn't keep us from poking our noses into everybody else's business."

NORWAY'S experiences with global conflict, hot and cold, as well as the harsh winds of technocracy, have attenuated this psychology of the loner. But nothing can quite destroy it. Always when the doorbell rings, the Norwegians hope it's an old school friend, and always they will be moved by the "solitude at the center of everything." When one visits Oslo or Bergen or passes through the fjords and upland villages, one realizes that the monuments of solitude, like the Norwegians themselves, are of the stuff that endures. They reflect the light of a national genius that resembles the sunshine of Bergen: fitful, a little pale, but undeniably authentic. ■

Calvert School

The school that comes to your child

Complete home-study course for elementary-level students. Kindergarten through 8th grade. An American education anywhere in the world. Ideal for enrichment. Home is the classroom, you are the teacher with Calvert's approved instruction guide. Start any time, transfer to other schools. 125,000 kindergarten-through-8th graders have used the Calvert system since 1904. Non-profit. Phone: 301-243-6030 or write for catalog.

Calvert



School

BOX 11-5, Tuscany Rd.

Baltimore, Md. 21210

Parent's name

Address

City State Zip

Child's Age Grade

RENTAL HOUSES

Chevy Chase-Bethesda

Massachusetts Avenue Extended

A. C. Houghton & Son, Inc.

An Accredited Management Organization

4000 Albemarle St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20016 — 686-0203

6400 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034 — 229-5750

Washington Real Estate Since 1907

DESTINATION WASHINGTON?

Our PICTURE GALLERY OF FINE HOMES and DESTINATION WASHINGTON with complete information on financing, taxes, insurance, schools, etc., plus the do's and don'ts of buying or renting, sent free for the asking. Our 75 full-time associates can provide real service to your family. Offices in Annandale, Arlington, Manassas and McLean.

Crowell
& COMPANY, INC.
REALTORS

2160 N. GLEBE Rd.
Arlington, Va. 22207

Phone (703) 524-3131

MR. ENVOY IN ROME:

*Mr. Envoy is now living in Rome,
and he's quite happy in his new home,
for all the things he prized
were shipped Containerized*
a reward for using his dome.*



*With District's Custom Containerized method, everything is carefully packed in specially constructed containers and remains untouched until unpacked at final destination—across the nation or around the globe.

DISTRICT MOVING & STORAGE, INC.
3800 Kenilworth Avenue, Bladensburg, Md. 20710 (301) 779-4900

Domestic Life Abroad

from page 14

The answer, the sentimental answer, is the children. They are how my life is justified; they are the quest and the reward. And not to sell them short, they are recompense aplenty. It is no small thing to see them embrace life as they do, to hardly doubt their own mastery of life. It is their illusion, but not a cruel one. They will be led as gently, I hope, as I am into the mysteries of self-knowledge, and its risk of self-doubt, and ultimately to revelation or despair (the end of life). What a ride! Their reach is upward now, toward becoming something like what I have become. They emulate me and gain confidence from my strength, but I take strength and encouragement from their very childhood, even while I stretch forward with my own naive and child-like reach in hopes of scaling greater heights of achievement and ambition, in hope that somehow to succeed will defy, put off, and eventually overcome, annul, and destroy despair—the end of life.

This is how they accumulate wisdom: one day the children saw two chickens lying outside the kitchen door with their feet together, cackling away. For a while these little children watched them. Later we ate lunch—chicken. In the middle of the meal, Richard, the elder at four and a half, jumped up from the table suddenly and ran through the kitchen. When he came back he asked where the chickens were. His mother and I glanced at the plates on the table while thinking how to frame our reply. Richard burst into tears.

He had already understood the whole thing from the moment he left the table in such urgency. But he wanted to be saved from what he knew was the truth, to preserve his innocent view, condemn his rising horror, when he ran from the table to look for those prisoner chickens where he had seen them before, when he asked where they were.

What happened next? Life was changed for him. He understood much more about mortality and the rules, although it still was to be a

long time before he would associate his own fate with the chicken's. He returned to the table and finished his portion of chicken, knowing how good chicken is to eat even better than he knew how horrible it is to kill those dear animals for our table. He asked that we get him some chickens to keep that would not be for eating but for pets. He did not ask us to stop serving him chicken.

This was wisdom. Some will be lost, but others will be saved. Spare one chicken to set beside the throne of God. One heavenly rooster ascending unroasted to join the heavenly host. Or one chosen peeper, pippin' for all time among the all-time greats. And by god, if we can save a chicken, why not some of Us, members of a species confirmed by authorities to be superior? Why not Richard, though he has not yet put the question this way himself?

Why not Harriet and Nina and me?

