

# FSJ

In the Wake of the Italian Elections  
Public Diplomacy and the US Government  
American Wines and Foreign Cuisine  
Self-Help in Africa

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL  
SEPTEMBER 1976 60 CENTS



BABCOCK '76  
JAPAN

• • • STOLEN LUGGAGE • FIRE DAMAGE • BODILY INJURY LIABILITY • BREAKING AND ENTERING • SHIPPING LOSSES OF ALL KINDS • PET LIABILITY • LIGHTNING DAMAGE • TRANSIT/WAR RISKS • PROPERTY DAMAGE LIABILITY •



# THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME...

*... wherever it may be!*

When you're going to be living abroad for awhile—you'll be taking many of your personal and household possessions with you.

Sometime before "moving day" call or write for your copy of TRAVEL-PAK. This unique insurance plan has been carefully designed to insure your possessions against most losses which could occur—from here to there—while you're there—on the way back—and at your request while in storage.

Liability coverage is also included—covering occurrences abroad for which you or your family members could become responsible.

Your TRAVEL-PAK brochure contains all of the details—and shows you how little—in dollars and cents it will add to your budget.

There's no place like home—wherever it may be! It deserves nothing less than TRAVEL-PAK!

## 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.

7-A

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# FSJ

## FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 1976: Volume 53, No. 9

### Entente Cordiale

ROBERT J. MISCH 4

### Public Diplomacy in the United States Government

HANS N. TUCH 8

### In the Wake of the Italian Elections

MARINO DE MEDICI 11

### Fouling Out at Moscow U.

WILLIAM B. SHINN 14

### Self Help in Africa

ROBERT EHRMAN 17

### The Bigger Thing

JOHN BOVEY 21

### DEPARTMENTS

FSJ Guest Editorial 2

FSJ Book Essay 24

FSJ Bookshelf 25

AFSA News 35

**IMPORTANT NOTE:** Some of our readers appear to have the impression that articles submitted to the JOURNAL for the David K. E. Bruce Awards must relate to the Bicentennial. This is NOT the case. The Bruce Awards (\$500 first prize, \$300 second prize and two \$100 third prizes) are aimed at stimulating the submission of high-quality articles by members of the Foreign Service and AFSA: they are not limited as to subject matter.

COVER: Watercolor, Fuji-san,  
by William E. Babcock

## American Foreign Service Association

Officers and Members of the Governing Board

JOHN D. HEMENWAY, *President*

LARS HYDLE, *Vice President*

JOHN PATTERSON, *Second Vice President*

FRANK CUMMINS, *Secretary*

PAUL von WARD, *Treasurer*

CHARLOTTE CROMER &

THOMAS O'CONNOR, *AID Representatives*

ALFORD W. COOLEY, SAMUEL F. HART,

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

PETER WOLCOTT, *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.

ARTHUR M. HANDLY

### 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*

NANCY JACKSON, *Editorial Assistant*

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.



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.

©American Foreign Service Association, 1976. 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.

## A Chance to Stop the Embassy "Auction"

BY CLAYTON FRITCHEY

Thanks to public financing of the presidential campaign, the next chief executive, regardless of who wins the election, will be free to fill US embassies around the world with experienced diplomats instead of large campaign contributors. It could be a notable improvement.

The auctioning of diplomatic posts to high bidders has gone on for a long time under both Republican and Democratic Presidents, but it reached its peak in the Nixon administration when would-be ambassadors kicked in up to \$300,000 for even tiny posts such as Luxembourg.

Career foreign service officers have long been denied well-earned promotions not only to make way for campaign angels but also to enable Presidents to pay off others to whom they are indebted politically.

The quickest way to improve the spirit and performance of America's foreign service, about which Presidents have been known to grumble, would be for the next chief executive to show some respect for the State Department professionals, specifically through a new policy of reserving the top embassies for the top career diplomats.

That would not require legislation, nor even a formal executive order. All that is needed is a new presidential precedent: No more ambassadorial pay-offs. Now that public financing has at last freed the presidential contenders from their usual obligations to fat-cat financial backers, there is a fresh opportunity to initiate a new standard at Foggy Bottom.

It is an especially good opportunity for Jimmy Carter because he, unlike President Ford, could start from scratch. The incumbent is stuck with a flock of payoff appointments inherited from former President Nixon and some that he has made himself.

A pledge by Carter to elevate the foreign service would be very much in line with his promise to practice a less politicized foreign policy. A new emphasis on career diplomats would, of course, not preclude the use of outstanding men who, while not foreign service officers, have special talents to offer.

No President would want to deny himself the services of men like Averell Harriman, Adlai Stevenson, David Bruce and others of similar background and experience. There would be little complaint if our embassies were

consistently manned by gifted non-career men, but that is seldom the case.

The argument is advanced that only very rich men can afford the cost of large embassies, since the government does not provide enough money to run them. What could be more un-American or more undemocratic? The truth is that Congress will appropriate enough money whenever any President seriously demands it. The idea that the richest nation on earth cannot properly support its embassies around the world is ludicrous.


An even worse myth is the notion that ambassadors really don't matter any more in an era of instant communication. Actually, it all depends on the ambassador. If he is a man of intellect and conviction, if he has a sure grasp of his foreign assignment, he can wield almost unlimited influence back in Washington.

It's been proven time and again. At the conclusion of World War II, for instance, a single long cable from George Kennan, then in the American Embassy of Moscow, altered the whole course of administration thinking about Russia. It was Kennan, who retired as a career ambassador, who made the "policy of containment" a household phrase.

It works the other way, too, for incompetent ambassadors can also be influential. America is still paying a stiff price for the performance of Patrick Hurley, a flamboyant Oklahoma politician, who was US ambassador to China during that country's civil war in the late 1940s. Hurley was surrounded by able career diplomats who perceived the weakness and corruption of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces, and who correctly foresaw that Mao and the Communists were the wave of the future in mainland China. Unfortunately, Hurley, who disagreed, not only prevailed, but accused his advisers of being soft on communism.

The moral of this is that ambassadors still do carry weight and, since that is so, all our missions abroad should be directed by the ablest men in the foreign service. The State Department is bulging with highly trained professionals who are retiring prematurely because the posts they should be filling are occupied by beneficiaries of the political payoff system.

©1976, *Los Angeles Times*. Reprinted with permission from THE WASHINGTON POST, August 7, 1976.



## Diplomacy: the art of getting the most for the least; a Ford diplomatic discount.

Before you buy any car, check out the special diplomatic discount savings you can get on one of our fine new Ford-built cars. 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 Ford's Diplomatic Sales Office.

- Thunderbird • Elite • LTD • Granada • Torino
- Maverick • Mustang II • Pinto
- Continental • Mark IV • Marquis • Monarch
- Montego • Comet • Bobcat • Cougar

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.



"From wine what sudden friendship springs!"

—John Gay

# Entente Cordiale

## American Wine & Foreign Cuisine

ROBERT J. MISCH

I would have said our overseas representatives and diplomatic corps need no instruction from me on the service of American wine—if I hadn't been a member of the Wine Committee for the State Department, and if I hadn't visited a few embassies in that connection.

I should have known what I was up against right from the start when our Committee (this was under President Johnson) was entertained at luncheon at Blair House. With the first course, (smoked salmon I believe) was poured the most dreadful white wine I ever had the dis-

pleasure of being served. It had once been a California Chardonnay from a respectable winery. When proffered to us, it was an over-the-top, *maderisé*, walnut-colored, spoiled wine. I pointed this out to our Chief of Protocol who was sitting at my left. He seemed surprised. All I could think of were the dozens of foreign notables being served such stuff. What would they think of American wine—and what would our good vintners say?

Then, abroad. That summer, it was a Scandinavian safari—a week in each country and a call on our embassies there. In Oslo, our ambassador confided that she was a "health food nut" and never touched the juice of the grape, except before fermentation! In Copenhagen, a proper wine cellar was maintained by the then ambassador, but it was almost entirely French.

---

*Robert J. Misch is a founder of the New York Wine & Food Society and a Commandeur in the Confrerie des Chevaliers du Tastevin, as well as the author of several books and a weekly column "Eat, Drink and Be Merry" for United Features.*



while you're away we take  
personal care of your  
property from the grass  
roots to the roof tops



**H**INGHAM & ASSOCIATES INCORPORATED REALTORS  
Foxhall Square 3301 New Mexico Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20016 202/362-9702

# There's always a little bit of home you can bank on.



You may not be able to get a hot dog or a corned beef sandwich, but no matter where you are you can always get the financial service and expertise of Washington's own Riggs National Bank. All you need is a stamp and a mail box to take advantage of Riggs Financial Services. We can arrange practically every banking service for you—from checking and savings accounts to personal loans and trusts—even though you're thousands of miles away. When everything else is foreign to you, your bank shouldn't be. So depend on Riggs. We're the home-town bank you can take along.

**When you want more from a bank, you want Riggs.**

THE  
**RIGGS**  
NATIONAL  
**BANK**

OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON'S  
LARGEST BANK  
IN SIZE AND SERVICE  
FOUNDED 1836  
COMPLETE BANKING AND  
TRUST SERVICE  
PHONE 624-2000  
Member FDIC  
Member Federal  
Reserve System

Sweden, at the time, was between ambassadors. Then, Finland! Ah! there was triumph! Ambassador Tyler Thompson couldn't wait for me to name all the "little" wines from boutique California vineyards. He wanted none of our regular list. I helped to the best of my ability. I rather imagine that today the local Finnish gentry are drinking some mighty fine American bottles with their elk lips soup and bear steaks.

Remembering such a checkered experience on behalf of American wine, I thought perhaps it might serve a salubrious purpose to codify some of the more common foreign dishes diplomats encounter abroad—and which are seen in continental restaurants over here, for that matter. And let me suggest some American wine types as "go withs." Please remember, there is no Holy Writ when it comes to pairing wine and food; mostly it's common sense and good taste.

Beef Burgundy, that ubiquitous beef stew that appears as Boeuf Bourguignonne or Daube de Boeuf wherever French cuisine raises its pleasant head, obviously calls for a rich, red wine. The United States does have "burgundies" per se, but these are what are known as generic wines; e.g. wines of no pretension, blended of any grape varieties and bearing little resemblance to Burgundy from the Côte d'Or. Rather, search out Pinot Noirs which are from the veritable Burgundy grape—and I warn you, they do vary in quality—or substitute a Zinfandel or a Petite Sirah. (Whichever you choose, use it in cooking the dish, too—none of that "cooking wine" myth.)

Another popular French dish is lamb—leg or saddle. You're more likely to find gigot or selle d'agneau in

Europe (or in New York) than in the US heartland. There, beef is king. However, I love it and with it, without question—a California Cabernet Sauvignon (from the Bordeaux grape). It's the star of California and again, many to choose from. An alternate would be a Gamay Beaujolais, our look (somewhat) alike for the popular Beaujolais of France. Or, you might try an Eastern hybrid wine called Baco Noir (name of the grape)—from New York or Ohio. Interesting, that.

In France, fish is traditionally cooked "Marguery" or "Bonne Femme" or "Véronique"—rich sauces for all of these. You'll want a white wine of character to cut through the eggs, butter, shallots, and cream. Chardonnay (sometimes Pinot Chardonnay) is your answer, and California makes some beauties.

Game is, of course, much more plentiful abroad, than here. Why? I'm at a loss. Theirs is a tight little continent—ours is huge. Theirs has been heavily populated for centuries. Ours is a 200 year sparsely settled wonder. Yet, venison, hare, partridge—even boar—are, if not a commonplace, at least not a seven day wonder. With venison in all its guises, stuffed hare or boar, pheasant en plumage, California offers a variety of good bottles. Barbera would be one—lusty and tannic—or again a Zinfandel, Cabernet Sauvignon, or Pinot Noir.

Italy is for pasta—as if you didn't know. If lightly sauced and delicate, a white wine such as Chenin Blanc would be in order. If a very opinionated dish, a red would be perfectly acceptable if not preferable. California offers a Grignolino from the Italian grape of that name, or try one of the many Mountain Reds. Osso Bucco, Saltim-

## Did you know that?

- Prior to 1960, when FSO's enjoyed a freedom of choice of contractor, Security and the Federal Storage Company (which merged in 1963) performed 80% of all packing and storage of household effects for State, AID and USIA?

- Since 1964, Security has not submitted a proposal in response to the Department's Invitation to Bid on a contract for such work?

- Security's packing and storage volume is greater than it was fifteen years ago? Our Cadillac-type service is deservedly popular.



- In addition, hundreds of your colleagues are using our insurance department through its Annual Government Service Floater, and have been doing so for decades.

**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

- While Security does not solicit the export packing of FSO's household effects, many still come for that and, just as important, storage of their left-behind treasures in one of five beautiful depositories? They feel that peace of mind is worth the extra cost.

- Telephone 234-5600, Roland Showalter or Conrad Posey, and find out. It may be less than you think!

- In packing and storage, as always, the best is the cheapest!

bocca, Scallopine are immensely popular Italian meat dishes, based on veal in lovely sauces. California has no Bardolino or Valpolicella, but a Gamay or one of the lighter Zinfandels would do nicely—or turning Eastward again, a wine called Chelois (shell-oy, they pronounce it) from another hybrid.

Should you be a Pollo Cacciatore fan, as so many are, please note that the old law (to which I do not subscribe) is to be flouted out-of-hand; viz. white wine with chicken and fish, red with meat etc. Cacciatore or “Hunter Style” chicken is made with red wine and you should go right on drinking red wine with it—a Barbera or a Cabernet Sauvignon or a Zinfandel of character.

Vitello Tonnato, that unlikely dish of veal with tuna sauce which confounds the orthodoxy of the regulation Italian menu, is made to order for one of California’s biggest and lustiest Chardonnays, or possibly a New York Aurora or Seyval Blanc.

The German cuisine is a beer cuisine. All the wursts, and even such dishes as sauerbraten and hassenpfeffer, take kindly to beer. That’s why the finest German wines, all of them a little on the sweet side, are reserved for drinking neat, with a friend in a weinstube far into the night. But should you want to sluice down German food with wine, as some anti-beer Germans do, California has what it takes—Johannisberger Riesling, a varietal from the grape of the Rhineland that makes the great Rhines and Moselles. California is even producing some Rieslings touched by edelfaule or “the noble rot,” that incredible disease of the late-picked grape that makes possible not mere wine but celestial manna.

The South and Central American kitchen is exciting and various, replete with chili peppers and other incendiary ingredients. One good taste of mulato, ancho, or chipotle chiles, and no wine in the world would be identifiable. Famed Mole Poblano is such a dish. Again, beer might be the answer, or possibly the most abrasive California Barbera you can find or the biggest Cabernet Sauvignon. In Hungary, the national dish, Chicken Paprika, can be hot too if the cook has located some truly lethal paprika. But the flammability is always ameliorated by the sour cream in the sauce so that a Sauvignon Blanc would probably stand up to most Paprikas very nicely.

Spain. Paella, of course. There is no one official recipe for paella so the proportions of sea food to chicken to sausages varies considerably. One thing is certain. It’s a hearty dish, suited to lusty appetites—and I could see a Spanish-American entente either with a big White Pinot Chardonnay or a piquant red Pinot Noir or even Gamay Beaujolais.

We could go on and on. Foreign dishes have infiltrated our apple pie and steak regimen to a very great degree, both on foreign soil and in ethnic restaurants, which is just what I started out saying. Mixing and matching our American wines to foreign dishes is an engaging and pleasant enterprise—at home *or* abroad. Our store of fine American bottlings was never better. New vineyards are springing up. Old ones are improving grapes and methods. And never make the mistake of assuming that only bottles from small vest pocket wineries can be top-drawer. We’re coming of age—and in some cases—have already reached adulthood. Around the world, wines from the United States need no longer take a chauvinistic back seat. Today we can count our blessings—and share a few.



• ANNOUNCEMENT •

# NEW BROCHURE



CLEMENTS & COMPANY

Insurance Brokers

ROBERT S. CLEMENTS  
M. JUANITA GUESS

SUITE 1015, CAFRITZ BUILDING, 1625 EYE STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
Telephone: (202) 872-0060 TELEEX: WU1-64514 CABLE: CLEMCO-WASHINGTON

## SPECIALISTS IN INSURANCE FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE AT HOME OR ABROAD

Foreign service personnel need a DOMESTIC INSURANCE BROKER in the United States, as well as a broker skilled in FOREIGN SERVICES.

NOW, Clements & Company has prepared a new insurance analysis, DOMESTIC INSURANCE. This analysis describes all domestic policies from homeowners and automobile to life insurance. It anticipates and answers questions arising from transfers to and from the United States as well as assignments in the United States.

Full instructions are included on how to select the proper policy, obtain rates and apply for coverage desired.

The analysis is available through some Administrative Officers abroad, at the Foreign Service Lounge and USAID offices in Washington.

Write Clements & Company  
or call 872-0060  
ask for  
**DOMESTIC INSURANCE**

"Public diplomacy is a central part of American foreign policy simply because the freedom to know is such an important part of America."—Preface to the Stanton Report

# Public Diplomacy in the United States Government

HANS N. TUCH

The Report of the Panel on International Information, Educational and Cultural Relations (the so-called Stanton Panel, after its chairman, Frank Stanton) was issued in March 1975. Two members of the Panel, former USIA Director Leonard Marks and retired Ambassador Edmund Gullion, dissented from the Panel's recommendations about the future organization of international information, education and cultural relations. On the other hand, the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy (the Murphy Commission) generally accepted the Stanton Panel's recommendations and incorporated them in its final Report. Both the current Director of USIA, James Keogh, and the then Deputy Secretary of State, Robert Ingersoll, came out in opposition to a number of the Panel's findings.

So far no action has been taken by the Executive or Legislative Branches in regard to the Stanton Panel's or the Murphy Commission's recommendations on the future of US international information, cultural and educational programs, nor to any of the several other studies undertaken on this subject by agencies of the Federal Government during the last two years. No one expects such action

until the next Administration takes office.

It therefore seems to me to be timely to focus attention on this subject—the Public Diplomacy of the United States Government—for, in my opinion, something ought to be done. That *something* ought to be done is a conclusion shared by all the studies that have been conducted, although there is little agreement on *what* ought to be done.

After years of experience in the Foreign Service—abroad and in Washington, as a Department of State and as a USIA officer, in operational, policy and executive positions—I have become convinced that the public affairs objectives and operations of United States foreign affairs would be served advantageously if the functions currently performed by USIA in Washington and USIS abroad were to be re-merged into the Department of State.

Subjective factors inevitably play a role in my consideration of this problem, of course. To put my recommendations into proper perspective, therefore, I should state at the outset that in my 27 years in the Foreign Service, I have received alternating assignments in both USIA and State more often than most other officers, and as an FSIO therefore bring to this discussion perhaps a different outlook from that of most of my colleagues in the Department and in USIA.