Yes, says America's eyes and mouth in Upper Volta, why not all of us? ■

The Nicest Small Hotel In Washington

Francis Scott Key Hotel

600 - 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • 628-5425

Mrs. G. L. Warner, Manager

Why Foreign Service Personnel Prefer the Francis Scott Key Hotel

- It is only two blocks from the State Department
- Offers family accommodations • One room, kitchen, dinette and bath
- Completely furnished efficiency suites • Completely air-conditioned
- Restaurant with excellent food at moderate prices

ROOMS

One Person \$15.00—Two Persons \$18.00
Efficiency Suites—Double Bed or Twin Beds
One Person \$16.00 & Up—Two Persons \$19.00 & Up
Additional Persons \$1.50 each

10% discount for weekly occupancy

COMING or GOING

You can count on

PERSONALIZED SERVICE

from

W. C. AND A. N. MILLER
DEVELOPMENT CO.

A Complete Real Estate Service Since 1912

**NEW HOUSE SALES • BROKERAGE SALES
RENTALS • PROPERTY MANAGEMENT**

4701 Songamore Road, Washington, D. C. 20016

Phone 229-4000

Phone 229-4016

RETURNING TO WASHINGTON? BEING TRANSFERRED ABROAD?

Let me know your requirements and I will send you an up-to-date realty analysis without obligation. I believe my Departmental and Foreign Service experience in administration has given me unique qualifications to help you with your transition.

SALES—RENTALS—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

ROBERT E. PECK
representing



**Routh Robbins
Realtors**

1359 Chain Bridge Road,
McLean, Virginia 22101

Office: 703-356-7000 Home: 703-356-3864



REAL ESTATE

Specialists in

TOWN HOUSES

CAPITOL HILL • GEORGETOWN
FOGGY BOTTOM • MT. PLEASANT

202-546-2676

RHEA RADIN, Inc.
REALTOR

220 SEVENTH ST., S.E.

LETTERS TO FSJ

Foreign Service Career Ministers Without Foreign Service?

■ Every member of the Foreign Service is acutely aware of the damage done by increased politicization of the career US diplomatic service. Capable FSOs and staff are passed over for promotions, dedicated men and women dropped from advancement lists and the service, and careers are destroyed by office and career politics.

Every person with a Foreign Service interest, active and retired, is affected by the current dangerous trend of escalation in personnel politics of the most primitive kind. If regulations and standards can be violated for Career Ministers, rest assured that they will not be kept inviolate for the rest of us. It seems obvious to the President of AFSA that the uglier manifestations of politicization should be vigorously resisted.

On the very day the new AFSA Board took office, July 15, a list of nine ministers of career was forwarded to the Senate for confirmation. Slipped through with little fanfare, a Department Notice was issued on the subject July 21, 1975—some of our readers may not yet have heard the news.

No doubt, some able men are included on the CM list. Yet one of the nine ministers-designate has avoided service overseas in regular diplomatic assignment during his entire 28-year career in domestic service. His chief qualification for CM quite obviously is his undeviating political loyalty to the Secretary of State whom he served so assidu-

NOTE: The above letter has not been approved by the AFSA Board. In this instance, therefore, the remarks do not constitute a public position of the Association. Members of the Governing Board differ from the text of the letter in matters of tone, implication and fact. After consideration the Board did not oppose the 1975 CM promotion list, which it felt to have been issued in accordance with the precepts which had been negotiated between AFSA and management, and it so informed the Congress. Later the Board negotiated with management the inclusion of the overseas service desideratum, as quoted in the letter, for use by future CM boards.

"Stick close to your desk and never go to sea, and you all may be rulers of the Queen's Navee!"

H.M.S. Pinafore
Gilbert and Sullivan

ously as a staff officer of the National Security Council before he became Counselor of the Department.

Previously that FSO (who entered at the top as an FSO-1 despite vocal criticism in the Senate that this violated career principles) had been nominated by former President Nixon to be Under Secretary of the Treasury—at the urging of the President's Chief Advisor for National Security Affairs. But the Senate failed to confirm him in that post after a number of witnesses, including three former State Department officials, presented adverse testimony under oath concerning the officer's integrity. The 1974 precepts for CM, which govern the current promotion list require that potential CMs demonstrate "total integrity" (Sic!)

The Department may claim that there is a "precedent" for the appointment of a man as career minister with absolutely no experience overseas in the Service. Indeed there is—a very bad 1968 precedent which has all of the earmarks of the same kind of raw political "clout" that seems to be operational in the promotion of the currently proposed Career Ministers, many of whom have served on the NSC or close to the Secretary.

Under the promotion precepts just signed between AFSA and State (August 22), a career minister in the Foreign Service normally is expected to have had some significant foreign service. The 1975 promotion precepts read:

"Qualifications: . . . A Career Minister normally will have served overseas as a senior officer (Class I or 2) in a position of considerable responsibility: . . ."

The 1968 experience still has considerable relevance to the present situation. The selection boards which convened in the fall of 1967 had met, made their choices and forwarded a selection list for CM to the then Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. However, political friends of a man who wanted to become a Career Minister intervened in his behalf. The Secretary found an expedient solution: he had one name crossed out on the promotion

list to create the necessary vacancy. A "Special Panel" was convened to determine, after the fact, that Secretary Rusk's candidate met the "ad hoc" standards cooked up by the "Special Panel."

A little high handed? Some feel that it was simply corrupt. James W. Riddleberger, who had served on the selection boards, wrote a communication for the Foreign Service JOURNAL of November, 1968 roundly criticizing the action after a FSJ editorial (September 1968) had inexplicably applauded that same promotion list to career minister. Mr. Riddleberger's piece caused considerable controversy at the time but the Secretary's nomination of the non-foreign service career minister sailed through and established the "precedent" which is cited today.

Although the issue is far from decided, the following cryptic reference suggests that a certain body of opinion in the Senate has sufficient interest in the standards of our Foreign Service to question the promotion of unqualified persons to the rank of career minister:

From the Legislative Calendar through August 14, 1975 (p.55)

Career Minister Promotion List

July 15, 1975	Referred
July 30, 1975	Reported
August 1, 1975	Passed over by the Senate

(Entire promotion list carried over through August recess)

A so-called "Career Minister Review Board" was established in 1967 for the purpose of designating from the initial selection board's list of persons worthy of promotion to CM a final list of selected CMs. The composition of the CM Review Board, therefore, is today a critical component in the integrity of the system. I fear that evidence suggests it is a corrupting institution.

Strangely, the AFSA Board failed to receive any indication of the individuals who would serve on the CM selection process at that high level. This is contrary to the AFSA/State Agreement of June 29, 1973 "For the Establishment and Composition of Selection Boards." PER/PE has failed to turn up with any evidence, so far, in response to the request by the AFSA President that this important legal requirement of the CM Boards was met.

It is in the nature of things that a

senior civil servant with long Washington tenure and political connections and activities will develop political "clout." Conversely, as Gilbert and Sullivan noted long ago, if you make the mistake of "going to sea" in order to fight the wars of your country, you run the risk of the desk holders back home superseding you for promotion. This is a risk all of us in the Foreign Service have willingly taken in joining the Service. It is a risk that your Association should seek to attempt to minimize for its members and the men and women of the Foreign Service by trying to insure that some proper standards are maintained.

For that reason, I personally shall call upon the Secretary of State to withdraw the name of his friend who has never served on foreign service duty, from among the ranks of those named as career ministers in the Foreign Service. Other improprieties in connection with the forwarding of these names for confirmation by the Senate will be the subject of a second communication on this subject, thereby affording State personnel first with an opportunity to defend what looks *prima facie* like a difficult case.

Few members of our career Foreign Service will contend that one properly can be considered a Career Minister in the Foreign Service without actual service abroad in the foreign service.

One does not have to draw a diagram to explain to the junior officers and middle grade officers in today's Service and, indeed the staff corps, how their own career advancement and prospects are adversely affected by manipulation at the very top of a "career" service.

JOHN D. HEMENWAY

Issues of Principle

■ The September 1975 issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL makes reference in the "AFSA President's Report" (on pp. 35-36) to a letter which John Hemenway wrote to Chairman Sparkman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee requesting delay of confirmation of my appointment to Career Minister (Information). Mr. Hemenway solicits AFSA members' personal views on the subject, an invitation of which I am

availing myself. I would have written anyway.

I do appreciate and am grateful for the AFSA Board's subsequent letter (dated August 12), signed by Vice President Daniel O. Newberry, which, endorsing my nomination, asked that President Hemenway's letter be withdrawn because it did not represent the views of the Board. This letter clarifies the Board's position in my particular case and therefore satisfies me personally.

But there are two issues of principle involved in Mr. Hemenway's action which I wish to bring to the Board's attention, and through the Board, to the membership of AFSA.

First, as a member of AFSA I question the propriety of the President of AFSA writing to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on behalf of the membership of AFSA without express approval of the Board—and without consultation with or even advice to me—in regard to my nomination, especially inasmuch as my nomination is the result of a selection procedure, the precepts of which were approved and concurred in by AFSA. I consider the President's action inappropriate—even illegal and unethical—and would like to have this objection on record.

Second, Mr. Hemenway proclaims his emphasis on a policy of complete openness in the conduct of his office. The example of his activity cited above belies his policy since he acted in secrecy—without even the knowledge of the Board or of me, the person most affected by his action.