At this particular time, I cannot accept the duplication in policy formulation, application and execu-

tion that exists as a result of a USIA separate from the Department of State. I cannot accept the inefficiency inherent in the separation of foreign policy formulation, which takes place in State, from foreign policy execution, the public affairs aspects of which take place, at least in part, in USIA. Moreover, I find incongruous the situation of having the "cultural" aspects of public diplomacy (cultural and academic exchanges and activities, including sports and fine arts) managed by State in Washington, and the "informational" aspects of public diplomacy (press, TV, radio, films, libraries and exhibitions) managed by USIA in Washington, while overseas both "cultural" and "informational" affairs—all aspects of public diplomacy—are under the direction of the USIA-man, the PAO. I realize that this disorganization is the result of "history," but that does not convince me that it makes sense today—in terms of policy, management, operation or budget. Even the distinctions in the terminology—"cultural" and "informational"—are meaningless and confusing.

It is not only a question of inefficiency or incongruity. Policy matters are often diffused when policy formulation is separated from policy execution, especially if the actors involved have diverging interests and philosophies. The best and most recent example of this problem was the divergence in foreign policy ideology between Secretary of State Rogers and USIA Director Frank Shakespeare. The latter

---

*Hans N. Tuch, Career Minister (Information), is Edward R. Murrow Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Mr. Tuch joined the Foreign Service in 1949 and has served at Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Munich, Moscow, Sofia, Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia.*

completely disagreed with the Administration's efforts to formulate a détente policy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, instructed his USIA officers to continue hard-line opposition programs toward the USSR and—most important of all—prevailed with *his* policy, at least insofar as nobody in the White House or the Department could or would rein him in.

It seems to me that as long as foreign policy is formulated in the Department of State, it can best, and should, be executed by the Department of State. This works for the political, economic, political-military, and economic assistance aspects of foreign policy, and it should also work for public affairs. Policy formulation and execution in the foreign affairs field are to me indivisible, and therefore should be directed from the same authority—in Washington, the Secretary of State; abroad, the Ambassador. Furthermore, the PAO would not be—as he is now—in the position of being responsible locally to the Ambassador and at the same time having his program monitored, supervised, budgeted, and himself and his subordinates promoted, transferred and career-managed by the Director of USIA and his staff in Washington.

A second reason why I believe that an amalgamation of the two organizations at this time would benefit the long-term foreign-policy objectives in the public-affairs field is the current erosion of support for USIA within the Congress. Prominent Senators and Congressmen serving on important Committees overseeing the activities and budget of USIA have repeatedly questioned the need for the existence of USIA. The Agency has increasingly been subjected to the task of defending its mere existence to the Congress and to the public.

I believe that the activities which USIA has conducted over the years have been and continue to be worthwhile and necessary to the success of US foreign policy. A principal reason why, in my opinion, USIA has had so much difficulty in justifying itself is that it represents only one aspect of the whole range of foreign-affairs activities—the propaganda aspect—and has been forced to explain itself outside the context of our total foreign-policy approach as

otherwise represented by the Department of State. The Assistant Secretaries for CU have not normally had the problem that USIA Directors have had in convincing Congress of the value of their activities, although CU projects closely parallel USIA programs and have a complementary relationship with them. While Congressional committees question closely the conduct and the specifics of CU activities, they do not question their pertinence to the US foreign-affairs effort, perhaps because they are examined and justified within the context of the Department of State, the traditional repository of foreign policy and programs. USIA is outside of this framework. I am afraid that unless we change the context in which public-affairs activities are examined by the Congress, we will progressively obtain less support for our programs so that one day we may have a USIA with no resources for conducting its worthy activities.

An additional reason why USIA's public diplomacy activities have found relatively little public understanding and congressional acceptance is the fact that originally—in the late '40s and early '50s—the need for these activities was justified in terms of opposition to Communism and in support of the Cold War. Little has been done over the years to explain and justify the real and lasting objectives of public diplomacy as part of the conduct of US foreign affairs. Thus, as the Cold War subsided and our relations with our ideological antagonists began to be placed on a "détente" footing, many felt that the need for USIA's propaganda activities had been eliminated. If, however, informational and cultural programs had been or were now to be promoted and accepted in the total context of the contemporary conduct of foreign affairs, I believe a better case could be made for public diplomacy.

At the moment, public-affairs activities are judged and often condemned because of their association with USIA rather than as programs contributing to the general United States Government foreign affairs thrust. I believe that if they were within the Department, they would enjoy more sympathetic at-

tion. It is important to save the *program* rather than the framework in which it is administered. If the framework is considered obsolete, but the program is not, I suggest we change the framework.

A third major reason why I advocate USIA's re-incorporation into the Department of State is that one of the Agency's major tasks has not been performed well by its officers in their capacities as representatives of a separate Agency: namely their responsibility to advise the Executive Branch—the makers of foreign policy—on the psychological effects of US policies and actions on foreign audiences.

Ed Murrow used to say that in order to be effective in this regard, he would have to be in on the take-offs and not just on the crash-landings. I do not believe that the USIA specialists charged with these tasks have been—since the days of Ed Murrow's stewardship of USIA—in on the take-offs in any of the higher reaches of foreign policy-making, either in the NSC or in the Department. There are a number of instances which can be cited where a timely "psychological input" into contemplated foreign-policy actions would have, at a minimum, alerted the policy makers to the consequences which their plans produced in the public-affairs arena.

I believe that, working "from within," those charged with the responsibility to gauge the psychological impact of foreign policies and actions on foreign audiences will have greater opportunity to be listened to and heard.

To my mind, the arguments put forward in favor of maintaining USIA as a separate agency are outweighed by the disadvantages.

It has been argued that in order to have an effective foreign propaganda organization, it must be staffed by trained and experienced specialists (in press, radio, TV, films, libraries, art, music, literature) who would not fit into a Department of State or the regular Foreign Service. I believe they would fit in just as well as economic, commercial, and scientific specialists now do in the Department and the Foreign Service.

It is also argued that the managers in the Department and Ambassadors often do not understand

the importance of public diplomacy and that they therefore lack appreciation for the cultural, informational and psychological aspects of foreign policy implementation. If this were true—and I believe it is so only in rare cases—I believe they would learn to understand and to appreciate more quickly the necessity for and the potential of public affairs programs if they were intimately involved in practicing, managing and utilizing them. A Foreign Service officer, who during his career has served as a Cultural, Information or Public Affairs Officer, will be better qualified as Ambassador to take advantage of the USIS capability in running his mission than one who has never been exposed to USIS work.

Finally, it is argued that the comparative small size of the Agency, its less hidebound bureaucracy, and its independence from interference by a more tradition-minded State Department, ignorant of public-affairs processes and potential, have enabled USIA to do its job well. If it were not independent, this argument continues, USIS programs would be smothered by an analysis-and-report-oriented system stressing negotiations and private diplomacy, discouraging the creativity and freshness which has been brought to the conduct of public diplomacy by an unfettered USIA. Information and Cultural programs would find themselves at the bottom in a listing of resource and personnel priorities. Whether one agrees with these premises or not, I contend that any organization depends upon the expertise, understanding and ability of its management and personnel. I am sure that there are a number of USIS officers who would not want, or are not qualified, to accept political or economic assignments because their interests and their experience lie elsewhere; at the same time I am sure that there are State Department FSOs who would find it detrimental to their careers or distasteful to do USIS work. I do take issue with the argument that one agency has a greater number of qualified and dedicated officers than the other. As long as the Executive Branch and the Congress agree that public-affairs programs are a useful tool in the conduct of foreign policy, I believe it is

incumbent on the management of the foreign-affairs agency to do the job, utilizing all the human and material resources available to it. Failure to do so—by downgrading the importance of public affairs in its overall administration (assigning unqualified or unwilling officers, allocating insufficient resources, hampering originality and creativity)—would detract from its assigned task, to conduct foreign relations in the national interest.

How then would such an amalgamation—or re-integration—of USIA and State work?

In my opinion, the best approach would involve creation of an Under-Secretary of State for Public Affairs on the same level as the Under-Secretaries for Political and Economic Affairs. Under his general supervision, there should be one Assistant Secretary for Cultural and Academic Exchanges (including cooperation with private business and liaison with foundations); one Assistant Secretary for Cultural Operations (including information centers, libraries, BNCs, exhibitions, book publications, performing arts); one Assistant Secretary for Media Services (press, films, TV); one Assistant Secretary for Public Information (domestically oriented); and one Director of VOA. (I am against having VOA separated from the existing foreign-policy community and established as a separate public corporation similar to the BBC, since I believe it is and should remain a strong instrument of public diplomacy, especially in areas where other media are less effective [such as in Communist countries] and as long as a careful distinction can be maintained—as it is now—between news operations and commentary.)

What about the remaining elements of USIA? The Personnel, Training and Career Counseling operations can be integrated into the Department's personnel system and FSI; the Research Service can fit into INR and continue to fulfill its specialized function—in the fields of public-opinion attitudinal surveys and gauging program effectiveness—from within that Bureau; Congressional Liaison, the Office of the General Counsel, the Office of the Inspector General, the Administration Service Division, the Budget Office, the Office

of Security, and the Office of Public Information can be integrated within their respective Department counterparts.

IOP and the Area Assistant Director Offices and their responsibilities present the most difficult problem but also a unique opportunity, since I believe that in the areas of policy application and Washington-field posts relationships the greatest amount of duplication, delay and bureaucratic confusion exists. I believe that the translation of *policy* into public affairs *policy application*, as well as the transmission of this policy application from the policy-making level to the media operators on one hand and to the missions in the field on the other, could be handled efficiently by establishing within each geographical and functional bureau of the Department a Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. This would upgrade the current bureau public affairs advisors and give them small staffs to help them do the job. In addition, I would suggest adding a Public Affairs Advisor to the office of each Country Director who will be the backstopping officer for the PAOs in the field just as the functional officers in these offices now serve for their respective Embassy counterparts.

The Embassies abroad would continue to have a PAO who would function as: first, manager of the public diplomacy operation; second, public affairs advisor to the Ambassador; and third, contact officer with local public-affairs personalities within and without the foreign government to which he is accredited. The PAO would be a senior Embassy Officer, as he is now, but he would not have a separate agency telegram series with his signature. All communications to and from the Department involving the Public Affairs program would be transmitted as an Embassy or Department message, signed by the Ambassador and Secretary of State respectively. (This practice has always been the procedure between Washington and the posts in Eastern Europe where USIS does not officially exist.)

One alternative, which I do *not* advocate, would be to have on the staffs of larger United States Embassies a Press Counselor and a

*Continued on page 31*

"That's the way it is, if that's what you think . . ."

—Pirandello

# In the Wake of the Italian Elections

MARINO DE MEDICI

The doomsayers have been proven wrong in many ways and on many occasions in Italy. And they were proven wrong once again in June, when the Communists failed to overcome the Christian Democrats as the country's relative majority party. Perhaps the biggest surprise of the elections was the surprise of the Communists at the vote won by the Christian Democrats.

On the way to those elections, it should be noted, Italy celebrated an important anniversary. It was June 2, and on that day the Republic of Italy became 30 years old. Thirty years and almost a generation had passed since Italy chose democracy out of the rubble and trauma of a lost war. Thirty years of Christian Democratic government.

For all the faults and shortcomings of the Christian Democrats, democracy has worked in Italy, and it is significant that no one questioned the fairness of the June elections. The temptation was to call those elections a watershed, a "last beach" of Democracy, possibly the country's last free electoral consultations. Undoubtedly, this theme helped the Christian Democrats, whose anti-Communist

mass was led into the electoral battle by Amintore Fanfani, a veteran of many political struggles. At the same time, the Christian Democrats undoubtedly were hurt by the shadow of corruption, by the scandals *à la* Lockheed and by the pervasive patronage of many years at the seat of power.

But the vote for the Christian Democrats had more components than panic over the possible arrival of Cossacks in St. Peter's Square, just as the revulsion to corruption and the protest vote in general do not account by themselves for the large vote of the Communists. The real significance of the vote is that the Italians, taken collectively, managed to manifest their political will for a basic renewal of social and economic structures, but without dismantling the country's political architecture.

The proof of their fidelity to this political architecture lies in the fact that the Christian Democrats succeeded in reestablishing a slight but more comfortable margin *vis à vis* the Communists, and that the so-called leftist grouping—a theoretical bloc of Communists, Socialists and extreme left parties—failed to gather enough votes for their improbable majority (all the more improbable since the Communists had openly rejected the idea).

In the spirit of the best Pirandello—*Così è, se vi pare*"

("That's the way it is, if that's what you think")—the result of the Italian elections was that the Italians held a referendum and both sides won. Some foreign observers have found that difficult to grasp. Having been mesmerized by the prospect of Communist participation in the Rome government, they expected the election percentages to be decisive in determining the way Italy would be governed. But there is more to it than that.

This time as in the past, foreign observers failed to recognize that a distinction must be made between power and government in Italy, and that the name of the game there has always been and will continue to be power. The Communists have increased their share of power, even without being in the government. Similarly, foreigners have often been baffled by the peculiar nature of Italian "majorities," arrived at by back-stage deals. But the nature of these deals is now changing in Italy, as a consequence of what many call the new "imperfect two-party system"—the "imperfection" being represented by the fact that one of two parties is the PCI (Partito Comunista Italiano). The traditional distinction between majority and minority has ceased to exist, when Christian Democrats and Communists hold almost equally dominant positions in par-

Marino de Medici is the Washington Correspondent of *Il Tempo*, Rome.

liament. Their shared dominance seems bound to increase—with the Communists out of the government but by no means out of “power.”

The obliteration of this traditional majority-minority interplay was, in fact, the main objective of the earlier Communist proposal to shape a new “grand coalition,” which would assemble what the Communists regarded as all the “genuinely democratic and anti-Fascist forces.” However, such a coalition not only would give the Communists a share of government and power, but would do away neatly with the opposition. A grand-coalition government could justify itself by virtue of its power to mediate among conflicting economic and social interests, but this would happen at a price that a true democracy hardly could tolerate. It would bring, first and foremost, the suppression of political dissent, and the warnings, in the wake of the June vote, are disquieting enough.

It is clear that Communist electoral strength cannot be ignored or altered. Moreover, the Italian Communists are well on the way to reaching their long-sought goal: respectability. An unprecedented conference of the parties belonging to the so-called “constitutional arc”—a typically Italian euphemism for excluding the neo-fascists, which the Communists have also used to exclude the Maoists and other nuisances to the left—brought about the election, as Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, of a Communist, Pietro Ingrao, a 61-year-old lawyer and former editor of the Communist Party newspaper *L'Unita*. The position carries great political prestige rather than real political influence. But the Communists were quick to reap the benefit of the breakthrough and to point to the “historical character” of the new Italian legislature. As *L'Unita* put it, “After 30 years, a long and absurd preclusion against the Communists has come to an end.” No one can deny the “historical character”: the PCI had been left out of political-constitutional agreements from the time of the Constituent Assembly and the first governments of the “Committees for National Liberation.” But the Communist claim and the subsequent reaction of Christian

Democratic Party Secretary Benigno Zaccagnini merely drew a new version of the old distinction between the holding of governmental responsibilities and the exercise of real political power. Zaccagnini stressed the difference between “institutional seat” (in Parliament) and “political seat” (in the government), in other words between the willingness of the Christian Democrats to “accept” agreements with the Communists in the first but not in the second.

In the “institutional” or parliamentary realm, the Communists have enjoyed increased power to the point that practically no recent laws have been enacted that were not the subject of consultation and compromise with them. The Communists have great leverage because the Italian parliamentary system does not operate according to the classic rules of parliamentary democracy. Too many times, indeed, in Italy's recent political history, the Parliament has been called upon to accept or ratify extraparliamentary decisions. Too many times, governments have resigned without even going to Parliament for a vote of confidence or no confidence. Too many times, cabinets have collapsed following a decision arrived at outside of Parliament.

The situation is not about to be corrected, however. The very fact that this time the representatives of the six parties within the “constitutional arc” were able to negotiate the distribution of the head posts and committee chairmanships of the two Chambers of the Italian Parliament is only the latest demonstration that the Communists are not in the traditional position of an “opposition,” such as exists in the British Parliament (which, incidentally, was the model for the Italian parliamentary system).

Some observers will see the new trend as another sign of the Italian genius for accommodation or “muddling through”; others will continue to protest, as they have in the past, against the travesty of popular will, as the party directorates make the crucial decisions, and not the whole body of freely elected members of the legislature. The Italian experience, in the last analysis, could give credibility to the thesis that the old-style opposition is on its way out simply be-

cause a modern industrial country, with a complex society and a democratic frame of mind, cannot be governed without a certain measure of agreement between the various political forces, i.e. “accommodation.”

The thesis would be even more appealing if its proponents could ensure—as they promise—the balancing out of differing interests and claims through an effective “mediation” among social groups.

The nut of the problem is that in Italy and elsewhere there are far too many vested interests that have a “useful” function in the social and economic sphere. The contradictions are plentiful and, more often than not, irreconcilable. In the United States, political leaders and voters in general complain that big government is bad and intolerable, yet they demand increasingly larger social services from the government. In Italy, political leaders and voters lash out against the ineffectual bureaucracy of government-run industries and agencies and yet they accept the job protection afforded by such entities.

The fact of the matter is that Italy has now become even more difficult to govern. By itself this is no singular fate in the present world situation, but it has an ironic twist insofar as Italians for a good many years have lamented the so-called “*partitocrazia*,” i.e. the multitude of parties that allegedly dissipated political resources and made it very difficult to reach consensus.

Since 1944, Italy has had a government “crisis” every 10 months. Also, the length of such crises grew. One lasted 51 days—almost two months without a government. “Musical chairs” and “revolving doors,” these and other descriptions of the Italian scene stuck. The most sophisticated observers were fully aware that many crises simply produced a rotation of political figures. True, the most important factor was not the composition or the program of the cabinet, but the kind of political majority it relied upon. Cabinets came and went through a range of compromises, if not gimmicks, with some governments staying on because of parliamentary support they did not ask for and in some cases that they even formally refused. Other gov-

ernments were able to rule by virtue of abstentions in Parliament. Now the decisive abstention is that of the Communist Party, which could bring down the government if it voted against it. Obviously the price of such abstention is a high one. Besides the new Speaker, Ingrao, the PCI took over the chairmanship of four key committees in the Chamber of Deputies (constitutional affairs, finance and treasury, public works, and transportation). In the Senate, Communists now head three committees, including the budget committee.

Thanks to the new chemistry of the "constitutional arc," then, the Communists are an integral part of the process of political consultation and cooperation. Is it a throwback to the post-war years when the country was taking its first democratic steps, waiting for a Constitution and trying out the free dialogue of parliamentary democracy? Or is it just a phase in the Communist strategy, which allows the Christian Democrats to maintain that under no circumstances would the Communists be allowed to take part in the government, even as their actual power increases? In any event, it is clearly a substantial victory for the Communists, who in the June elections increased their number of seats in the Chamber of Deputies from 179 (in the political elections of 1972) to 227. The Christian Democrats recouped the percentage of the 1972 vote, and, in fact, improved it slightly from 38.1 to 38.9. Yet, they lost three seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The June elections dealt a disastrous blow to the middle parties and to the Socialists in particular. The PSI (Partito Socialista Italiano) dropped from 61 to 57 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Moderate PSDI (Partito Socialdemocratico Italiano) lost 14 seats, down from 29 to 15. The PLI (Partito Liberale Italiano) was dramatically reduced from 20 seats to 5. The small but prestigious Republican Party (PRI) lost only one seat (from 15 to 14), but more importantly failed to make the inroads many political observers had projected. Another dramatic loss was chalked up by the MSI, the neo-Fascist movement, down from 56 to 35 seats. Two new leftist splinter groups now are represented by deputies in the lower house, the

Democratic Proletarians (six seats) and the Radicals (four seats). However, they too are out of the "constitutional arc," as is the extreme right.

With the rise of the "imperfect two party system," the much vaunted but rather haphazard "lay alliance" of three small center parties (PSDI, PLI and PRI) also suffered heavily. The results of the elections also showed something about young voters (the elections of June 20-21 were the first in which 18-year-olds voted for the Chamber of Deputies), who gave 40 percent to both the Christian

---

**"Is it a throwback  
to the post-war years  
when the country  
was taking its first  
democratic steps, . . .  
trying out the free  
dialogue of  
parliamentary  
democracy?"**

---

Democrats and the Communists. Once again, the "sharing" of this sector of voters was of some surprise to the Communists, who did not expect such a turnout in favor of the Christian Democrats.

One way to look at the elections is to point out that 64 percent of the electorate did not vote for the Communists. Another way is to conclude that 54 percent voted against the possible Communist-Socialist combination. It is the old story of the glass being either half full or half empty.

Now that the Cassandras have had their day, the losers are crying out their anguish. The Social Democrats, for example, are now protesting vehemently against the "apportioning of power" between the Christian Democrats and the Communists. And even though they deny it, there is no doubt that these two parties are strengthening each other still further. The strength of the Communists causes a proportionate reaction in favor of the Christian Democrats, and vice versa. It is an ironic truth, which many tend to interpret as the long-awaited realization of the "historic compromise." The Communists

are too clever to miss the opportunity, and the Party's General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer pays homage to Christian Democracy as "a popular force which we cannot ignore."

During the elections there was a moment when the normally reliable computer in Communist Party headquarters went awry and started spitting out close-to-triumphal results for the Communists. This created panic in the leadership, which does not yet want the responsibility of actually running the government. But when the real results were known, Berlinguer's first reaction was to say that the elections had made "even more evident" the fundamental response of the June 1975 elections, i.e. "the centralness of the Communist question." This expression means that henceforth the Italian Communist Party has to be involved in all important national decisions.

In a two-party system, one of the two parties, sooner or later, will win a majority and take over the government. Italy has not been a textbook democracy, but on the other hand it has changed through the operation of a democratic process. The Italian "two-party system" may be only the latest disguise of a different political reality, where the Christian Democrats are behaving like a moderate lay party, and the Communists as a "mass Socialist Party."

Finally, one has to note that the political elections have produced something new, a host of new faces in the ranks of the major parties but especially of the Christian Democracy. The average age of the Christian Democrat member of Parliament has gone down substantially. Many of the new senators and deputies are men who owe very little to their party. Is this the beginning of a transformation within the Christian Democratic "mass party" in Italy? Is it perhaps the beginning of a basic change in the relationship between the electors and the elected, relatively freed from the rigid control of the party structure, in the spirit of a modern democracy? One has to hope for it, rather than for the "conversion" of the Italian Communists into "Social Democrats," no matter how autonomous and "typically Italian" they may be.

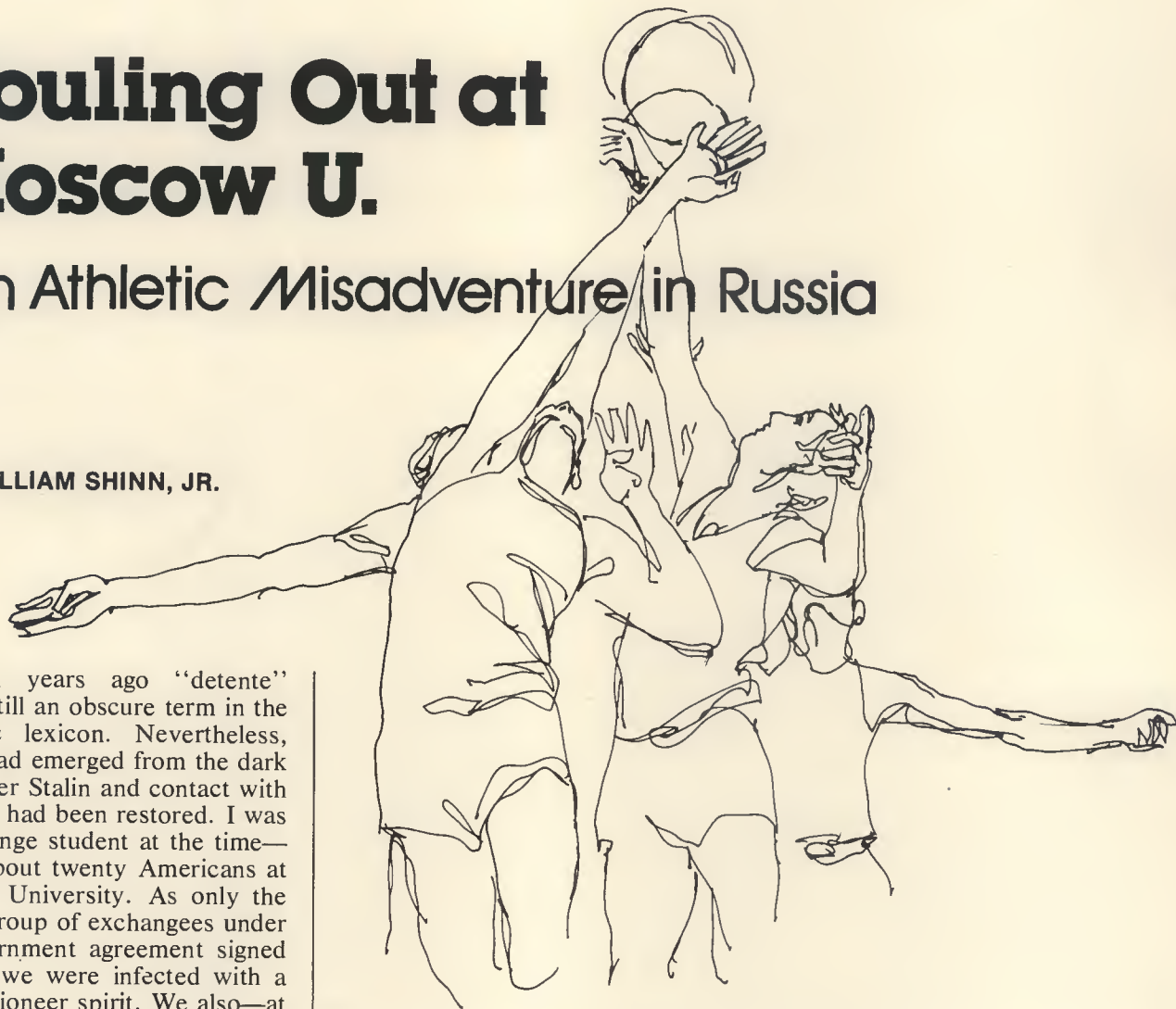


"In me younger days 't was not considered rayspictable f'r to be an athlete. An athlete was always a man that was not sthrong enough f'r wurruk. Fractions dhruv him fr'm school an' th' vagrancy laws dhruv him to baseball."—Finley Peter Dunne (Mr. Dooley's Opinions)

# Fouling Out at Moscow U.

## An Athletic Misadventure in Russia

WILLIAM SHINN, JR.



Sixteen years ago "detente" was still an obscure term in the academic lexicon. Nevertheless, Russia had emerged from the dark ages under Stalin and contact with the West had been restored. I was an exchange student at the time—one of about twenty Americans at Moscow University. As only the second group of exchangees under the government agreement signed in 1958, we were infected with a kind of pioneer spirit. We also—at least some of us—had an overpowering impulse to show off some of the things that made up our national character, and, in spite of "Sputnik," the notion was still widespread that virtually any representative group of Americans could perform certain activities better than anyone else. One of these was playing basketball.

The subject arose a few weeks after we were installed in our

"dorm"—a wing of the Gargantuan wedding-cake-like structure on Lenin Hills overlooking the Kremlin. One evening, I had the "duty" at the telephone switchboard for our floor. When people called, I would find out who they wanted and buzz the appropriate room. Well, business was a little slow and some of the Russians gathered around to talk. Americans were still something of a curiosity at Moscow U. in those days. Two of the students, Nick and Volodya, noting that I was a little taller than average, asked me if I could shoot a hook. Unable to resist, I said, "Sure, right or left-handed," and

promptly gave a demonstration of my technique. It turned out that they played for the Law Department's team, and they suggested that I come down to the gym and work out. "Why not," I thought. Even though I hadn't made the squad in high school, I'd played the game all my life, and maybe I could show those Russians a few moves. As I was signing the inventory that evening—attesting that all the tables and chairs were in their place, that no one had walked off with the potted palm, and that the clock was still on the wall—I agreed to show up for practice the next evening.

It all sounded pretty easy but, as

---

*Since his return from Moscow as an exchange student in 1960, Mr. Shinn has continued to engage the Soviets, but in the diplomatic arena as a Foreign Service officer. At present he is Deputy Director of the Office of Regional Political Military Affairs in the Department.*

I was beginning to learn, nothing was simple in Moscow. I met Nick and Volodya in the locker room as planned, and I was just starting to warm up when the coach walked up and asked me for my "medical certificate." Although I told him he could rest assured that I was in good health and would take full responsibility, he was undaunted. No certificate—no practice! We exchanged some heated words, and I made a hasty and fervent appeal to the director of the sports' program, but all to no avail. The Soviet bureaucracy had me once again in its grasp.

I'm sure the Soviet officials thought I would just let the matter drop. What they hadn't reckoned on was a little display of American determination. After persistent inquiries, I found out that the certificate required a three-day physical exam. At the end of the process—the usual interminable lines, unclear instructions, and some pretty weird tests—I found myself confronted with a husky, matronly doctor who had it in her power to authorize the "certificate." "You look pale," she said, adding gratuitously that I should try cross-country skiing rather than unhealthy indoor winter sports like basketball. But she finally agreed to let me have my way if I would take a medicine she would prescribe. My first attempt to get the prescription filled was unsuccessful. I came home from the drug store with a bottle labeled "liquid wax," and, thinking the better of taking this internally, tried another pharmacy. This time a quick consultation with the dictionary showed that I had been given a flask of something I had somehow managed to avoid in childhood—cod liver oil. I started taking the stuff, got my certificate, and went back to practice. When I showed the precious document to Nick, he told me they had left out one part normally included—that the person examined had qualified for service in the Red Army!

I soon learned that American determination can be exceeded only by stoic Russian stubbornness. After a couple of workouts—consisting mainly of hopping and intricate passing exercises—the Law Department had its first game, with the Physics Department, renowned at the University not only

for the best students but for the best athletes as well. It was here that I fell victim of the "quick foul-out trick." The coach started me at center, and all seemed to be going fairly well for the first five minutes, when suddenly one of the officials banished me to the bench, claiming that I had fouled out. I was unaware that I had picked up any fouls, much less five. I pointed out that there hadn't been any free-throws, only to be told that they were rare under international rules. Actually, I didn't even recall any unusual halt in the action dur-

---

"I came home from  
the drug store  
with a bottle labeled  
'liquid wax,' and  
thinking the better  
of taking this  
internally, tried  
another pharmacy."

---

ing my brief stint in the game, but no matter. It was off to the showers for me, followed by a dispirited walk back to the dorm.

I probably should have let the whole thing drop at that point. It was clear that my brief and inglorious career on the Law Department's team had come to an abrupt end. I consoled myself with the thought that the University officials had simply not wanted me to play in their league and that I had been a victim of circumstance. After all, an American Embassy officer had been declared *persona non grata* a couple of years earlier after he had managed to play some basketball with the students while taking evening courses at the University. This suspicion was reinforced in my mind when the Soviets suggested that any American students interested in basketball could play by themselves, and they assigned us a special time period in the gym on Saturdays.

However, I couldn't resist the persistent yearning of a frustrated jock—the George Plimpton impulse to realize a long-held fantasy of being an athletic hero. The opportunity came when Volodya

suggested that the Americans take part in an all-nations' tournament. The other teams would be made up of students from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, the Arab countries and the USSR. Seeking a chance for revenge, I hastily agreed.

The only problem was that I could find only three other American students who knew anything about the game. Jack, a historian, would play center. Al, a student of the Soviet state-farm system, would be at forward with me, and Dick, a chemist, would be one of the guards. I finally arranged with the Embassy that it would supply another player for the other guard.

The four of us worked hard to prepare. I started running to get in shape. In the mornings, I found myself joined by some of the Chinese students, who were so assiduous in their dedication to hard work—both academic and physical—that they frightened the Russians. Two of them showed up a couple of times during our Saturday practice sessions, along with a few apparently uninhibited Russians. Once, when one of the Chinese students fell down, I instinctively held out my hand to help him up, and, later in the game he reciprocated. Thus, it might be said that, in a small way, a hesitant but friendly exchange on the basketball court was a harbinger of ping-pong diplomacy more than a decade later.

Our first game in the tournament was against the Czechs. We had recruited a Marine guard at the Embassy who was pretty good, and, after initially falling way behind, we at least made the loss respectable. The highlight of the game for a Polish friend of mine was when our Marine, a rather stout fellow, found himself sitting on one of the Czech players during a skirmish at mid-court. We lost, but kept our poise, and I was told that the Russians were impressed by the way we kept working to narrow the gap toward the end even though we had no chance to win.

The next contest, however, was a different story. It was with the Russians, and I began to be apprehensive when I saw posters appearing around the University advertising the "Soviet-US match." Disaster seemed all but certain when, on the eve of the game, the

Embassy let us down and failed to supply the fifth man we needed. Out of desperation, I finally persuaded one of our other students, Paul, a geologist, to help out. He was in an impossible position, having hardly played a game in his life. But there was no alternative. We had to go through with it.

The night of the game the stands were filled with chanting students. The Soviets looked big and good. We were, as they say, a little ragged. Paul had been unable to find a gym suit and had come up with something that, in my wife's words, made him look like "an ad for Jockey shorts." The mismatch was evident from the start. Lacking competent guards, we couldn't get the ball down the court, much less in the basket. As our frustration grew, we came apart completely, throwing wild passes and taking improbable shots.

My "friend" Volodya was the referee. I put "friend" in quotes because later, after the U-2 incident, I discovered that it was he who organized a boycott of our farewell party. The only person who showed up was a Mongolian who hadn't been given the word. In any case, Volodya made a couple of foul calls that made Al mad and, with the juice flowing, he somehow managed to throw in a couple of blind hook shots from almost mid-court. This especially impressed the Russians, because Al was black, and it was evident that they expected great things from him. Al's spectacular shooting helped ease the pain, but not much. It was an evening of infamy.

Licking our wounds, we returned a couple of nights later to face the Poles. Someone at the Embassy was obviously feeling contrite for helping bring about the fiasco in the Soviet game through lack of support. This time, they sent out a man from the cultural section. He turned out to be a real gunner. Pass him the ball, and whoosh, another air ball from 40 feet. We lost by ten.

Before the game with the Bulgarians, Jack and I decided to set up a play on the tip off. Our basic problem had been that we were behind by a substantial margin in each game before we really got started. "You're a lot taller than the Bulgarian guy," I told him. "Just bat it toward the basket as hard as you can and I'll start to break when the

ref throws the ball up." It went like clockwork. The ball was there, perfectly placed, I made an easy lay-up, and for the first time in the tournament we were ahead. "Great work," I told Jack as we were coming back down the court. "Thanks," he replied. "Only one thing. I didn't touch the ball on that tip!"

I have seen barefoot kickers, but the Bulgarian game was the first time I had encountered a barefoot basketball player. He and the whole team were what you call "physical," but managed to stay close, despite the passes to them in the guise of set shots by our Embassy helper. Finally the Embassy guy fouled out. The Bulgarians magnanimously offered to let him keep on playing, but I was going to have none of that. I declared we would play with four men, and, suddenly we began to click. We narrowed the margin to three. Then, I managed a short jumper, and on the ensuing pass-in intercepted the ball and drove toward the basket. There were only seconds left and I had an easy lay-up, but before I could get it off, I was cut down—like a crack-back block—by the Bulgarian barefoot wonder. I was a little dazed when I got up, but there it was—my chance to make a free throw and be a hero. We were sure to win in overtime with the momentum we had. But naturally I blew the shot, the ref blew the whistle, and, chock up another defeat for the American "All Stars."

In the locker room after the game, the Russian attendant asked how things had gone. He always seemed to derive amusement from our fun-loving attitude toward life, which was new to him, and we would banter about the latest Soviet propaganda campaigns while we were changing. Our mood this time was not one of merriment however. Using a phrase I had just learned from a Sholokhov short story, I told him: "Don't worry. Next time we'll give the Arabs a light," which meant roughly, "We'll let 'em have it." This sent him into gales of laughter. For a variety of reasons, mainly having to do with Russian girls, the Arab students were not especially popular at that time, at least among the habitués of the men's locker room at Moscow University.

There didn't seem to be any way we could lose to the Arabs, and we had lots of confidence going into the game. What we hadn't counted on, however, was a secret weapon. The two-handed set shot had long since gone the way of the Hudson and the Studebaker in the States, but it was apparently still in style in the Middle East. The Arabs had a guy who had mastered this shot to perfection—from the center jump circle! He couldn't hit from any nearer the basket, but he would stand back there in the middle of the court and bomb them in—each time off the backboard! Before we woke up to his unusual talent, and started guarding him, he had popped in about ten shots "by long distance" as Bill Russell would say, and we were hopelessly behind. We ended up losing by two.

In the Soviet Union there always has to be a ceremony to finish off a tournament, and this was no exception. The scene is vividly etched in my memory. There I stood—captain of the team of the United States of America—being called on to accept the sixth-place award in the all-nation's tournament consisting of six teams. I tried to do my duty with dignity, and there was lots of applause which was consoling. It was a mortifying moment nevertheless, and I felt a little like Gogol, trying to "laugh through the tears."