Specifically, Mr. Hemenway states in the article that he requested delay in confirmation pending "... full investigation of serious allegations made against him in writing by an AFSA member assigned to USIA." In his actual letter of July 29, to Senator Sparkman, however, (copy of which I requested after I heard of its existence and received on October 1), he refers to "... some members of AFSA and agency employees ..." who had made the serious allegations which should be answered before confirmation. Is it one AFSA member or are there several? Who are they? If Mr. Hemenway wishes to be "fair" to one or more AFSA members and

forward their objections to my confirmation to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, does he not also believe that it would have been fair to consult or advise me, also an AFSA member in good standing, about the allegations and his letter?

Moreover, if Mr. Hemenway had been interested in the openness and fairness that he publicly espouses, he could have checked with USIA before he wrote his letter of July 29 and determined that an investigation by two senior USIA inspectors had already been conducted, their findings had already been reported to the Director of USIA and accepted by him, and the allegations had already been officially determined to be unwarranted and unjustified.

I have gone into such detail only because I believe that in an "open" organization like AFSA, the membership ought to be aware of the actions of the President of their organization.

HANS N. TUCH
Medford, Mass.

Rebuttal on AFSPA

■ In the AFSA News portion of the August JOURNAL there appeared an article by FSO John Krizay entitled "Is the AFSPA Health Insurance Plan Good Enough." As a member of the AFSPA program since its inception I was particularly interested. Moreover because of extensive family illnesses over these years I have been the recipient of AFSPA benefits. I don't possess Mr. Krizay's expertise in economics of medicine but I can certainly attest to the most favorable financial results and expeditious payment of claims over decade and half. I have maintained a very detailed accounting of all costs to me, claims submitted, and payments made. I do not know of nor can I imagine any other insurance program that would meet the very high percentage of claims submitted over this fifteen year period.

With this background of experience I sought a discussion with AFSPA officials regarding Mr. Krizay's article.

I secured a copy of the AFSPA comments and am enclosing as Attachment 1. If the full text of the comments cannot be published perhaps the JOURNAL will consider using the following excerpts as a

part of this Letter to the Editor:

- (1) "The proposed article (Krizay's) does not indicate that the premiums for the Foreign Service Benefit Plan are very materially less than for any other plan available. AFSPA rates per fortnight are single \$1.96 and family \$6.73; the Blues \$5.40 and \$12.88; and Aetna \$3.88 and \$9.77."
- (2) "The administration of the Benefit Plan receives high praise from the auditors of the Civil Service Commission for its efficiency."
- (3) "The comparison of percentage administrative costs with the two national plans is distorted because of the very much higher volume of business handled by those plans."
- (4) "The \$100,000 limit per person per illness could easily be increased to \$250,000 at no great cost."
- (5) "A great many members have shown considerable enthusiasm about our (AFSPA) orthodontic benefits and it is thought that elimination would be unpopular, especially with the younger officers."
- (6) "The Civil Service Commission regularly publishes its analysis of report of all plans and our own auditor's report is available for inspection by any member of the Association."
- (7) "The AFSPA program includes a \$35 deductible that is applied for each accident or illness. This compares with the \$50 or \$100 deductibles of the Government Wide Programs which are applied once each calendar year for all sicknesses of the individual insured." (italics supplied)
- (8) "The out of pocket cost to the AFSPA member with family coverage is approximately 50% less than a Government employee insured under the largest Government Wide plan."
- (9) "The maximum benefit of the Government Wide Programs is \$250,000. The maximum applied on each individual covered to all medical benefits during the person's lifetime. The listed \$100,000 maximum in the AFSPA program applies to each individual insured for each cause of sickness during their lifetime."

More excerpts could be quoted to the points of Mr. Krizay's article but the above should definitely illustrate that the AFSPA program is as good or better than anything else offered. I urge the readers to restudy quotes 7 and 9 above. From personal experience this has made the AFSPA program more

than "good enough" for me.

GLENN G. WOLFE

FSO—Ret.

Washington

Career Minister List

■ A careful analysis of the July 15 list of persons nominated for career minister suggests the following preparatory guidelines for future aspirants:

- 1) Do not go to a state university (0 of 8).
- 2) Attend an Eastern United States university (7 of 8).
- 3) And preferably Ivy League (5 of 8).
- 4) And preferably Harvard (3 of 8).
- 5) Have a last name that sounds German (5 of 8).
- 6) And preferably beginning with "S" (4 of 8).

Keener minds and more thorough researchers will doubtless discover other guidelines.

Tongue in cheek-wise,

JAMES H. BAHTI

Consul General

Dhahran

Speaking Out

■ I wish to advise all members of the foreign affairs agencies of their duty to inform public authorities and their inalienable right to speak to and inform the American press about any evidence of serious wrongdoing on the part of any public official, whether by denial of civil rights, obstruction of justice, violation of any criminal statute or any form of cover-up of such serious wrongdoing.