If one could find some kind of silver lining in this clouded ordeal, it would be that, despite our obvious ineptitude in the tournament, we found that we had made a few new friends, and this, after all, was a major reason for our being in Moscow in the first place. Nice guys may not always win ball games, but thankfully one doesn't have to be a winner to be a nice guy. I like to think that perhaps we accomplished something through our efforts—something which fit into a large process of creating the atmosphere that was needed to pursue more important objectives than winning ball games. Losing is never easy, but King Pyrrhus showed for all time that victories can be ephemeral.

All the same, with fifteen years perspective, it is easier to be philosophical than I confess I was on that April day as I accepted the booby prize on behalf of the United States team at Moscow University.



"He that is thy friend indeed,  
He will help thee in thy need."—Richard Barnfield

## Self-help in Africa: How the Quakers Make it Work

BY ROBERT EHRMAN

"I do not think that successful development can be fostered from the top down. For example, the process we set up for laying out roads gives the planning initiative to the people, with enough guidelines and technical assistance so they can rationally develop their own road plan."

These are the words of David Benson, reporting on his work in a self-help program in Zambia. Benson represents the American Friends Service Committee, Quaker relief and reconstruction agency working with African squatters to better their condition through housing, health care, schooling and community development.

The Zambia program is one of two AFSC projects in Africa that show a kind of development aid deserving of wider application by governments and international bodies. It is aid that helps the poor and disadvantaged to help themselves by discovering and utilizing their own power and resources. It is aid extended with a tolerance for cultural and philosophical diversity. And it is aid by one of the most active, experienced, and even-handedly humanitarian of American voluntary agencies.

Long involved in African and other developing countries, the

*Since his retirement from USIA Robert Ehrman has been freelancing for various publications and organizations including the JOURNAL and the Voice of America.*



*Zambians pressing the earth and cement mixture to produce the bricks for a house in Kafue's self-help squatter upgrading project.*

AFSC has been no less occupied in more developed areas. In 1947, when it won the Nobel peace prize along with its British counterpart, it had already administered over \$60 million for relief in more than 20 devastated countries. It had distributed food and clothing in Austria, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Japan, Spain and China; started medical and industrial rehabilitation programs in China and India; fought typhus epidemics in Poland and Serbia; organized community service projects in France and Finland; assisted students in Italy, strikers in the American South, and stateless refugees in Spain; and helped with Negro job placements in the United States.

Currently, with limited staff and volunteers in more than 90 projects in this country and abroad, it is in Africa where, in this observer's judgment, the Quakers are most effectively addressing the rising

hopes of a people determined to make a better life for themselves. The squatter program in Zambia and a drought-aid scheme for nomads in Mali are instructive.

In its efforts to slow the rural-to-urban migration that has brought thousands of squatters, the Zambian government has been raising agricultural productivity and rural living standards. Yet urbanization continues at a significant rate. Lusaka, Zambia's capital and fastest growing city, has the country's severest squatter problem and one of the worst in all of Africa. Over 40 percent of the city's population lives in shantytowns, unauthorized dwellers on land that does not belong to them and for which they pay no rent. Although 90 percent of those living in squatter areas are employed, many can not find housing elsewhere. They have no essential services.

Aware of the financial resources

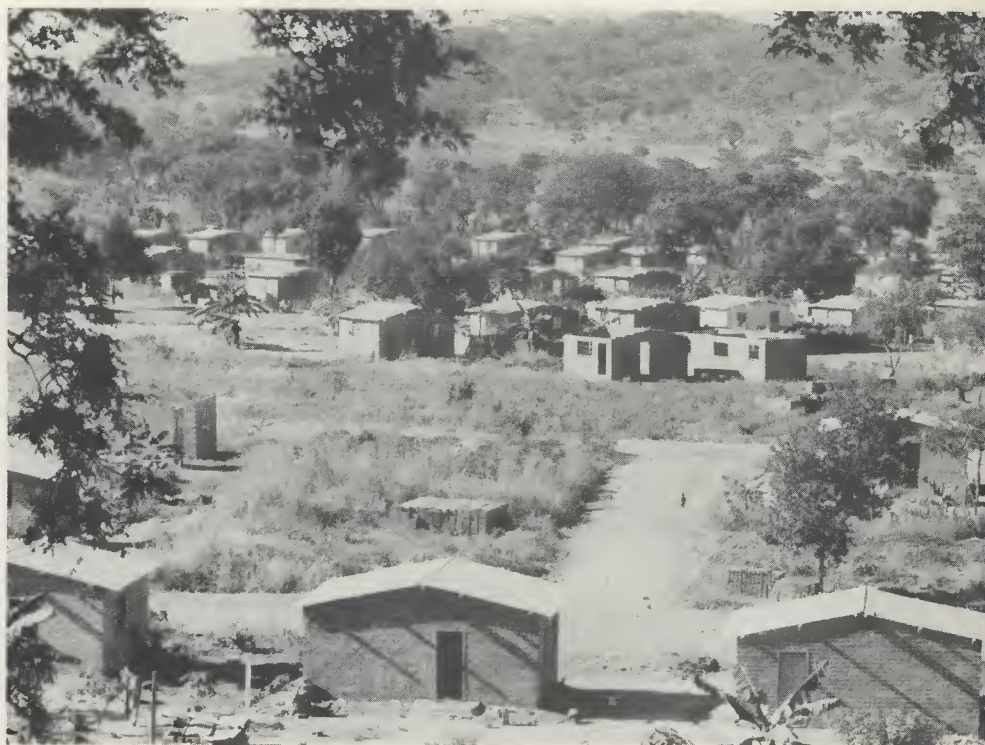


*A nomad couple who got and gave assistance in the Tin Aicha phase of Mali's drought prevention program.*

and human potential in these settlements, the Lusaka City Council initiated in late 1974 a program to upgrade housing and facilities. The Zambian government invited the AFSC to assist. At that time the Quakers already had ten years of experience in self-help and community development in several towns of Zambia, most recently in Kafue. A look at the Kafue scheme throws light on what the AFSC is now doing in Lusaka.

Kafue, located 26 miles south of the capital, was rapidly industrializing. Although housing had been developed for its workers, additional housing and other municipal services had not kept pace with the influx of other job-holders and job-seekers. As a result, squatters spread around the city, taking up unauthorized residence on unused land and building shelters of mud and wattle with grass thatch roofs or with any discarded materials they could find. Water and sewerage were poor or non-existent.

In 1969 the AFSC and Zambian municipal staffs drew up a program that involved homebuilders in all phases of planning and construction. Government and city engineers made plans for providing a new neighborhood with water and sewerage. The AFSC staff, which included Zambian community development workers, recruited squatters of varying backgrounds for two-month training sessions that helped them learn construction methods, familiarized them with the requirements of the government loan each received for building materials, and established their mutual obligations for work, nor-



*Part of the cooperative self-help housing project in Kafue, Zambia, nearing completion. The housing area is called Chawama, meaning "a good place" in the Chinyanja language.*

mally set at 1000 hours per family. Next, actual construction began, progressing from the pressing of bricks through the tying down of the galvanized iron roofs. The work started in January 1970; most of the 228 houses were finished in August 1973. Some Zambians who had served on the staff were called by the government to help with other housing schemes.

The project was financed by the Zambian government, Zambia's private sector, the Kafue Township Council, and the AFSC. The homebuilders themselves contributed out-of-pocket 4 percent of the costs. By 1977, when they will have paid off the government loans, their share will have become 19 percent of the total. The AFSC provided American and African staff with the required supervisory, technical and community development skills. The Committee also furnished some materials and services, chiefly storage and special tools.

The Kafue undertaking attracted many visitors, including President Kaunda, his aides, and 80 Zambian officials. "We are satisfied," Kaunda told the community, "that you are encouraging, rebuilding, rekindling the spirit of corporate action." Visitors came from other African countries and abroad. The Zambian DAILY MAIL subsequently

editorialized: "The beauty and uniqueness of this massive project lies in the fact that the whole scheme is being organized strictly on the participatory level. Every decision has to be made in consultation with the people in the area before it can be implemented."

A fundamental result of the project was the sense of community arising out of the homebuilders' success in coping with construction problems and group disharmonies. This was apparent in the emergence of various clubs, a community committee, and a school and playground built cooperatively by the residents. Thus the program did more than create housing. It showed that self-help works when careful planning is directed to awakening the people's energies and supporting them as they work together. And it showed how people from various parts of Zambia could overcome differences in background for the sake of a joint effort in building a new community. A group of Kafue homebuilders reflected this when they told their story, in three national languages, on a Radio Zambia broadcast.

The project was also an instance of productive collaboration between an African government and an American voluntary agency



*Zambian community leaders being addressed by Steve Mulenga, AFSC field team coordinator for Lusaka's housing project.*



*This Zambian woman was a competent bricklayer by the time the 16 families of her group were in their new houses.*

joining to meet a pressing social need. The AFSC found that it could respond to the government's explicit request for assistance with a flexible and informed approach, as well as with a philosophical outlook in respect to self-reliance that was in harmony with the government's. Zambian participation in all aspects of the project was central to the premise underlying the program's development. The AFSC played a catalytic and facilitating role, not a controlling one.

On the basis of its work in Kafue, the AFSC was asked by the

Zambian government to participate in Lusaka's squatter upgrading program by providing an American community involvement specialist and six trained Zambian community development workers acting as an arm of the Lusaka City Council's overall Housing Project Unit.

Before the project's official opening on November 29, 1974, Africans on the AFSC staff helped to prepare information about the task in several local languages. This was widely circulated for use with community leaders, individuals and groups throughout the area.

The people studied the basic plans, held meetings and made suggestions. They approved plans for the road network and considered relocation plans for the 450 families who would be displaced.

The Lusaka project, costing \$40 million for a three-year period, is financed by the Zambian government assisted by a loan of \$20 million from the World Bank. The program provides water standpipes for each 25 families, security lighting, refuse removal, health centers, two or three clinics, 17 markets, 17 new primary schools, and 17

*Cattle being distributed to drought-stricken nomads in Mali's Tin Aicha program.*





Zambian family poses outside the house it helped to build in the Lusaka project for squatter resettlement.

multi-purpose community centers—all for more than 30,000 households in four major squatter settlements, called compounds.

The AFSC staff, part of a 40-person team including a representative of UNICEF, has special responsibility for two compounds which serve as demonstration area for the rest of the project. Demonstration is effectively done by the residents themselves. When, for example, they contribute their own labor to construction of facilities, an amount equivalent to their wages is spent on additional facilities within the community. Most contribute.

David Benson was designated by the City Council as overall coordinator of training. UNICEF provides the director and materials for the classroom, while the AFSC staff instructs and supervises students at field work in the demonstration area. The first group of 20 community development workers began training in April of last year, assigned for five months in class and seven in the field. A total of 60 officers is to be trained, with successful graduates hired by the government as squatter upgrading is extended to other areas.

The lives of Zambia's squatters were dislocated by the ongoing rural-to-urban migration. Those of the Mali nomads were uprooted by drought. In the spring of 1974, Captain Demba Diallo, administrator of the country's Goundam region, became concerned about the despair of nomads in refugee camps under his care. The recent Sahel drought had shaken their deep sense of freedom, self-

reliance and sharing. With insufficient grass and animals to sustain a return to the desert, they had to sit in the camps, depending on local food supplies and growing more and more discouraged as they watched their traditional ways wasting away. In the fall of that year, 100 families or 556 persons from the Goundam camp volunteered to move to the fertile north shore of Lake Faguibine and establish an experimental community called Tin Aicha. This large, permanent lake on the edge of the Sahara desert is within the traditional living area for many nomads.

The Mali government, naming Tin Aicha a national priority project as the pilot phase of a major drought prevention program, provided a technical team to assist the families in acquiring new skills and adapting to conditions so very different from their former nomadic existence. The AFSC, invited to take part, assigned Eva Mysliwiec as community development specialist to work with the Mali team in helping the nomads become self-sustaining within their changed environment.

To the project as a whole the AFSC furnishes, in addition to Eva's services, salary supplements for project personnel and a Land Rover with maintenance. The total AFSC budget commitment is about \$130,000, adjusted periodically to Mali inflation and drastic price increases for some imported items. The Mali government contributes support through its ministries of Production, Interior, Education and Health, as well as the services of Captain Diallo as local project

director, housing for project personnel, a social worker, and customs exemptions for the AFSC.

Vital to the program is livestock raising. First, cattle had to be bought, inspected, vaccinated and branded. Local herders would know how to get the best cattle at the best prices, so Captain Diallo had three Tamashek chiefs find as much livestock as possible and offer the owners an advance. Following inspection by zoo technicians, the chiefs selected 106 of the best heifers, ten bulls, 106 of the best ewes and ten rams. The animals were equitably divided according to nomad family size. Families entitled to only one of each group received those that had just given birth or were about to.

"What a beautiful herd we have," Eva wrote from Mali. "It's the envy of every nomad. It is very impressive to see the care and sentiment they have for their livestock." Impressive—and, as Eva knew, in keeping. For the animals allow these nomads to remain identified with their past life patterns, fill economic and nutritional needs, and are socially and personally gratifying. Each family "pays" for the animals it receives by giving the calves and lambs to succeeding families in accordance with the traditional nomad system. The AFSC contributes sheep and cattle, an average of two each per family; the Mali government provides medicine and a part time veterinarian.

An entirely new experience for the nomads is agriculture. They encountered many problems: lack of tools, physical weakness from disease and malnutrition, destruction of crops by rats, birds and locusts. And yet they produced enough food in the 1975 spring harvest to become self-sufficient—a tribute to their persistence and determination, reinforced by the cooperative efforts of the Mali government and the AFSC. To this part of the project the Quakers supply vegetable, rice and millet seed, the Mali government an agricultural technician.

A school at Tin Aicha, built of wood, straw mats and grasses, has more than 70 students ranging in age from five to 15. Most have never attended school or heard French spoken. The parents gladly send their children to the school

*Continued on page 34*

"Few men have been admired by their own domestics."—

Montaigne

# The Bigger Thing

JOHN BOVEY

In the long succession of domestics with whom we were blessed—or afflicted—in the Foreign Service, Julian figures as the only one we neither hired nor fired. A fixture of the white brick house assigned to us in The Hague, he was mentioned with awe by preceding Counselors and with warbles of enthusiasm by their wives. Even the Post Report, that most impersonal of documents, carried a brief anonymous reference, as though a British butler had been thrown in with the heat and light. And after one had become familiar with the decent old house, one could as little imagine it without Julian as without the oak in the garden or the darkly gleaming green door which Julian had opened to guests for nearly twenty years.

My wife and I had not looked forward to our encounter with this immovable personage. Even if Julian proved complaisant, we foresaw him as venerable, white-haired, tottery on the stairs perhaps, or shaky with trays and messages.

As luck would have it, we passed

---

*John Bovey is a former Foreign Service officer 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.*

through The Hague before our assignment was announced and got a chance to spy out the land at a party given by my predecessor. It was quite unlike other diplomatic crushes: no stale, curling sandwiches; no shrill unassimilated chatter; only the comfortable hum of those who are properly ministered to. A bald automaton with a wing collar circulated champagne; a Frisian girl with yellow hair and flaming cheeks trotted about with hot canapes. But both wore the withdrawn and bewildered look of the tribe whose members "come in to help out." It took a few minutes to discern the real center of control.

"But he's not old at all!" my wife suddenly exclaimed. "He can't be a day over forty."

And then I made out a brisk, diminutive figure in a white coat, fastened by two brass buttons on a cord. His wavy ginger hair was slicked down flat; his round face, freckled and a bit liverish, wore the smile of legitimate authority. He paced his station like a captain on the bridge, leaving the dining room doorway occasionally to direct disoriented guests. Now and then, in response to some undetectable signal, he would glide up and whisper a forgotten name in our host's ear,

which he had almost to stand on tiptoe to reach.

When the company had dwindled, our host introduced us. Julian greeted our handshakes with a touch of class-consciousness, but his tone was chirpy rather than servile. He told us he had cut short his career as steward in the British Navy right after the Liberation and got married in Holland. "Just twenty I was. A real surprise it was when they took me on here."

Later my host drew me aside. "There's one thing you should watch out for. The new Ambassador's wife has her eye on Julian. I don't know how far Mrs. Spear will go, but I know Julian."

"You mean he'll desert us?"

"On the contrary: he'll count on you to resist."

In the months that followed Julian came to see us less as bosses than as subjects. Not that he dominated us—no one could have resembled less the domestic bully of popular legend—but he viewed us rather as an artist views the fictions he manipulates, or a diplomatist the interests he must accommodate. Even the chauffeur Joop, though not under his orders, was permeable to his influence, especially since they shared a pas-

sion for auto racing. Julian's cockney croonings also soothed the tantrums of our French cook Marguerite—"Mag," as he called her—though his loyalty could not always cover her lapses. For one large dinner Mag had riveted her attention so firmly on her *boeuf à la mode* that she completely forgot the vegetables. When my wife rang her silver bell, Julian's face, white with humiliation, popped through the pantry door. "Carrots out," he whispered. "Beans on next round." When he brought the beans, crunchy but delicious, he held the platter aloft to demonstrate that our vegetables, as in France, merited separate consumption.

Simplicities pleased him less. When Marguerite conspired with us to serve *brandade* of codfish, Julian did not conceal his opinion of this pungent dish: "It smells like cat piss, sir."

His talent for solving or softening the problems of others no doubt explained Julian's appetite for diplomacy. The mention of Ambassadors always brought light to his blue eyes: he knew them all—and with their warts. Once the barriers of reserve had dropped, he shared his penchant for wicked sobriquets. The Swiss, who suffered from the double disadvantage of pomposity and conjunctivitis, was baptised "old sheep's eyes." The Hungarian, a smarmy and mean-tongued Cold Warrior, was "Count Dracula." The Dean of the Corps, a wiry muttering Mexican, spinner of endless intrigues over precedence and farewell cigarette boxes, was carried on Julian's rolls as "The Spider."

Except for the Indian, who was a turbaned Oxonian, the "underdeveloped" were held firmly beyond the pale. Nothing could have diminished Julian's courtesy to them as guests, but once out of earshot, they reverted to the status of "woggies" or, if they came from anywhere east of Suez, "Chinamen." The Ambassador of Burma, who was our neighbor, once sent his butler to protest the expulsion of his ducks who wandered quacking into our garden from the canal. "What that Chinaman does with them ducks," said Julian, "I hate to think." When we dined across the canal, we found that Julian's misgivings were not unfounded.

Julian's real interests, however, were more elevated, his antennae more selective. Wherever voices lowered to the whispers of secrecy or tapered down to the point of anecdote, there our butler was sure to gravitate. As the climax of a confidence approached, it amused me to watch the dilatory zeal with which he poked up the fire or measured out brandy or plucked the coffee cups one by one from the tables, like flowers from a tended parterre. Even when pretexts for lingering ran out, he usually reappeared in time for the punch line. The only time I saw his round face darken with displeasure was when one of the waiters who "came in" put a query about wine while Julian was serving a salmon mousse to one of the Secretaries of the Royal Household. "Pour it and get on with it," he muttered in accents of stone. I recalled later, as I reflected on this unwonted harshness, that the Secretary, with rare indiscretion, had just then been regaling the table with a tale of the Saudi Arabian monarch's bewilderment among the domesticities of royalty at Soestdijk.