Such advice apparently is urgently needed to correct a long-ingrained misimpression that is widespread in the Foreign Service that career personnel might somehow betray their trust if they speak with reporters openly and substantively, either for attribution or on background. This of course is not true and any claim that it is, of course, is tantamount to intimidation. Any evidence which any member of the foreign affairs agencies may have relative to potentially serious criminal actions or unethical practices in Washington or overseas should be reported immediately to the appropriate authorities and the press has a legiti-

mate need to know such news. In fact, failure to report such information may implicitly countenance further wrongdoing and willful intimidation of personnel and abet the covering up of such.

Neither political nor career appointees of any agency of the Government should be immune from exposure of wrongdoing under cover of loyalty to the Government. Senior officials who avail themselves of their constitutionally guaranteed rights to freedom of speech and freedom of the press to promote questionable or unauthorized programs are unlikely to invoke these same liberties to inform the press of developments which may be embarrassing to themselves.

To safeguard the integrity and substance not only of the Foreign Service but of the United States Government as a whole, and its image at home and abroad, I should think that AFSA would wish to put itself on record on this matter.

WILLIAM H. DURHAM

Reston

A Regrettable Quote

■ Forgive the lateness of this letter regarding my concern over the use of a quotation from "Mein Kampf." Understandably, you cannot always predict the response of various publics—and in this case mine—to such quotations, but the article on "American Foreign Policy & East Germany" (April/75, FSJ) simply had nothing to do with Hitler's perceptions of the international environment. A few of my colleagues at the East German embassy took issue with the use of this quote, and in that spirit (which includes my own objection), I would be grateful if you would attach a brief statement to the effect that you intended no disservice to the makers of American or East German foreign policy. Both sides of that on-going discussion have enough problems without the unintended introduction of "Mein Kampf." I do appreciate your understanding attitude on this matter.

JOHN STARRELS

Washington

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Mea culpa!* The JOURNAL intent was certainly not to cast a dark shadow from the past over Professor Starrels' forward-looking article.



AFSA STUDENT MERIT AWARD AND FINANCIAL AID PROGRAMS

For the past three years AFSA's annual grants to help students meet the expense of a college education have been based entirely on financial need. This Financial Aid Program will continue to be the major type of grant given. Now, however, the AFSA Committee on Education has recommended to the AFSA Board of Governors an additional, incentive-based program—Student Merit Awards of \$500 each to the 12th grade students who are adjudged by volunteer review panels to be the best-qualified for recognition of the excellence of their high school or preparatory school records and achievements.

Financial need is not a requirement for this Merit Award Program. The awards are not designated as financial assistance toward college expense, although they may be so applied at the option of the winners. They are to be one-time awards. They are payable directly to the student-winners. Any winners who also need financial assistance for college expense are permitted to apply to AFSA's Financial Aid Program as well.

In the Financial Aid Program, funds will again be granted on the basis of financial need. This is determined by the College Scholarship Service from data provided by parents on the Parents Confidential Statement. The Committee on Education urges that additional avenues of financial assistance be sought by students, especially at the college to be attended.

Application forms and complete information about both the AFSA Student Merit Award Program and the AFSA Student Financial Aid Program are available. Write or call today! The address is: AFSA Committee on Education, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037—Attention: Mrs. Patricia Squire or Mr. Clarke Slade, Staff Assistants for Student Programs. The telephone number is (202)

338-4045. The deadline for applications will again be February 15th.

Sixty-two grants were made for the 1975-1976 academic year, with a total amount of \$34,900 being awarded. The 1976-1977 Committee on Education consists of Honorable Arthur L. Richards, Chairman, Dr. Christine Hugerth, Mrs. Margaret Mark, Mrs. Margaret Dickman, Mr. James R. Vandivier, Mr. Allen Moreland, and two members yet to be appointed.

AFSA WINS NEW WEIGHT ALLOWANCES FOR MEMBERS

The Members' Interests Committee is pleased to announce the agreement with the Management Personnel of the foreign affairs agencies on a new weight allowance for household effects on limited shipments. Appropriate sections of 6 FAM 162 (AID Handbook 22) will be revised to conform to the following weight allowance schedule:

	Employee	+ Dep.	+ 2 Dep.
CM, 0-1	3000	4300	4500
0-2	2900	4150	4350
0-3, S-1	2800	4000	4200
0-4, S-2	2650	3800	4000
0-5, S-3	2500	3600	3800
0-6, S-4/5	2400	3400	3600
0-7, S-6	2250	3200	3400
0-8, S-7	2100	3000	3200
S-8	1950	2800	3000
S-9/10	1400	2000	2200

The Agreement will go into effect following signature by the President of the FY 1976 Appropriation and Authorization Bills, whichever comes later. We had to fight for over two years to get this benefit for members. Other provisions of the Agreement are:

A. If an employee's household effects allowance is reduced through revision of this schedule of allowances while the employee is overseas under a limited shipment authorization, and there is no alteration in the employee's classification for allowances purposes, the employee's next authorization for shipment of effects will provide for shipment of the difference between the previous and present allowances to the point in the US where the employee's

other goods are stored or to another authorized storage point as designated in 6 FAM 173. When a US assignment immediately follows the present assignment to a limited shipment post, the weight of effects authorized for shipment to that post may be shipped to the US.