During post-mortems in the pantry, Julian would break the silences of glass-polishing, to share his *ragots* with me. "Quite a shame, sir, about the Spaniard's transfer." Or "All that shouting about Cambodia. I wouldn't worry if I was you. You should have heard the Dutch slanging the British about Indonesia when I came here." Sometimes he passed along a startling tidbit. Not long after the Czech incursion he confirmed our impression of rifts among the marauders by reporting a quarrel behind our oak tree between Soviet and Polish Counselors. "Old Dracula moved in too. A regular donnybrook it was."

While guests had long accepted Julian as a sub-colleague, I had occasional twinges when I recalled Cicero in Ankara. My liking for Julian reinforced my abhorrence of the sharp, unthinking cogs of security, but when an eager junior mentioned our butler's tendency to "tune in," I couldn't refuse to check the files. The dossier was reassuring: an uneventful youth in the East End, honorable discharge from Her Majesty's Navy, small properties in Spain and Holland, twenty unruffled years in the

Sophialaan. I learned that his wife, to whom he had not introduced us, was named Beppie: she had started her career as a striptease artist.

I saw then that I was dealing not with a spy or a snoop, but with a diplomatist, who had tailored his career to the contour of his talents. In other Embassies he might have enjoyed higher pay and darker excitements, but language would have frustrated participation. And then I liked to think of Julian as a diplomat of the golden age, an inglorious (but far from mute) Cambon rather than a Venetian slyboots.

The cloud of which my predecessor had warned me presently assumed dimensions larger than those of a man's—or in the event, a woman's—hand.

Joseph Spear, the new Ambassador, was a Chicago lawyer in his early forties, with a rubicund boyish face and the hearty confidence of the Republican problem-solver. He entertained a genial contempt for Foreign Service officers ("soft on communism") and preferred the bluff summations of the Tribune Tower to the sinuosities of Foreign Ministries. The piloting of jets pleased him more than the perusal of tedious despatches, and bologna sandwiches in a duck blind more than a garnished table. But while the Ambassador vaguely sensed that the wheels of amenity were well oiled in the Sophialaan ("Your wife is an old pro"), it was the Ambassador who desecrated the central spring.

Cecilia Spear was a Texan of imposing wealth and stature. Her tightly waved hair and square-cut features recalled the Jack of Spades. Her dresses and her jewelry, which was authentic even to the diamond blossoms on her ample shoes, assorted well with the ambassadorial Residence. This was a vast structure of raw brick, acquired in the heyday of American hegemony, in which the curtains shone like the satins of Copley, the carpets came up to one's shoe tops, the brown gravy paintings reflected the glitter of a thousand prisms. The Spear's butler was a darting homosexual; their cook a cheerful pirate in a white hat, who alternated Dutch dishes of no savor whatever ("*Incolore et inodore*," was the French Ambassa-

sador's verdict) with Javanese specialties that took the roof off one's mouth. They robbed the iceboxes and cellars with impunity: servants were scarce, and, fearing the reflexes of change on our own bliss, I conspired with the administrative people to cover their tracks. But Cecilia Spear soon discovered that her guests, unlike ours—or Julians—did not exchange the glances that meant "*Et in Arcadia ego.*"

The Ambassadors did not attack head-on. She did not intend to alienate the junior vipers in her nest until she had mastered the wild and foolish novelties of official hospitality. The opening gambit was a telephonic appeal; emergency at the Residence: two hundred guests, a sick butler, prestige of the USA. And then the shrill and languid accents of Dallas: "Oh would you all—could you all—spare your Julian?"

When I had hung up, my wife and I looked at one another in terrified surmise. How in the name of common solidarity (not to mention the box marked "cooperation" in my annual rating) could we refuse? "Our Julian" would never say nothing doing—and he was not averse to showing up the Residence staff. I assured him the assignment was unique. But he gave me such a look! As I watched his small figure receding briskly down the walk, with his white coat folded over his arm, I felt like a parent who pretends that the ordeals of a new school will be fun and games.

When my wife received a second S.O.S. two weeks later, Julian wrinkled his nose and reminded her we were giving a dinner that night. The Ambassador, not without embarrassment, took the question up with me. I returned a *fin de non recevoir*. (Julian would have approved the term; he loved diplomatic jargon and once referred to an expelled Romanian as "*persona non-gratified.*") Cecilia Spear's manner when next we met could only be described as smoldering. Before long she reduced our problems to mere flotsam on the wave of administrative disaster.

Meantime Julian provided a respite. One evening, as he was serving the soup, he doubled up, amid a clatter of chinaware, and was carted off to the hospital. The socialized empirics diagnosed his

malady as biliary.

For weeks Julian, his arms taped with tubes, his freckles starting out with agony, lay in the ward, surrounded by the sounds and sights—and the smells—of mortality. It was there that we first met Beppie; the ex-stripper turned out to be a brawny matron with golden ringlets and an imperturbable calm that covered a panic we all began to share.

One morning I arrived to find Julian's bed empty. The nurse handed me a shakily pencilled note: "Dear Mr. and Mrs. B. Unquiet night. They are taking me to Emergency. No visit today. Yours ever, Julian."

Yours ever! I called our own doctor, a diagnostic genius, who

---

**"Cecelia Spear's  
manner when next we  
met could only be  
described as  
smoldering. Before  
long she reduced  
our problems to mere  
flotsam on the wave  
of administrative  
disaster."**

---

relegated ethics to the back burner and made a "friendly visit." He rolled back Julian's eyelids, laid a cold, attentive ear to his abdomen, and tweaked his toes reassuringly. "Not biliary at all," he told me. "Pancreas. Definitely. I've dropped a hint. You can tell the dear fellow the Swedish Ambassador survived the same thing."

Emulating this official, Julian, while we held our breath, began to mend. Beppie's calm became radiant. Then came the day when Julian requested reading matter. "Oh Mrs. B., if you could just ask Joop to bring around the auto racing magazines." My wife promptly burst into tears.

One morning—it was just before our transfer back to Washington—my secretary tiptoed in from the outer office and closed the door. Thelma was a gruff, horn-rimmed veteran of cataclysms in many capitals, but today she looked like the victim of armed

conspiracy.

"They're selling the house," she gasped.

At first I didn't take it in. "Selling what house, Thelma?"

"Your house, Mr. B. The house in the Sophialaan. I overheard the Admin people in the cafeteria. It's an economy move."

"Economy!" My voice rose several registers. "Why don't they sell that god-damned Residence?"

Thelma planted a white-knuckled fist on the edge of my desk. "No one will buy it," she said. "Mrs. Spear wanted to sell it; she wanted your place." My Secretary snickered. "She was going to redecorate from top to bottom."

I fell back in my chair, a shattered man. "Find out how soon the Ambassador can see me, will you?"

The Ambassador fingered, a bit nervously, a bronze model of Lockheed's latest on his desk while he explained with breezy gusto the imperatives of retrenchment. "Low profile, you know." In Paris they were moving back to the old Rothschild House; in Oslo the Nobel mansion was up for grabs. The Hague must do its bit, and as the Residence had proven a white elephant, our house was it.

"Everyone likes your place—more historical. We've been offered half a million for it."

"Half a million guilders?"

"Dollars." He smiled craftily. "An American buyer. Tappan Petroleum; it's their man for the whole of Europe."

"You know the buyer, Mr. Ambassador?"

His red face turned slightly redder. "Yes, an old friend. But it's a real good deal for the US Government." And then he looked at me as though I were a troublesome minority stockholder. "Now we wouldn't dream of disturbing you and your wife. You'll stay put until you leave. The next Counselor will get one of those red brick jobs in Wassenaar. Cecilia tells me they're real cozy."

I had a brief, appalling vision of Julian and Marguerite preparing lasagna and green salad in a postage stamp kitchen for circulation to floor-seated guests. "We'll have to get rid of the staff," I said stonily.

The Ambassador rose and restlessly paced. "Don't let's be

*Continued on page 32*

## Interdependency Adviser

DIPLOMACY FOR A CROWDED WORLD, by George W. Ball. Little, Brown and Company, \$12.95.

George Ball is a fierce partisan in his views about foreign policy. Indeed his latest book, "Diplomacy for a Crowded World"—published on the eve of a national election and possible change in the Administration and the appointment of a new Secretary of State—may lead some to ask: Can the nation afford so much partisanship?

Mr. Ball grudgingly acknowledges that Nixon and Kissinger took advantage of a changed international situation in 1969 to clean up certain past mistakes—Vietnam and China—and that they reached some limited understandings with the Soviet Union and took temporizing action in the Middle East.

But then he blasts away at the Nixon and Kissinger policies, scarcely pausing to consider the fundamental changes that have taken place since the earlier days of the bipolar world and the cold war. Moreover, he seems to overlook the fact that foreign policy is mainly a matter of adjusting to the world rather than changing it—even though we Americans seem to have a psychological need to solve problems and to be "No. 1."

His most partisan criticism of Kissinger policies relates to détente, which he sees as an empty concept; he believes the cold war is not over, and that our diplomacy has neglected our friends and paid too much attention to our adversaries.

His analysis of Soviet ideological motives (he quotes Foy Kohler) may not be incorrect. But it is incomplete—he fails to see that Kissinger's détente policies have been solidly built on the possibilities and necessities of the objective international situation—the Sino-Soviet conflict, acceptance of the division of Germany and the division of Europe, the balance of nuclear terror, the ability of Third World countries to withstand encroachments by the Soviets or by us.

Consultation with our friends and allies has been full, frank, and

frequent on important détente policies—for example, on SALT, MBFR, and CSCE. The interests of our allies have not been neglected; they have been protected and promoted.

Ball is also highly critical of the secrecy and summitry of the Nixon trip to China in February 1972. He is against summit meetings, though they have become routine, in part because he believes you can't trust the boss to know his brief. He criticizes the secrecy of the China move on the grounds that the American people could have been trusted to have supported the change in our policy toward China. That may be true, of course—though none of the preceding Democratic Administrations came to that conclusion.

In dealing with the Middle East, Mr. Ball proposes a settlement to be imposed on Arabs and Israelis, after obtaining Soviet support. It is a brilliant high-risk scheme, but it seems doubtful that it would be in our power to make it work. Kissinger has given us an actual achievement in the Middle East; Ball proposes an "all or nothing" course of action on this most intractable problem that has defied solution for twenty years.

On the other hand, Ball has a unique ability—not to be lightly dismissed—to view some questions with detachment, as he demonstrated in opposing our involvement in Vietnam. Moreover, in contrast to his views about our ad-

versaries, he is strikingly original and creative when it comes to dealing with the problems of interdependency—the problems of food, energy, population, the environment, trade, finance, and development. For example, he has written a superb chapter on the world population problem. Ball's excellence on these matters suggests the following thought:

Perhaps we should begin to think about foreign policy—in the modern age—in terms of two categories of problems:

- war and peace issues; and
- interdependency issues.

War and peace issues are the primary business of the Department of State. The resolution of these issues is the starting place for everything else—the condition precedent for a better world.

Interdependency issues—the constructive tasks we face—are domestic as well as international and involve the government as a whole. The resolution of these issues can best be done on technical grounds, as free as possible from extraneous political—or foreign policy—considerations.

I believe our newly elected President should appoint an Interdependency Adviser and an Interdependency Council, to parallel the National Security Adviser and National Security Council. Structure would then parallel policy. My candidate for Interdependency Adviser would be George Ball.

— DAVID LINEBAUGH

## Life and Love in the Foreign Service



"Maybe this will convince you that detente does work!"

## Democracy in Malaysia

DEMOCRACY WITHOUT CONSENSUS, by Karl von Vorys. Princeton U. Press, \$20.

The University of Pennsylvania's Professor Karl von Vorys gives us "Democracy without Consensus." In it he provides a glimpse of one of the globe's most fascinating, albeit fragile, experiments with democracy. Malaysia is the object of his study. Britain is praised for a solid achievement in arriving at an effective multi-racial compromise following the bloody pogroms and killings of Malays by Chinese and Chinese by Malays in '44 and '45. "The emergency," that decade-long, systematic effort by Chinese communist terrorists in the late '40s and '50s to destroy the infant Malaysian democratic structure and substitute a communist state, represented a setback for the growth of democracy in Malaysia. The setback proved temporary, however, and democracy moved forward at a steady pace in the '60s. The secession of Singapore from the Federation in the mid-'60s proved to be a blessing in disguise for both states and the Malaysian democratic system continued to show momentum.

Author von Vorys' description of the troublesome question of education policy and the decision to make Malay the national language merits special attention by the author. All the agony and complexity of dealing with English, Chinese, Tamil and Malay language systems in an infant Asian democracy is highlighted by the language issue.

The bitter legacy of the election of May 1969 and the resultant violence and bloodletting that swept the Malay and Chinese communities posed the next serious threat to the continued existence of democracy in Malaysia. The shameful behavior of Malaysia's UMNO leaders and the horrendous guilt of the Malay Regiment during the race riots of May 13 and 14 is not hidden by the author. His analysis is bold and courageous. The erection of a National Operations Council, with absolute power, headed by Tun Abdul Razak, was the means devised to

confront this latest threat to Malaysia's democratic development. This, in turn, leads the author to his thesis, that in Malaysia today we have "democracy without consensus."

The survival of democratic government in Malaysia is crucial to the future of democracy in Southeast Asia as a whole. Unfortunately, author Karl von Vorys makes no mention of the latest threat to democracy in Malaysia—the menace of newly-victorious, neighboring communist governments in Indochina. But, if past history is any guide, the trials and agonies already endured by the apparently delicate, but surprisingly sturdy, infant Malaysian Federation would indicate that democracy in Malaysia will not die either quickly or easily.

— JAMES D. McHALE

## Dynamics of Negotiation

THE 50% SOLUTION, by I. William Zartman. Doubleday-Anchor Press, \$3.95.

Ours is an age of negotiation. So it is particularly fitting that Professor Zartman, whose graduate and undergraduate classes in Negotiation and Diplomacy at New York University have been attracting large numbers of students, should have edited a book whose sub-title is "How to bargain successfully with hijackers, strikers, bosses, oil magnates, Arabs, Russians, and other worthy opponents in this modern world."

Professor Zartman's interesting and analytical introduction deals with the dynamics of negotiation. Unfortunately the introduction does not seem to have been furnished to the other 16 authors so as to provide a common contextual framework for their contributions. While a pattern can be traced as to the importance of communication and perception of the conflict issues, the pieces suffer from one major deficiency, namely, an oversight of the element of power struggle, both domestic and international. Furthermore, two of the most interesting foreign policy negotiations engaged in by the United States recently, that of the status of Berlin in both 1961 and 1971, and Kissinger's old-fashioned personal "shuttle diplomacy" in the Middle East have not been included in the book.

The merit of the book lies in providing something of interest for every reader, diplomat or scholar or both. The best chapters in this reviewer's opinion are those on arms control, NATO, and propaganda, and the most tedious are the ones on the negotiated order to build a psychiatric hospital (too much behavioral jargon), and the overly lengthy account of the negotiations between Britain and Malta, and the chapter on the international oil negotiations.

There has always existed a large communication gap between those who practice negotiation and those who study it. This book attempts to bridge that gap. It is the best book on bargaining that I have seen, and I recommend that at least the first chapter be required reading for diplomats. I might also add that the bibliography alone is worth the sensible price of the book.

— CHARLES R. FOSTER  
*Committee on Atlantic Studies*

## I Remember Adlai

ADLAI STEVENSON OF ILLINOIS: *The Life of Adlai E. Stevenson*, by John Bartlow Martin. Doubleday & Company, Inc., \$15.00.

As biography, this enormous tome is flawed; as remembrance and reminder, it is superb. This first volume of what will be at least a two-volume biography takes Stevenson through the presidential campaign of 1952. Martin lived for some months in Stevenson's house on Stevenson's farm and has had full use of Stevenson's voluminous papers and memorabilia, as well as interviews with many of Stevenson's relatives and friends. A former ambassador and journalist, now professor of journalism at Northwestern University, Martin disappointingly does not show the ability to compress material, to discard the irrelevant, and to narrate effectively as in good journalistic writing. Neither does he demonstrate the same analytic skill or the ability to write coherent, thematic sequences of paragraphs as the best historical and biographical writers. Instead, he presents far too much undigested and sometimes unassessed information and quotation, coupled with amateurish pseudo-psychology which seems jarring and injudicious, certainly inappropriate.

Yet the book brings great plea-

sure as remembrance, as a door to nostalgia. This reviewer grew up in a house scarcely two blocks from the old Stevenson home (not really a mansion) in Bloomington, Illinois. Martin's words summon up those houses and elm-lined streets, the days of delivering *THE DAILY PANTAGRAPH*, the pride and atmosphere of the community. One remembers the affectionate disrespect of Bloomingtonians for Adlai, the city's foremost citizen. There is a story, maybe a legend, of the time Adlai returned, defeated, from presidential campaigning. He stepped off the train at Bloomington, expectant, sure that the city would welcome him perhaps with the band and a bit of a crowd. To his surprise the station was deserted, and feeling somewhat sorry for himself, he strolled slowly out, pausing when he espied a solitary man behind the barred ticket window. The ticket agent looked up only to ask: "Been away, Adlai?" Other memories stirred by this book depend less on having lived in Adlai's home town. Remember what it was like when the leading "intellectual" in American politics was not an effete Eastern snob? *There* is a measure of time gone by.

Martin has captured many aspects of Stevenson's personality and milieu—his vocabulary and ideas, his political and intellectual development, the tone of Illinois and national politics of the 1930s and 1940s as seen from or near Stevenson's perspective. All these come back to life in reading this book. So do Stevenson's humane eloquence, his air of promise unfulfilled, his aloof and yet touching personality. Despite flaws, this first volume makes one eager for what is yet to come.

—THOMAS H. ETZOLD

### Islamic Art & Architecture

*SPLENDORS OF ISLAM*, by Wilfrid Blunt. Viking Press, \$10.95

This is an easy introduction to the field of Islamic art and architecture. It serves as an outline for the beginner, quickly sketching the highlights of achievements from the time of Muhammad through the Ottoman Turks and the Mogul emperors of India. It is, as the author says, a book for the general reader, "those who spell Koran with a 'K' and who scarcely recognize the holy book of Islam when it is writ-

ten 'Qu'rân' " (*sic*).

The color photographs included are fine; one might wish for more, and fewer in black and white. The use of "Mahomet" seems quaint and out of place in this century, and is supported by nothing more than a petulant justification from Fowler's "Modern English Usage." Still, this is a useful introductory architectural survey, and worth the price.