B. An employee affected by a reduction who is transferred from one limited shipment post to another would be guaranteed shipment of the difference between the allowances to a storage point in the US where other effects are stored, if desired, or to the storage point designated for the post (post of origin). If the employee wishes to ship the former higher allowance to the next post, prompt application should be made as appropriate to either the Department's, USIA's, or AID's Committee on Exceptions. Such requests will be reviewed on an expeditious basis.

C. An employee transferred from a limited shipment post to a full shipment post would be able to ship a full shipment to the next post, as at present.

D. An employee assigned from a limited shipment post to the US, who would otherwise have a reduced allowance because of a revision in the schedule of allowances, would be authorized the return shipment to the US of the weight previously authorized for shipment to the limited shipment post.

BOARD ACTS ON GRIEVANCE BILL

After a number of special and regular open meetings in which three successive versions of the Bayh Bill conferring a grievance system on the Foreign Service (there is none now) were discussed at length with full expression of many diverging views, the AFSA Board voted the following resolution:

WHEREAS it is the sense of the Board of Governors of the American Foreign Service Association that it is essential to the welfare of the men and women of the Foreign Service to have an effective legislated grievance system operative in 1976 and having considered the October 3, 1975 revision of the original Bayh Bill (S.1517) to provide

for the establishment of a Foreign Service Grievance Procedure, and the explanations thereon set forth in the October 10, 1975 Memorandum to the Board presented by the AFSA Grievance Committee, and

Approving the efforts of the AFSA Grievance Committee to carry out the terms of the Board's Resolution on this subject, adopted September 22, 1975,

RESOLVES THAT

1. The Board supports the Grievance Committee's recommendations to discuss with Deputy Under Secretary Eagleburger, the two major issues of: (a) exclusion of grievance issues involving a statutory appeal procedure elsewhere, and (b) exclusion from judicial review of the Head of Agency's rejection of a Grievance Board recommendation to reinstate a former officer, as specified by the Grievance Committee.
2. The Board will convey appropriately to Congressional Staff its support of the October 3, 1975 revision of the Bayh Bill, with the exceptions noted in Para 1 above if efforts to resolve these exceptions in consultation with State Department Management are unsuccessful, and will urge Congressional action to remedy these defects.

A-Men

One senior Foreign Service officer has decided to do something concrete about gaining a more formal recognition for the contributions which Foreign Service wives make to their husbands' careers and to the Service. His wife, who is a fully qualified professional in her own right, has been precluded from developing the professional career for which she was trained, secondary school guidance counseling, because she has spent 12 years in foreign countries where it was impossible for her to practice. Throughout this period, she sacrificed her career to support that of her husband. Now her husband has filed claim for representational expenses incurred in paying for her services as a caterer and a hostess. The basis for his claim is the Department's policy that wives are not required to assist their husbands, but that the husband, if the

wife does not help, is obligated to make other arrangements for discharging his representational responsibilities. The officer, whose representational responsibilities are considerable, maintains that his wife has refused to serve without fair compensation. Appeal of the claim is now pending at GAO.

Peter Arthur Compton Memorial

On July 29, 1974, Peter Arthur Compton, son of FSO-retired and Mrs. Arthur A. Compton, died of injuries sustained in a fall on the campus of the College at Wooster, Ohio, where he was visiting friends from his days as a student there in 1971 and 1972. At the time of his death, at the age of 21, Peter was taking summer courses at Bowling Green State University (also in Ohio) where he had been a student since January 1973.

With this in mind, Peter's parents have established a Scholarship Fund in his name to help make it possible for foreign students to have the experience of attending one of these midwest American educational institutions.

Those wishing to contribute in this way to Peter's memory may do so by sending donations to: "The Peter Arthur Compton Memorial Fund" at one of the following addresses:

1. c/o Mr. William Neely
Office of Development

The College of Wooster
Wooster, Ohio 43402

(Checks or money transfers should be made payable to "The College of Wooster")

2. c/o Mr. James Ladd
Office of Development
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio 43402

(Check or money transfers should be made payable to "The Bowling Green State University Foundation")

Note: All such donations are deductible from US Income Taxes.

What the JOURNAL Needs

The JOURNAL needs and welcomes contributions from its readers. These can be in the form of short articles, longer feature articles, communications, book essays and letters to the editor. Photographs for illustrations are appreciated, as are suggestions regarding the availability of other illustrative material.

Material should be typewritten, double-spaced, on one side of the paper only. Inclusion of a stamped, self-addressed envelope saves staff time and AFSA's postage.

Letters to the editor should be no more than one typewritten page in length. Communications may run as long as six pages and major articles are from 2500 to 3500 words in length. The Editorial Board welcomes queries on possible subjects for articles.



Mrs. Henry Kissinger, Mrs. William Clark, Ms. Patricia Poyina, and Ms. Barbara Good at the AAFSW Bookfair. Mrs. Kissinger is accepting an International Women's Year totebag, a gift from IWY Originals, from Barbara Good.

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.

REAL ESTATE

MOVING TO FLORIDA? We are specialists in Florida Sun Coast. Waterfront, inland and condominium properties for retirement purposes. Dery Associates, Inc., Realtors, 624 Waterside Way, Sarasota, Florida 33581. Contact Jean-M. Dery, FSO-retired, phone (813) 349-6177.

BEGG INTERNATIONAL, INC. is the sister company and international real estate counterpart of Begg, Inc., Realtors, who have for so many years assisted FSO's to buy and sell their houses in the Washington area. Begg International specializes in best quality real estate overseas. For your retirement or holiday home in Portugal, Spain, the Caribbean, etc., consult: Begg International, Inc., Realtors, 1714 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel: (202) 387-4805.

FLORIDA'S BEST BUYS, Free Brochures, Cocoa Beach, Merritt Island, Waterfront, Golf Course, Pool. Specify interest and price. Write 520 Causeway Realty, Inc., 1714 E. Merritt Island Cswy., Merritt Island, Fla. 32952 (305-452-9555).

HOLIDAY SHOPPING SERVICE

Introducing FIFTH BUSINESS, a specialized service for shopping, planning and arranging. FIFTH BUSINESS will shop for, wrap and mail gifts, assemble and ship orders out of town or abroad, hunt for special purchases and hard-to-find articles. For other special needs inquire of Eva-Maria Busch, 2233 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Suite 222, Washington, D.C. 20007.

BOOKS

BOOKS ON ASIA, Rare and Out of Print on Asia and Mideast. Catalogue from: Stephen Feldman, Books, 1555 West 11th St., Brooklyn, New York 11204. Books bought on Iran and Afghanistan.

THE OWL AND THE PUSSYCAT Children's Bookshop gives 10% discount on overseas orders. Knowledgeable, personalized service. Large stock of paperback, hardbacks. We mail everywhere. New catalogue \$1.25. 314 South Ashland Ave., Lexington, Ky. 40502, USA.

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.

AAFSW NEWS

The Bookfair is Ended. Long Live the Bookfair!

A final flick of the broom, removal of shelves and tables back to the 8th floor Abigail Adams Book Room, and the Exhibition Hall, for seven days in October the scene of frenetic activity, is again the Exhibition Hall, resting place of the Great Seal, short cut pass-through from corridor to corridor.

Bookfair '75, from the moment Mrs. Henry (Nancy) Kissinger cut the ribbon on Family Day until the last cashier's box was closed on Friday, was a total success!

The media was overwhelmingly cooperative, with Henry Tannenbaum and his Eyewitness News crew bringing excitement and fun to one afternoon's buyers, and Messrs. Hardin and Weaver, the POST and STAR, and all of the area's TV and radio stations giving time and space to publicizing the Fair.

Members of the Diplomatic Corps from France, Great Britain, the USSR, Argentina, Chile, China, Salvador, Lebanon, Germany and Singapore were among the thousands of people who heeded the call to browse and buy books, stamps, and *objets d'art*.

Throughout the Fair, the thrill of the "find" permeated the air. Over and over again one heard "Look what I found!" and an excited browser joyfully displayed a 40c "Lives of the Saints" autographed by Clare Boothe Luce—a 15c first edition biography by Virginia Woolf, discovered among the classics—a 40c first edition A. A. Milne novel which, somehow, had been boxed with the children's books—or, in the case of a G. W. Graduate School Professor, his own out-of-print work priced at 10c—and that, dear reader, is what makes a book fair!

Mrs. William (Judy) Clark, Mrs. Philip (Dorothy) Wolfson and the Bookfair '75 Committee are working on reports to pass along to the 1976 Book Fair committee which will take over in January. The Book Room volunteers are again back at work sorting and packing incoming books. Lois Heginbotham (tel: 493-9194) is busy taking calls from people who would like to donate books, paintings, bric-a-brac, etc.