—CHARLES O. CECIL

### Unorthodox and Orthodox Views of Soviet Reality

*THE EDUCATION OF LEV NAVROZOV*, by Lev Navrozov. Harper's Magazine Press.

*RUSSIA: The People and the Power*, by Robert G. Kaiser. Atheneum, \$12.95.

Portions of "The Education of Lev Navrozov" were printed in *COMMENTARY*, but the book has otherwise received less public attention than it deserves. Perhaps its title, which might make one suppose it to be an ordinary defector's autobiography, has kept readers and reviewers away from it. A pity, for it is in fact a work of quite profound, if unorthodox, political analysis. Briefly, the author's thesis is that the leadership in the USSR is a self-serving band of gangsters who have made themselves absolute owners of the country they rule, and in doing so have put its population back into a form of serfdom as complete as that under the early Romanov Czars.

This thesis, in some respects not far removed from some of the propositions put forward so cogently by Solzhenitsyn in his "Gulag Archipelago," is not a new one. The German playwright Berthold Brecht made much the same political analogy over forty years ago, in a play showing Hitler and his storm troopers as a gang of Al Capone hoodlums. The merit of Navrozov's book is the persuasiveness with which, in recounting incidents from his early life, he succeeds in documenting this unfashionable thesis. Consider, for example, these observations of Navrozov on the way in which the Soviet system restricts the social mobility of its serfs:

The key to the whole structure is attachment. A serf is born in a *maternity ward* of a certain caste (by territory) and rank (by department) to which his parents are attached

by their caste and rank . . . He is registered in the passport of one of his parents as belonging to the caste territory . . . The family can move of its own will only in their own caste territory or down the castes. On the other hand, anyone can be moved up and down and anywhere by the pseudo-tsar-god's will . . .

On reaching the age of sixteen, the urban inhabitant is issued his own passport, a highly elaborate 14-page dossier (printed on special paper with ingenious secret precautions, filled out with special pens, which are kept in safes, and stamped with seals of every kind). The passport is a portable replica of those dossiers which the *proper quarters* keep, so that every passport can be checked within minutes. The passport indicates the serf's caste by territory to which he is attached by birth or *mobilization* (*exile*, or other transfers not of his will), the work to which he is attached (unless he is still attached to a *school* of his caste), and the *nationality* (*Russian*, or *Jew*, or *Armenian*, or whatever), in which he was born, according to the nationality of one of his parents.

Robert Kaiser's book, based on its author's experiences as a Moscow correspondent of the *Washington Post*, provides a less ideologically engaged overview of the Russians. It is much more up-to-date than Navrozov's "Education," and perhaps too is more objective. Certainly it covers with much skill many aspects of Soviet reality which Navrozov, in his zeal to give the big picture of the Soviet System to his western readers, ignores. Kaiser is particularly good, for example, at depicting the political naivete and over-all intellectual torpor which characterises such a large proportion of Soviet citizenry. At the same time, however, he himself is not wholly free from some of that uncritical acceptance of the clichés of the conventional wisdom about the Soviet system which Navrozov so scorns. Kaiser would have us believe, for example, that unemployment and organized crime are modern curses which do not afflict the Soviet Union, and he tells us that "we have to abandon the image of the USSR as a bristling, powerful, and aggressive nation."

Perhaps, in the end, what we need is to have Navrozov, in the freedom of his new career to write without regard to Soviet police harassment, give books such as Kaiser's some of that detailed attention which an idle, if conscientious, Foreign Service *JOURNAL* reviewer is too poorly equipped to provide.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

## Arab-Israeli Issues

TOWARD PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, *Brookings Middle East Study Group, 1975.*

This remarkable study (23 pages) attracted relatively little attention in the United States when it appeared in late 1975, though I am told that it excited some comment abroad, particularly in Israel. The study should be required reading for everyone concerned with or interested in the search for a Middle East peace settlement.

I call the study "remarkable" in part because it represents the views of such a broad-spectrum study group. Without naming names, the group's membership included persons generally sympathetic to the Arabs and others of a more pro-Israel inclination.

The study addresses virtually every important issue in the Arab-Israeli dispute and in almost every instance presents an eminently sensible proposal. Only on the sensitive subject of the status of Jerusalem does it waffle by suggesting alternative solutions.

Quite properly, the study raises the question of who speaks for the Palestinians—and finds no clear answer. It mentions compensation for displaced Palestinians but does not deal with the right of return to Israel, a highly emotional issue for many Palestinians.

The study emphasizes that doing nothing under the present circumstances would be most prejudicial. That, alas, appears to be our present stance. The United States Government could do far worse than to put its imprimatur on the principles enunciated in this excellent study.

— JAMES H. BAHTI

## African History

GHANA: AN AFRICAN PORTRAIT, *photographs by Paul Strand, commentary by Basil Davidson. Aperture Books, \$22.50.*

This must certainly be one of the handsomest books yet published on any African country. Its high price can be justified by the quality of the many excellent photos and the commentary provided by one of the leading scholars on African affairs. The photos show both the traditional society as well as the modern. The commentary is of an introductory nature, yet not so much so as to be of little or no use

to the specialist. Davidson presents enough detail and background to advance and refresh the knowledge of those readers who have some previous familiarity with Ghana and the rich society found in that country.

Two features in the book merit special comment. Davidson provides a succinct and highly readable history of Ghana. In so doing he draws upon the writings of leading African historians as well as providing an excellent reading list comprised of both Ghanaian and expatriate authors. There is also included a rather dispassionate chapter on the achievements—and excesses—of the Kwame Nkrumah regime. Davidson concludes that in the atmosphere of the 1950s, Nkrumah was able to give Ghanaians the chance to "repossess their own country . . . or merely enjoy everyday freedoms they had not had before. . . ." The Africanist will surely realize that not all scholars—and certainly not all Ghanaians—will share such an opinion.

Unquestionably, Paul Strand is one of the greatest photographers. The 93 pictures chosen by him from the ten thousand miles of travel in Ghana—every one of them a work to engage the eye and challenge the mind—make this beautiful book well worth the price.

—ROY A. HARRELL, JR.

## Woodstein Writes Again

THE FINAL DAYS, *by Woodward and Bernstein. Simon & Schuster. \$10.95.*

A number of my friends have looked tolerant and bored, anxious to turn the conversation onto other topics, when I have told them I was reading "The Final Days," Woodward's and Bernstein's brilliant tale of Nixon's last days as President of the United States for his second term. My friends have had enough of Watergate.

In addition to the futility of rehashing the past, this book is said to have two serious flaws.

It removes the last fig leaf from the Nixons' private lives, and this serves no public purpose. Why should the world be told that Mrs. Nixon became more and more reclusive, and began secretly drinking in the early afternoon? Or why should the world be told that Nixon "was up walking the halls last night, talking to pictures of former Presidents—giving speeches and

talking to the pictures on the wall?"

But after reading this book Nixon is no longer a plastic man to me. The intrusive intimacies in this book provide a compassionate portrait of a whole man that make us reflect on man's fate, not just Richard Nixon's.

The other criticism of the book relates to method—no sources are named, extensive conversations are quoted as if the authors had been present, and the authors report what allegedly went on in people's minds on various occasions. As a result, the narrative is alive and vivid and perhaps as near the truth as we will ever want to be.

The truth of the final days is searing and grotesque, a tale of deception and self-deception, of men twisting and turning, humorless, corrupted by power, fleeing from accountability. The White House dabbled in blackmail.

"That week Buzhardt invited Scott to lunch. They met on the Hill. At first Buzhardt was indirect, talking generalities in his most gracious Southern style. Watergate was creating a certain investigatory atmosphere, he drawled . . . There were rats' nests all over Washington . . . Scott fidgeted. He was not naive. For example, Buzhardt continued in his friendliest manner, Senator Scott himself was involved in a series of appointments to Government jobs, which had bypassed Civil Service regulations . . ."

Haig, the President's man, was intriguing against the President, secretly telling Senator Griffin about the very damaging June 23rd tape, stimulating a letter from Griffin to the President, and then laying down a false trail to escape the President's wrath.

"To complete his cover, Haig told Buzhardt that it was probably Ford who had tipped his old friend Griffin . . ."

"I no longer have a strong enough political base in Congress . . ." was the reason Nixon gave for resigning—a political, not a moral, act to Nixon. Yet, as Buchanan bluntly told the family, it was the fact that the President had lied for a year and a half to the American people that finally brought the house down.

In the end, the system worked and saved us from our own fallibilities. But the margins were narrow and the costs were high, and next time there may not be any tapes. —DAVID LINEBAUGH

Unlike those little Book Shop(pe)s tucked away in Georgetown(e), charity Bookfairs attract generally well-read volunteers, many of whom, however, understandably have little knowledge of that strange and wondrous area known as the *Book World*, or the *Trade*. But they learn! The Association of American Foreign Service Women's BOOKFAIR '76, for example, has a Chairman (some would say Chairwoman, and still others would say Chairperson) who has taken several giant steps toward becoming a Bookperson.

Early on, certain questions arise. Sometimes, they are answered in due course. More often, no answers suggest themselves. Why, for example, does one individual try to acquire a copy of everything ever written by Poe—in Turkish translation, while another seeks any and all old street car transfers—issued west of the Mississippi? Why does this individual want only “mint” condition first editions—of first novels by American writers whose last names begin with a “C” or a “P,” while that individual prowls garage and church sales in search of World War II Armed Forces pocket books? Why does A become a philatelist, while B becomes a numismatist (and dare they intermarry?). Why does an author, whose works are sought after this year, become a glut on the market next year? If you attend BOOKFAIR '76, you will be able to observe actual real-life dramatizations of these questions over which members of the BOOKFAIR '76 Committee have been puzzling during the past nine months.

BOOKFAIR '76 will be open to the public, in the 23rd Street Foyers of the Department of State, October 4th through October 9th, from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. (until 2:00 p.m. on the 9th). Sunday, October 3rd, is the traditional *Family Day*, when BOOKFAIR '76 will be open to personnel of State, AID, and USIA and their immediate families only. (On the third, Dr. Leon Picon will be present, treating the young in years and the young in heart to a program of fascinating magic tricks, illusions, and phenomena.)

## OCTOBER MEANS BOOKFAIR

This Bicentennial Year BOOKFAIR will feature Americana, American writers, and American History and Government, but there will also be an excellent selection of books *by* and *about* women, about fictional and real wars, about ships and seas and the men who sail the ships on the seas or explore beneath the seas, foreign language volumes, and children's books. The Children's Book Corner, incidentally, will have its own Americana collection.

Browsers and buyers at BOOKFAIR '76 will find, along with familiar categories, area studies, performing and graphic arts, communications, and earth and environmental sciences. This time, too, the Collectors' Corner has jealously and zealously guarded its treasures throughout the year of sorting and storing and has, among many exciting items, books autographed by former Presidents Hoover, Roosevelt, Johnson, and Nixon, and a selection of illustrated books, including one by Arthur Rackham and the 1968 1st edition Andrew Wyeth. Having been receiving donations from our em-

bassies around the world since last November, the Stamp Corner is well-stocked with stamps, postcards, first day covers, and other items from pharaway places, guaranteed to phascinate the philatelist. The Art Corner will inspire awe and delight. There is a Folio of Raphael color prints from the Vatican, a pair of exquisite cloisonne urns (donated by a special friend of the AAFSW and BOOKFAIR '76), and *objets d'art* and things-without-which-you-will-not-be-able-to-do once acquired. There is 1920s junk jewelry and original 1870s prints. In brief, something for everyone.

REMINDER 1 of 2: Have your children send in their essays, poetry, photographs, and artwork (deadline September 15) to Margaret Dickman, Family Day Chairman, Room 8326, New State, for consideration in the contest.

REMINDER 2 of 2: If you still have books, records, music, paintings, or bric-a-brac to donate, BOOKFAIR '76s collectors will respond promptly. Telephone Lois Heginbotham (498-5946) or Ruthanne Nadler (363-1831).



Margaret Dickman, Family Day Coordinator, and Elspeth De La Barre, Deputy Chairperson, look over some of the artwork contributed for this year's Art Corner at the Bookfair.

## AAFSW NEWS

### F.S. WIVES STUDY

The Association of American Foreign Service Women has embarked on an ambitious and challenging project: to make a careful and balanced study of the modern Foreign Service wife, and to explore in detail four aspects of Foreign Service life that present problems to families today. The five study groups will begin meeting in September, and AAFSW invites all women—members and non-members—to participate to insure the representative nature of the project.

The topics for study were selected at an August meeting of the "Committee on Concerns of Foreign Service Women and Families," created by AAFSW to launch the project and attended by women from diverse backgrounds and interests. At the same time, a Steering Committee was established to coordinate the entire process. Descriptions of the study groups, with possible topics for discussion in each, appear below,

followed by the name of the Steering Committee member.

**Family Life:** It is important for Foreign Service families, wherever they are, to preserve a strong family image, but frequent relocation often places strains upon family life. How can families take advantage of the cultural opportunities of travel while maintaining the best possible quality of life for their children? The study group will discuss the extent of fathers' participation in the family, the effect of distance on the extended family, the implications of hardship posts and separation from children who are in schools away from post. (Alice Lowenthal, 256-6276)

**The Modern Foreign Service Wife:** How does the modern Foreign Service wife see herself, and what is her relationship, if any, to her husband's career? The study group will tackle this open-ended question, and other questions posed by participants, and will solicit as many diverse points of view as possible. (Stephanie Kinney, 379-1140)

**Orientation:** A smooth adjust-

ment to life abroad is dependent upon effective orientation programs. This study group will analyze existing programs, including the availability of information about life at missions abroad and welcoming procedures upon arrival at post, and explore ways to ease the sometimes-painful adjustment process. (Jean Vance, 986-0591)

**Re-entry:** It is often as difficult for families to re-adjust to life in the United States as it is to adjust to life abroad. This group will discuss and define the "re-entry syndrome" and possible techniques and services for successful family re-integration. (Mary Holmes, 229-7037)

**Women in Transition:** Divorce, widowhood and retirement pose difficult problems for Foreign Service wives. A woman who has devoted her life to her husband's Foreign Service career may suddenly find herself on the job market—with no "marketable" skills. Widows are often stunned by Departmental red tape at a time when they are least able to cope. The study group will explore these

## FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

### BOOKS

THE OWL & THE PUSSYCAT Children's Bookstore gives 10% discount on overseas orders. Knowledgeable, personal service. Large stock of paperbacks and hardbacks. Also supply adult books. We mail everywhere. Catalogue \$1.50. 314 South Ashland Ave., Lexington, Ky. 40502, USA.

### COINS

OLD/RARE COINS, paper money and medals bought and traded. Send insured/registered for check. Coins held pending your acceptance. Or state your price for described coins. COINS INTERNATIONAL, P.O. Box 303RCS, New York, N.Y. 10019.

### REAL ESTATE

BARCROFT PROPERTIES, INC. Ideal investment for members of the Foreign Service. You make the down payment for purchase of a home in the Washington area, within price range you specify. We negotiate all particulars in your name. We rent the property in an amount as close as possible to monthly sum of principal, interest, taxes and insurance. Meanwhile, you have a tax shelter and a hedge against inflation. Many foreign service people are turning to this type of investment. We will be happy to provide references from foreign service officers, plus any additional information. Write us at 5827 Columbia Pike, Bailey's Crossroads, Va. 22041.

FOR RENT, November 1-May 1. Beverly, Somerset County, Eastern Shore, Md., National Historic Preservation house, completely restored and furnished. Domestic help available. Contact Francis L. Hayman, P.O. Box 147, Princess Anne, Maryland 21853. Telephone: (301) 651-2925.

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL  ELECTRIC  
-USA-

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 embassies and consulates throughout the world.

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

problems and others to determine what resources are available to women in transition and whether wives can be better informed and prepared for changes in lifestyle. The committee will conduct research into regulations, pension plans, and survivor rights and will require a few volunteers with legal or financial skills. (Mavis Barrett, 387-4172)

Foremost in the minds of all those involved in the project is to avoid defining or stereotyping the role of wives today. The primary motivation behind this study is to promote the well-being of *all* Foreign Service women within a community that recognizes their individuality.

Both morning and evening meetings of the study groups are planned to enable as many women as possible to attend. Women abroad who are unable to attend the Washington meetings can conduct discussions at post and write their opinions and ideas to Jean Vance (Mrs. Sheldon B.), AAFSW's Second Vice President and chairman of the Steering Committee, at 8510 Lynwood Place, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015.

## SKILLS INVENTORY BY RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON SPOUSES

The response to the Skills Bank Project of the Research Committee on Spouses has been gratifying. Each mail pick up has produced stacks of completed skills inventory questionnaires, numerous notes and letters of thanks and encouragement, and reams of much needed information about the educational backgrounds, skills and work experience of FS spouses. The project has also received requests for referrals from an ambassador, two bureaus in State and an organization in Denmark.

The Skills Bank is a nonprofit pilot project sponsored by the Research Committee on Spouses and directed by one of its members, Cynthia Chard. The goals of the project are twofold: 1) to gather information about the skills, language abilities and career interests and needs of Foreign Service spouses and 2) to create a centralized referral system for potential employers and contractors who need the skills and international experience which Foreign Service spouses possess. A three dollar contribution per applicant is being solicited to defray committee expenses.

The Research Committee on Spouses is a loosely organized group of women with professional interests who are married to Foreign Service personnel in AID, State and USIA. For the past year the group has worked hard to represent the professional concerns of Foreign Service spouses and broaden their career opportunities. The goals and efforts of the Committee have been recognized and supported by WAO and AAFSW.

The Committee would also like to make it clear that the Skills Bank is open to *all* interested spouses in the three foreign affairs agencies. Skills inventory questionnaires were mailed only to State Department spouses due to the fact that State was the only agency from which the Committee was able to obtain a list of married personnel. Further inquiries about the project and requests for the questionnaire should be directed to the following addresses: Research Committee on Spouses, c/o WAO, CMC Message Center-room 7310, Department of State or Cynthia Chard (telephone 547-8793), 753 10th St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

**When Quality Counts...** count on Brewood for stationery, announcements, invitations, cards, and informals. Our engraving consultants are at your service.

**BREWOOD**

Fine Engraving & Printing Since 1892  
1147 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.  
223-2300



**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 Drugstore Since 1969*

301 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

PHONE 543-4103, 543-9278



*Peoples Drug—One of America's Largest Drug Chains Provides*

**PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE WORLD**

*Filled and Mailed Immediately*

**SHOP BY MAIL**

- All prescriptions filled immediately
- Immediate mail backs
- Send no money—Pay after receipt
- Pay Peoples low prices plus postage and packing
- Nationally famous cosmetics, too
- Sundries of every description
- WE MAIL TO EVERY COUNTRY

**PEOPLES DRUG**

*the prescription stores*

2125 E St. NW  
Washington, D. C. 20007



## PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

from page 10

Cultural Counselor—each responsible directly to the Ambassador and having under their respective jurisdictions the media and cultural programs of the Embassy. This would correspond to the German and French practice, but would, in my opinion, not work as well with our more integrated public diplomacy program.

I would do away with the FSIO designation and integrate all 900-some FSIOs as FSOs. I would retain the FAS category for all those specialists who do not want to be, or cannot qualify, as FSOs.


One or, preferably, two new functional specialist categories would have to be established within the Foreign Service: either that of "public affairs" or, in my view more usefully, a cultural-affairs category and a media-affairs (press and audio-visual) category. In the latter case, either one or the other—or, for that matter, a political cone officer—could become a PAO on the executive level if he

were managerially qualified. Similarly, an officer with a media-affairs or cultural-affairs specialty, if he were a good executive, could qualify for the position of DCM, Consul General and even—if he is lucky to boot—as Chief of Mission. In Washington a public-affairs specialist might also be qualified to serve as Country Director similar to a number of AID officers who have successfully filled these positions in the ARA Bureau.

There are two extremely important aspects to this amalgamation which the top management must take into consideration if it is to be successful in the long run:

First, it must be generally realized and accepted that the most important asset which both the Department and the USIA possess is their personnel, both Foreign Service and domestic. Without their qualifications, their loyalty, their dedication and their high morale, foreign affairs policy-making and execution is bound to fail. We must, above all, preserve the *esprit* and the high professional level of the career service.

The second factor to be taken into consideration is that over the years, USIA has developed a number of commendable managerial and programing innovations, partly because of its comparative small size, partly because of its specialized functions, partly because of the expertise of the staff. These should be carefully examined and, if applicable, adopted by the Department. Such innovations include the areas of personnel management, training, communications techniques, information retrieval systems, methods of program and budget analysis, inspections and data processing. Let us not ignore them or lose them in the process of re-organization.

In conclusion, my experience in USIA and the Department leads me to believe that a reform along the lines discussed in this essay can improve the process of foreign policy formulation and execution in the public affairs field at considerable savings in human and material resources. 

### NEW NYSE BOOKLET INCOME LEADERS ON THE BIG BOARD

PHONE—WRITE OR VISIT

*A. G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.*

THE INCOME SPECIALISTS

Members New York Stock Exchange, Inc.  
Over 90 Branches Throughout The U.S.

Please send me FREE BOOKLET "INCOME LEADERS ON THE BIG BOARD" FSJ

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Bus. Ph. \_\_\_\_\_ Res. Ph. \_\_\_\_\_

Mrs. Ruth G. Adler, V.P.

A. G. Edwards & Sons, Inc., Barlow Bldg. Suite 1050  
5454 Wisconsin Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20015 (301) 654-3000

AN-RS-96-EMB-1/15/77

# Wheel 'n Deal the easy way

with a  
**Pre-Approved  
MONEYPLACE  
Loan**

9% APR

100% Financing

48 Months to Repay



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

## THE BIGGER THING

from page 23

precipitate," he said with a slight tremolo. "Cecilia and I have decided that we ought to offer jobs to your staff. All of them. Now I'm sure you'll admit that's fair enough."

"Fair? Fair to whom? There's Julian, for instance: it will break his heart."

The Ambassador stiffened. "My wife has handled servants all her life."

"That's not the point. It's just that Julian won't transplant."

"But that's our life," said Joseph Spear blandly, as though he had served abroad for a generation. "I wasn't happy to leave Winnetka. Cecilia still hankers for Dallas. But there it is."

I flung myself into one last appeal. "It really won't work, Mr. Ambassador. You might as well try to move the oak in our garden. The house will go straight downhill—and Julian too. It won't work at all."

For a few seconds he wavered: could this impassioned, finicking

bureaucrat have something? But then I sensed the shadow of Cecilia Spear; the echoes of vengeful Juno turned Jupiter's voice to flint. "If your man doesn't want the job, that's his own lookout."

Julian took it better—and worse—than I expected. It was the day after our last party, and we were standing under the oak, from which a summer storm had torn one branch away. It lay beside us, with its leaves all a-tumble; in the trunk above, the livid wound still glistened. More than ever I dreaded the return to Washington drudgery. And more and more Julian's lower lip curled over his upper as the implications of our departure dawned.

"The new ones, sir: Tappan—are they diplomatic?"

"No. Oil."

"Oil? Crikey! Well, I suppose I could give it a whirl."

I shook my head slowly. "They're old friends of the Spears. And Mrs. Spear is counting on you for the Residence."

"Crikey!" said Julian again.

"Do you have anything saved up, Julian? If you could wait a little—"

"Oh no, sir. What with doctors and the place in Spain, I haven't a bean. I'll have to get a move on. Of course now, if you was to recommend someone—"

The great question hung in the air, but I shot it down. Our service in Washington—not to mention the pay—wouldn't do at all. "There's nothing for it, Julian," I said. "I've tried everything, believe me. The Ambassador is a decent fellow—very generous. And Mrs. Spear—well, you've had more complicated problems here, I'm sure."

Julian's eyes dropped from mine. It was then that he made the little speech—a long one for him—that remains with me still. "I know how you take it, sir, you and Mrs. B. And all you done for me: I'm most attached, sir, if I may say so. There's not many as would feel badly like you. But for me, you see, it's a bit worse. This place, and all the people coming and going—well, it's just everything." I could hear

### 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 Sangamore 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.

## 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. Used by over 125,000 students. Non-profit. Write for catalog. Admits students of any race, color, national or ethnic origin.

Established 1904

301-243-6030

**Calvert**



**School**

Box F9-6, Tuscany, Rd.

Baltimore, Md. 21210

Parent's name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Child's Age ..... Grade .....

the tears rising in his voice. "You've other places to go, some of 'em worse than Holland, I shouldn't wonder. Still you always go where people work—well, on the bigger thing, if you know what I mean. But me"—Julian leaned against the old tree, and his voice flattened out again, without bitterness, to the level of the inevitable—"for me, it's a bit like the Navy: I go below again. And below I expect to stay."

I put my arm around his shoulders. It was not the moment for cheery afterthoughts.

A year later I came out to The Hague as a paper-chaser for an oversized and otiose delegation to a petroleum conference. I thought more about Julian than about my colleagues at the green table, but when a reception at the Residence gave me a chance to sneak out to the kitchen, I found only Marguerite. She told me, with a sour face, that Julian was no longer in the Ambassador's service.

Cecilia Spear told me acidly that it hadn't worked out. "I'm afraid

you all spoiled him." Her husband was less censorious. "Poor fellow—he took to nipping in the pantry. Claimed it was good for his pancreas. It's funny; we hiked his pay and gave him a regiment of waiters to order around. But he said it didn't raise the tone—whatever that means."


I could have told Joseph Spear—but I didn't—that the number of cupbearers didn't matter. For Julian the sparkle had to extend further than to the champagne.

I inquired in vain at the Embassy. And then the Tappan people gave a dinner for the delegation in the Sophialaan. I found what I had dreaded: an interminable hour swilling cocktails and a grandiose dinner: heavy porcelain, heavier cooking, and the heaviest of shop-talk about the iniquities of oil-producing countries. But what was my surprise, when I looked up from scooping out an unripe avocado, to find a familiar figure bending over my vis-à-vis across the carnations and the candles.

Julian seemed shrunken: his eyes

were bleary, his face glazed with the boredom of the unattached. His white waistcoat, to which the faithful Beppie had affixed a neat patch, and his snap-on tie placed him in the ranks of the anonymous who come in to help out. A little later he would drain the wine bottles with the other subalterns; his palm, like theirs, would be crossed with guilders from the salver in the hall. As I looked around at my senior colleagues, I felt that Julian and I were in the same boat. And when his glance intersected mine, he gave me the smile of Talleyrand masquerading at the Feast of the Federation. "Don't look too hard," he seemed to say. "Don't make me laugh."

By the time I had escaped from brandy and cigars and made my way to the vast old kitchen, I was too late. "Just left, sir," Julian's successor told me. "Anything I can do?"

When I had sent my kindest regards, I went slowly to the living room. I thanked my lucky stars that at least Julian would not have to open the door to let me out. 

## 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.

t/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

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:

7900 Westpark Dr., McLean, Virginia 22101  
703/821-3800



## SELF-HELP IN AFRICA

from page 20

and participate by buying materials and preparing lunches. Mali officials are searching for ways to make the instruction more relevant to the nomad experience. The building and two teachers are donated by the local government, school supplies by the AFSC.

The Quakers and the government support two other activities: health services including a small clinic, a nurse, and training in child care and nutrition; and an arts and crafts cooperative organized by the women for production and sale of their intricately woven straw and leather goods.

Now in its second year, Tin Aicha has welcomed its second group of 100 families, many of them attracted by the original families who had learned to live entirely off their own animals and agricultural produce. While the AFSC regards it as premature to accept the experiment as successful, it does point out that Tin Aicha provides useful lessons and has led other regions to

start similar programs. But the greatest gain is for the participants themselves. Those who return to their nomadic lifestyle take with them new knowledge about health, education and animal husbandry. Those who remain as farmers have a more secure income. In each case, Tin Aicha has brought about a change for the better without sacrificing cherished traditions.

Eva Mysliwiec captured the spirit of that change when she described the impact of a well constructed by Tin Aicha residents. "You can't imagine," she wrote, "what a difference it has made. The water is so clear and sweet and plentiful. People are visibly healthier. They are more energetic because they no longer have to spare their energy for lack of water. It used to be a good half-hour walk to the lake shore to fetch water. Men are spending more time at work in the fields, and a whole new social scene has developed around the well. And kids spend hours playing soccer whereas they used to be quite lethargic. Water—it's a whole new life."

A whole new life. It comes to Africans in Mali and Zambia through their own efforts, strengthened by their governments and a small group of selfless Americans. But these endeavors are a tiny fraction of the worldwide struggle to ensure that ever more people share in the control of their own well-being, their own destiny. The outcome of the struggle will depend to varying extent on the progress made by governments of most developing nations in such areas as control of population growth, expanded health care, reduction of poverty, and greatly increased food production.

In the final analysis, however progress comes to the poor and disadvantaged only when they undertake to improve their own lot. Perhaps, in helping them realize that it is within their reach to do so, the American Friends Service Committee is inviting its own government to strengthen furtherance of an ingredient of development aid that is both humanitarian and practical.



## NEW from Calvert School! Individual subject courses.

Calvert introduces separate subject courses for 8th grade math, history, English (incl. grammar, vocabulary development, writing), science, reading (skill work, literature). Excellent for make-up, brush-up or enrichment. Start any time. Choose one subject or more. All texts, teacher's manual included. Also complete courses for Kindergarten—8th grade. Classroom tested. Since 1904. Non-profit. Phone 301-243-6030 or write for information. Admits students of any race, color, national or ethnic origin.

**CALVERT**  **SCHOOL**

Box SCF9-6, Tuscany Road, Baltimore, Md. 21210

## 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 — 686-5800

6400 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034 — 320-5700

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 SPAIN:

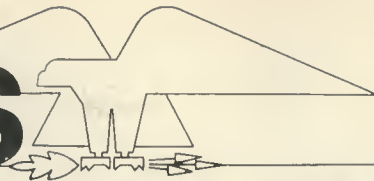
*Mr. Envoy is living in Spain  
and the reason he's happy is plain  
for all the things he prized  
were shipped Containerized\*  
so you know he'll go District again.*



\*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

# AFSA NEWS



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

Members wishing to send letters on employment, working conditions or AFSA affairs should get them to AFSA by the 10th of the month preceding desired publication.

Alford W. Cooley, Editor

## CONTENTS

Peter Wolcott, USIA Rep. ....	36
Grievance Committee Report .....	36
Grievance Counselors Needed .....	37
Tip to Grievants .....	37
Recall Meetings .....	37
AFSA '76-'77 Scholarships .....	38
State Affairs .....	39
AID Affairs .....	39
Language Training Gain .....	39
AFSA Board Vacancies .....	39
Referendum Results .....	40
Foreign Service People .....	40

## GOVERNING BOARD

**July 27:** Discussion of appointment of Deputy Secretary Robinson and Mr. Atherton to the Board of the Foreign Service; Regulation on recall, executive authority and the AFSA Staff; Regulation on legal assistance; Appointment of Peter Wolcott to the Governing Board of the FSECC; Resolution on priority for E. O. 11636 activities during FY 1976; Regulation implementing and interpreting Articles IV.2 and VI.1; Board Position on Bylaws Amendment proposed by Frankfurt Chapter; AID—Cables re promotion abuses.

**August 3:** No Quorum

**August 10:** Intention of John Patterson to resign as VP by Oct. 1 (assigned overseas); Discussion of budget options, FS club, sale of building, dues/membership increase; Wilbur Chase appointed Counselor; Employee Benefits Package Agreement; Notification of retirees of rights conferred by new grievance legislation; Legal Committee and Referenda Committee reports on referenda; Report from Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center.

## MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY UNDER E.O. 11636

Executive Order 11636 provides the framework which governs labor-management relations in the Foreign Service of State, AID, and USIA. It also recognizes the trend to labor unionism among white-collar workers that is taking place, in Europe, Canada, and certain local and municipal segments of the US, toward greater participation in the decision-making functions of their organizations.

The Executive Order was developed separately in recognition of the unique character of the Foreign Service; its mobility, rank-in-person principle, and frequent transfer of individual Foreign Service people between supervisory and non-supervisory functions. For the Foreign Service, there is no fixed-term labor-management contract but rather continuing consultation between the Association and the Agencies' management on personnel policies.

For AFSA, it is a cardinal principle that personnel of the Foreign Service should be able to co-determine the policies and regulations to which they are subject. While reaffirming its role as a professional organization, as a result of a resolution at the Annual Meeting, AFSA has placed priority on this labor-management function.

The unique character of our labor-management activity under E.O. 11636 calls for special care on the part of the Association and management in exercising their responsibilities and in characterizing the activities of each party or of the decisions issued by adjudicatory bodies such as the Employee-Management Relations Commission. Unfortunately, such care has not always been taken by the management of the three Foreign Affairs Agencies. The most extreme case occurred during the summer of 1975 when AID issued a memorandum to all Bureaus and Office Heads which in our view characterized unfairly and improperly a case in which the EMRC found that AID had committed an unfair practice. AID did not take ade-

quate precautions to prevent the memo falling into the hands of members of the Foreign Service whom AFSA serves as the exclusive representative. We informed AID that it could say whatever it wished within management circles as defined by the Executive Order, to the point of deceiving one another about AFSA. However, as we noted, this right does not extend to those Foreign Service employees represented by AFSA.

Responding to the unfair practice charge brought by AFSA, the Agency admitted that "it in no way intended to characterize . . . the decision of the Employee-Management Relations Commission." More importantly, AID had issued a memorandum to its employees which has relevance for the other two Foreign Affairs Agencies as well. Aside from setting up a special communications link for internal management communications, which we hope the other two Agencies will do, AID for the first time recognized the difference between Executive Order 11636 and Executive Order 11491, which governs labor-management activities of domestic employees. Further, the Agency acknowledged that certain actions by Agency management could lead to unfair practice charges. In this instance, AID allows that communications by management to employees represented by AFSA over matters within the scope of the negotiating relationship established by Executive Order 11636 can be interpreted as (1) bypassing AFSA and thus breaching the obligation to bargain in good faith; or (2) making AFSA appear ineffective, or (3) evidence that management holds AFSA in low regard, "all of which can be said to restrain or coerce employees regarding their participation in labor relations activities."

This is a useful event, one which is another step toward establishing a lasting set of principles which govern the labor-management relations between AFSA and the managements of the Agencies.

## USIA REPRESENTATIVE



AFSA activist, public affairs specialist, environmentalist, ornithologist, inveterate reader and skier are appropriate labels for AFSA's newest board member Peter Wolcott. His desire to see AFSA continue as a vital organization, representing members on bread and butter and professional issues alike is coupled with a special interest in the future of USIA in international affairs.

Peter entered USIA after earning his M.A. in International Relations from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University and a Liberal Arts B.A. from Kalamazoo College. A variety of experiences reflect his eclectic tastes. His varying posts in Malaysia and Indonesia from 1963-1970 were highlighted by a special act of the East Java Legislature giving him two weeks to leave Surabaya (he stayed six), an idyllic two years as Branch Public Affairs officer in Penang and an exotic three years spent re-opening the Branch Post in Medan.

A year on the staff of the President's Council on Environmental Quality seasoned Mr. Wolcott on the realities of how decisions are really made in Washington and broadened his environmental expertise. Other Washington assignments include an itinerant year as Chairman of USIA's Oral Examining Panel for Junior Officers with the Joint Board of Examiners (BEX). He now is responsible for the political science side of Washington-based programming with a current emphasis on the elections and federalism.

Active participation in USIA AFSA Standing Committee, membership on the Inter-Agency Members Interest Committee and AFSA rep. in Helsinki, his last post, make up Mr. Wolcott's AFSA credentials.

## GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE REPORT

The Membership overwhelmingly approved the AFSA-negotiated grievance system in the referendum conducted in May and June. The proposition was "F.S. Grievance Board: approval by AFSA Membership, prior to permanent action of composition, regulations, and antecedent AFSA Grievance Committee actions." The vote was 234 in favor, 25 against, with an additional 24 favorable votes and one unfavorable vote coming in after the July 1 deadline.

The Governing Board and the Grievance Committee welcome this indication of the Membership's approval of what we have done, but we do not intend to rest on our laurels. And we need your advice and help.

On May 21 we wrote management regarding measures to inform retirees of their rights under the new grievance legislation. On July 9 State management replied that it had mailed out copies of NEWSLETTER No. 178 (April 1976: the special supplement on grievance procedures) to about 4,500 retirees who, as annuitants, receive the Newsletter; and would mail copies to employees who were involuntarily retired under the age of 50 and thus not eligible for annuity, but are still under retirement age. That mailing went to the address the employee gave at the time of departure from the Service. We later learned that AID and USIA have not yet taken similar measures with respect to their retirees, and we have urged that they do so. If you have not received a copy of the NEWSLETTER supplement by now, please let us know and we will find out why, and get you a copy.

Meanwhile, AFSA Legal Counselor Catherine Waelder, with help from a few others, is whacking away at the backlog of cases which went to the Grievance Board after the old system broke down in July 1975 and before the new one took effect. She and AFSA Member Don Field are preparing a handbook for grievants and their representatives. We badly need more people, both in Washington and overseas, who are willing to learn about the grievance system and act as representatives for grievants. (See item on volunteer grievance counselors.)

Our agreement with management on the grievance regulations permitted its reopening after six months (late September 1976) with respect to 3 FAM 663 and 664. If your reading of these provisions, or your experience with them, suggests the need for improvement, please let us know so we can bear it in mind in our consultations.