And the proceeds from this never-ending year-round labor of love—where do they go? The money obtained is used to support the AFSA Scholarship Fund, which in 1974-75 provided 62 grants totalling \$34,900 to children of Foreign Service officers (active, retired and deceased) of the State Department, USIA, and AID. It supports the Counseling Center which has been used by 250 to 300 different families during the past year. It also assists, to a lesser degree, several community education programs. The Bookfair is AAFSW's single fund-raising activity, and to Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Wolfson, their committee and crew of volunteers we send salutations and thanks for a job well done.

Foreign Service People

Births

Horan. A son, Jonathan Theodore, born to FSO and Mrs. Hume Horan, on June 29, in Jidda.

Kinney. A daughter, Mercier Carroll, born to FSO and Mrs. Douglas Kinney, on July 4, in Washington.

Sabatino. A son, Matthew Joseph, born to Melissa Dorman Sabatino and Joseph John Sabatino, on August 27, in Fort Lauderdale. Melissa is the daughter of John and Nene Dorman.

Deaths

Elfers. Frederick D. Elfers, charge d'affaires at Tananarive, was killed in an automobile accident near Nairobi on September 10. Mr. Elfers entered the Foreign Service in 1961 and served at Tokyo, Belgrade and Danang. Mr. Elfers received the Secretary's award for heroism in 1968. He is survived by his wife, Christine B. Elfers, two sons, James and Stephen, a daughter, Barbara, and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Dietrich Elfers, Daytona Beach, Florida. Mrs. Elfers requests no flowers but contributions in his memory may be made to the Elfers Children Scholarship Fund, care of Mrs. Elfers, 2385 North Quincy St., Arlington, Va. 22207.

Pagin. Lina Visca Pagin, wife of FSO-retired Renzo Pagin, died on September 14 in Arlington. Mrs. Pagin is survived by her husband of 2156 Juniper La., Falls Church, two daughters, Tanya P. McBee of Waco, Texas and Gabrielle P. Ficklin of Falls Church, and two grandchildren. The family suggests that memorial contributions may be made to the American Cancer Society.

BREAKING AND ENTERING • SHIPPING LOSSES OF ALL KINDS • PET LIABILITY • LIGHTNING DAMAGE • TRANSIT/WAR RISKS • PROPERTY DAMAGE LIABILITY •

STOLEN LUGGAGE • FIRE DAMAGE • BODILY INJURY LIABILITY •

One For All!



TRAVEL-PAK—one policy—has been carefully designed to meet the needs of people who plan to live abroad for awhile!

Your household and personal effects are covered—enroute abroad—while living abroad—enroute home and at your request—while in storage. In addition—while you're living abroad TRAVEL-PAK includes Personal Liability coverage for the protection of you and your family.

One—for all! Competitively priced TRAVEL-PAK eliminates the need for shopping. One policy—covers all—your possessions—your family's as well as your liability!

The TRAVEL-PAK brochure-application describes the coverage indicated—including the cost. Call or send for your copy today.

travel-pak

WHEN YOU'RE GOING TO LIVE ABROAD!

James W. Barrett Company, Inc.



Insurance Brokers
1140 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone: 202-296-6440

A Division of Underwriters Service, Inc.

*Send for details—***TODAY!**

Tell me about **TRAVEL-PAK**.

Name

Address

City State Zip



Chrysler Export announces the Bicentennial Year Diplomatic Sales Program.

**The exact car you want.
At a discount price
that helps you afford it.**

The 1976 cars from Chrysler are something special. From the smallest through the most luxurious, they rank among the best-engineered automobiles available at any price.

What's more, sizable discounts are available to members of the Diplomatic Community. Provided you qualify, you should be pleasantly surprised at how easy

it is to afford a new Chrysler-built vehicle.

You can order any model, including a practical Sportsman Wagon. You'll get it with the exact equipment and options you specify. Just say when and where you want it delivered.

We will, of course, check back to make sure everything about the delivery was satisfactory.

Indicate which cars interest you on the coupon.

We'll send you the whole story by return mail.

Chrysler Export
Diplomatic Sales
560 Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs,
New Jersey 07632
(212) 279-7350

Or: Chrysler Export
Diplomatic Sales
1100 Connecticut Ave.
N.W., Washington,
D. C. 20036
(202) 296-3188

Send information on your Diplomatic Sales Program
and these Chrysler products:

DODGE
☐ Dart
☐ Aspen
☐ Coronet/Charger
☐ Monaco
☐ Charger SE
☐ Sportsman
Wagon

PLYMOUTH
☐ Valiant
☐ Volare
☐ Fury
☐ Gran/Fury
☐ CHRYSLER
Cordoba
☐ CHRYSLER

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

EXPORT DIVISION  **CHRYSLER CORPORATION**

© C Corp. 1975