Finally, we failed to persuade the Grievance Board to establish as part of its internal regulations a presumption that a grievant who wants his/her hearing to be public should have a public hearing, except and to the extent prohibited by considerations of national security and foreign policy, or applicable law and regulation.

Instead, the Board's regulations provide that the presiding Board member, "after considering the view of the parties and any other persons connected with the grievance, may permit attendance by others at the hearing."

We have the impression, however, that the Grievance Board is in fact inclined to apply such a presumption as a matter of policy. We also have the impression that most grievants would prefer not to have a public hearing. If you have views on this issue, please clip the coupon below, or write, to the Grievance Committee, AFSA, Rm. 3644, New State.

1. I believe that if a grievant requests that his/her hearing before the Grievance Board be public, the Grievance Board should grant the request, except and to the extent prohibited by considerations of national security and foreign policy or applicable law.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_

Agree \_\_\_\_\_

Neutral \_\_\_\_\_

Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

2. If I were a grievant, I would want my hearing to be public to the maximum extent permitted by national security, foreign policy, and applicable law.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_

Agree \_\_\_\_\_

Neutral \_\_\_\_\_

Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

## VOLUNTEER GRIEVANCE COUNSELORS NEEDED

The Association is looking for people to assist the AFSA Grievance Committee and the AFSA Counselors in working with employees with grievances.

As the exclusive employee representative for the State and AID Foreign Service, the Association undertakes to assist any foreign service employee with a grievance, whether or not the employee is a member of the Association. Now that the Foreign Service Grievance Board is operating again (this time under law as well as agency regulations), it is important that grievants receive adequate counseling. Although the Association has full-time employees (the AFSA Counselors) who devote much of their time to working with grievants, foreign service employees are badly needed to cope with the heavy grievance workload.

The Association believes that the best people for this important volunteer work would be AFSA members willing to devote the time necessary to understanding the Foreign Service Grievance system, as well as to learning counseling techniques. Employees with legal backgrounds or similar experience would be particularly welcome, although we are confident that with proper training many non-lawyers could be very helpful to their colleagues with potential grievances.

Those who become Grievance Counselors would initially be asked to assist individuals in the early stages of informal grievances. We anticipate, however, that with experience most Grievance Counselors could serve as full-fledged AFSA representatives for grievants in formal hearings. We also anticipate that some AFSA members now in Washington experienced in grievance counseling might be available to brief AFSA Chapter Representatives and AFSA Key-men on the new grievance system.

Anyone interested in serving as a Grievance Counselor or receiving a briefing on the new grievance system for use at post should contact AFSA Counselor Cathy Waelder on extension 28160 or in Room 3644, N.S.

## A TIP TO GRIEVANTS

It has come to the Association's attention that a number of individuals who have wanted to pursue a grievance have been confused by the designations of the various "grievance staffs." We hope the following explanation helps to clear up some misunderstandings.

The appropriate agency (Department of State, USIA, or AID) has first crack at resolving a grievance before it may be submitted to the Foreign Service Grievance Board. Each agency has designated the official responsible for the agency's consideration of a grievance. In the Department that official is the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel; in AID it is the Director of Personnel and Manpower; in USIA it is the Chief, Employee-Management Relations Division. Each of those officials has a staff to assist in this process. In the Department, that staff is designated PER/G, "Grievance Staff." These individuals in the agencies are available to advise and assist grievants in the grievance process. We think it is critical for employees to understand, however, that these staffs are responsible to the designated official of their agency. When the agency makes its decision on a grievance submission, the individuals on the grievance staffs of the agencies must abide by that decision. Furthermore, should the grievant appeal to the Foreign Service Grievance Board, those same staff members are charged with defending the agency's position before the Board and against the grievant.

The Foreign Service Grievance Board (members of which are professional arbitrators or retired Foreign Service employees) also has its own staff members. These individuals are responsible only to the Board through the Chairman. They must deal impartially with both the grievant and the agency, and they may not take a position on the merits of the grievance. They assist the Board in the preparation of materials necessary for the Board's consideration of a case. They may advise a grievant that certain additional materials should be included in the Record before the Board, and they may help to clarify the issues involved. They do not take part in the Board's consideration or resolution of a case.

Since a grievant has a right to a representative of his or her own choosing at any stage of the proceedings, AFSA will act as an individual's representative, or an employee may have any other organization or any person act as grievance representative. Members of the grievance staffs of the agencies or of the staff of the Foreign Service Grievance Board may not fulfill this function. An employee is not required to have a grievance representative, but in most cases it is helpful. Anybody who has any questions about how to proceed should get in touch with the AFSA Rep at post or AFSA Keyman in Washington, check with the AFSA Counselor's office at 3644 New State, x28160, or write the AFSA Grievance Committee at the same address.

## FIRST RESULTS OF RECALL MEETINGS

By notices dated July 21 to all AFSA members, the Interim Recall Committee asked AFSA Representatives at over 140 Chapters to convene "special meetings" to consider recall of John D. Hemenway from the office of President of the Association. The Committee also called a meeting of the Washington membership in the West Auditorium of the State Department on August 17, where representatives of the recall proponents and recall opponents addressed the issues and a secret ballot vote was taken. As we go to press the results of the balloting were:

	Recall Ground	
	Endorsed	Not Endorsed
1. Misrepresenting AFSA Positions		
	225	18
2. Hindering Board Functioning, etc.	236	14
3. Defaming AFSA Members, etc.	224	22
4. Personal Mailout	202	33
5. Destroying Employee Representation	203	25
6. Assault on Board Member	174	39

Additionally, ballots had been received from some Chapters but had not been counted. The tally will end on September 3, when the Interim Recall Committee will announce the final results. This will either end the procedure or initiate the second and final phase, in which all members would be asked to vote on the question by mailed-out secret ballots.

## AFSA SCHOLARSHIPS 1976-1977

The 1976-1977 AFSA Scholarship Program Awards have been announced by Ambassador Arthur L. Richards, Chairman of the Scholarship Committee. The names of the recipients, the scholarships which they have received, and the colleges and universities to which the students are going follow:

**Matthew St. John Bargas**—Isabel Preston and John Calvin Hill Memorial Scholarship, University of New Orleans; **Sylvia Bargas**—Isabel Preston and John Calvin Hill Memorial Scholarship, Newcomb College; **Christina L. Bastek**—David K. E. Bruce Scholarship, University of Connecticut; **Jessica C. Blalock**—AAFSW Scholarship, Montgomery College; **Laura M. Blalock**—John Foster Dulles Memorial Scholarship, Montgomery College; **Michael J. Blalock**—Clare Timberlake Scholarship, University of Maryland; **Mary Stuart Brogley**—Louise MacPherson Deming AAFSW Memorial Scholarship, Marquette University; **Lindsay C. Brooks**—AAFSW Scholarship, Kenyon College; **Anastasia K. Brown**—Hope Rogers Bastek Memorial Scholarship, Sarah Lawrence College; **Mary Ellen Buchanan**—AAFSW Scholarship, College of Wooster; **Brian D. Conlon**—William Benton Scholarship, Virginia Polytechnic Institute; **Meagan Climer**—AAFSW Scholarship, University of Arizona; **Christopher P. Cunningham**—Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of Delaware; **Jan M. Dropik**—National War College Women's Association AAFSW Scholarship, Northwestern University; **Theo Z. Duckett**—AAFSW Scholarship, University of Arizona; **Jocelyn M. Dyels**—Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of California, Los Angeles; **Thomas H. Estabrook**—Julius C. Holmes Memorial Scholarship, Pennsylvania State University; **James R. Foster**—AAFSW Scholarship, Pennsylvania State University; **Herbert K. F. Fuller**—Douglas W. Coster Memorial Scholarship, Transylvania University; **Laura E. Fuller**—Anne Boardman Penfield AAFSW Memorial Scholarship, Transylvania University; **Christina M. Garwood**—G. Karen Johnpoll Memorial Scholarship, St. Peters-

burg Junior College; **Jacqueline M. Hargreaves**—Lowell C. Pinkerton Memorial Scholarship, University of Virginia; **Elizabeth Havens**—AAFSW Scholarship; **Damaris Hodge**—Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Texas Christian University; **Barry F. Hirshorn**—Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of California, Santa Barbara; **Harriet A. Hirshorn**—Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Antioch College; **P. Christopher Hodge**—AAFSW Scholarship, University of California, Berkeley; **Michael A. Ivy**—Robert O. Waring Memorial Scholarship, University of Maryland; **Gabrielle Ann Jackson**—Margaret Berger Memorial Scholarship, Western Washington State University; **Ann P. Jurecky**—Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Northwestern University; **Mary F. Jurecky**—Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Lake Forest College; **Mark B. Kelly**—Vietnam Memorial Scholarship, University of Oregon; **Margaret Ann King**—Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of Minnesota; **Richard LaRocca**—Arthur B. Emmons Memorial Scholarship, St. Lawrence University; **Daniel M. Lennox**—AAFSW Scholarship, Humboldt State University; **Marsha F. Levy**—American Women's Club, Bonn, Scholarship, Rhode Island School of Design; **Martha F. Lyman**—Lowell C. Pinkerton Memorial Scholarship, Columbia College.

**Jeffrey P. Maish**—Francis E. Meloy Memorial Scholarship, University of Florida; **Mark G. Mattran**—AAFSW Scholarship, University of Illinois; **Mary F. Mattran**—AAFSW Scholarship, Shimer College; **Joseph Novak, III**—Maurice L. Stafford Memorial Scholarship, University of Wyoming; **Timothy N. Ormsbee**—AAFSW Scholarship; **Valerie Ann Price**—AAFSW Scholarship, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; **Martha R. Purcell**—AAFSW Scholarship; **Mary Grace Purcell**—AAFSW Scholarship, Colorado Women's College; **Renata X. Rick**—AAFSW Scholarship, Northern Virginia Community College; **Russell M. Rick**—Howard Fyfe Memorial Scholarship, University of Hawaii; **Linda B.**

**Robinson**—AAFSW Scholarship; **Leslie C. Sapp**—Ruth Hazen Hopkins Memorial Scholarship, Virginia Commonwealth University; **Mary K. Scanlon**—Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Dominican College; **Robert H. Schlomann**—Blake Cochran Memorial Scholarship, Southampton College; **John G. Shaw**—Selden Chapin Memorial Scholarship, University of Maryland; **Marian A. Shaw**—John Campbell White Scholarship, Tufts University; **Timothy W. Shaw**—Charles B. Hosmer Memorial Scholarship, University of Colorado; **Terri N. Shinomura**—Livingston T. and Elizabeth Merchant Princeton Memorial Scholarship, Princeton University; **Lisa Anne Slezak**—Paris Fund Scholarship, Indiana University; **Sally M. Smith**—AAFSW Scholarship, Louisiana Technical University; **Paul LeBaron Springer, III**—Jefferson Patterson Memorial Scholarship, Georgia Institute of Technology; **Peter C. Springer**—Philip G. Hodge Memorial Scholarship, University of South Carolina; **Sarah P. Springer**—Sue Nabors Noble Memorial Scholarship, University of South Carolina; **Norman S. Terry**—AAFSW Scholarship, College of William and Mary; **Alice M. Trembour**—American Consulate General Women's Club, Frankfurt, Scholarship, University of Denver; **Karla Ann Trembour**—AAFSW Scholarship, University of Colorado; **Elizabeth M. Tsoy**—AAFSW Scholarship, University of Maryland; **Martha J. Wagner**—AAFSW Scholarship, Augsburg College; **Rebecca L. Wagner**—American Women's Club, Bonn, Scholarship, Bemidji State University; **Kristen M. Wellde**—Charles E. Bohlen Memorial Scholarship, University of Virginia; **Elizabeth Yauchuczek**—Foreign Service Wives' Club, Frankfurt, Scholarship, Texas Christian University; **Roxanne Yauchuczek**—AAFSW Scholarship, Texas Christian University.

The AFSA Scholarship Committee presently consists of Ambassador Arthur L. Richards, Chairman, Mr. Robert L. Barry, Mrs. Francois M. Dickman, Mrs. Robert B. Duncan, Mr. Glenn A. Lehman, Mr. P. Thurber, Jr. and Mr. James R. Vandivier.

AFSA wishes once again to express its appreciation to all those who have supported the Scholarship Program over the years and most especially for the splendid contributions and cooperation of the American Association of Foreign Service Women.

### STATE AFFAIRS

The State Standing Committee in mid-July opened formal consultations with Department management on the 1976 Selection Board precepts, and the management "umbrella agreement" proposal for three major changes in the FSO promotion system.

In response to our request management provided figures comparing the impact of the existing promotion system and the proposed one at the FSO-5 to 4 and 4 to 3 level over the last three years and the next four years.

The Committee itself will handle the formal consultations, assisted by Subcommittees on the senior, mid-career and junior aspects of the precepts and the umbrella agreement, and a specialists subcommittee on the specialist aspects of the precepts. The Committee and subcommittees include representatives of State Foreign Service interests directly involved, as well as not directly affected, by the outcome of the various aspects of the consultation.

Meanwhile, management has postponed the opening day of Selection Board convening from early August to early September, citing the bicentennial summer hotel space crush, and the difficulty in obtaining the services of public members of the Boards, as the reasons for the delay.

### AID AFFAIRS

#### AFSA WINS AID ACCESS TO FS LOUNGE

Our attention was recently called to an anomaly—that AID people could not use the mail drop, telephone message and file card facilities of the Foreign Service Lounge (Room 1252, New State). Believing as we do in a unified Foreign Service AFSA called management's attention to the situation and have obtained their agreement to equal access by our AID brethren.

### AID AFFAIRS

The Association has taken the Agency to task for any action which threatens the professionalism and career status of AID's Foreign Service. Unfortunately the character of recent "external" and "internal" appointments together with the Agency's continued restricted "regular" promotion policy undermined what is left of the career principle in AID. The reasons behind these actions remain unclear. Perhaps there are outside pressures of which we are unaware. In any case, we will continue to express disapproval when they occur and to translate our disagreement into formal charges and publicity in any appropriate form.

There is no disagreement, however, when it comes to the "regu-

#### AFSA GAINS IN LANGUAGE TRAINING

AFSA's Members' Interests Committee has reached agreement with Management on proposed revisions in 3FAM 870 concerning foreign language training. The changes are:

- modifying the list of category B—incentive languages;
- Enabling Foreign Service personnel who achieve, in an FSI test, an S-3/R-3 rating in certain incentive languages to receive three within-class increases;
- having the Director General determine language designated positions (LDP) and establish the level of competence for such positions. Also clarifies the procedure for training employees for LDPs and adds a paragraph dealing with refresher courses for those who previously had a required proficiency level;
- clarifying the procedure for updating test scores;
- revised reporting procedures for post language training programs.

The revision to the regulations (3 FAM 873.4(c)) regarding within-class increases for the study of incentive language addresses the AFSA proposal dated January 7, 1976 by extending within-class increases to those employees who study certain incentive languages on their own.

### AN ACCOLADE

lar" advancement of career employees to greater positions of authority and responsibility. Perhaps the greatest key to a vibrant professional corps is the existence of opportunity. It is a tremendous boost to us all when a career Foreign Service employee such as Haven North is appointed to a senior Agency position. AFSA acknowledges this appointment not just because Mr. North is a very capable career professional, but because it is a signal to the Foreign Service as a whole that we work for more than just a paycheck and that perhaps there are opportunities for recognition and career advancement to the highest levels. As we informed Mr. Parker, when such appointments occur the Agency has our unstinting support.

#### ACTION ON FILLING BOARD VACANCIES

At its July 27 meeting the Governing Board took two actions with respect to procedures for filling vacancies on the Governing Board.

The Bylaws (Article IX) call for Board elections at fixed two-year intervals, and empower the Governing Board (Article IV.2) to fill vacancies occurring during its term "by appointment from the Membership, provided that Representatives shall be chosen from the constituency of the vacancy as defined in Article VI(1), and whenever possible Officers shall be chosen from among the elected Representatives."

This Board has had to fill a number of vacancies not only because of reassignments, but because of resignations apparently related to internal divisions within the Board. Seven of the present 14 Board Members are elected; the Board has made a total of nine Board appointments (filling two vacancies twice). On April 28 AFSA Frankfurt wrote (pp. 34, June FSJ) proposing a Bylaws Amendment which would trigger by-elections whenever the total number of elected Members fell below 10. The proposed amendment to be added at the end of Article IX which provides election procedures, reads: "Should at any given time, the number of Board

Members elected by the Membership as a whole fall to ten or less, then a special election shall be called within two months to fill those positions made vacant or filled by appointees. The Board shall appoint a committee to organize this special election in accordance with the applicable provisions of Article IX." Frankfurt also proposed that all current Board Members be recalled should they refuse to resign, and that new elections be organized in accordance with the above amendment.

Several Board Members wrote individually to Frankfurt, pointing out problems with the specific proposal advanced, (c.f. Vice President Hydle's letter, pp. 23-24, July FSJ) and explaining the procedure the Board has in fact followed in filling vacancies over the past year.

The Board has generally been guided by the Bylaws; evidence of personal popular support in the 1975 election (candidates Rogers and Hydle); the desire to make sure all factions which received major support in that election are represented (Jenkins); the need to have all constituencies represented among the officers (Cummins); the recommendations of the Washington constituency keyman networks (Hart and Ward by the State Caucus; O'Connor by the AID Standing Committee; and Cummins, Sutter, and Wolcott, by the USIA Standing Committee); and competence and past activism in AFSA or other employee groups. (This would apply to all of the above, we like to think.)

On July 27 the Governing Board made a regulation implementing and interpreting Article IV.2 to explain exactly when a vacancy occurs; to interpret the "whenever possible" proviso; to specify nomination and appointment procedures, and to require the Board, in the future, to "inform the Membership, or the relevant constituency thereof, and seek its advice in accordance with Article VII.4.f and g and the regulation on official positions of the Association adopted May 4, 1976 (pp. 38, June FSJ subsequently approved by the Membership in referendum 113 to 10). This regulation, we believe, institutionalized the participatory procedures which the Board has been following in filling vacancies, without imposing the expenses and

delays which would be required by special elections.

The Governing Board decided on July 27 not to exercise its power to propose the Frankfurt proposal as a Bylaws amendment. But 100 Members have the right to propose an amendment to the Bylaws, or a referendum on the regulation, full copies of which are available from AFSA headquarters.

The Board also made a regulation interpreting Article VI.1, which defines the constituencies from which Representatives are elected. The regulation makes clear that a Member who has retired from the Foreign Service, but who is currently employed as a civil servant in one of the foreign affairs agencies, is in the retired constituency; and that a Member appointed in one foreign affairs agency but assigned to another, is in his or her "home agency" constituency.

#### REFERENDUM RESULTS ON "PUBLIC POSITIONS OF AFSA"

The referendum on public positions of the Association resulted in a ten-to-one affirmation of the Governing Board's position on the matter. The proposition, printed in full on pps. 38 and 39 of the June FSJ, calls for Board and Committee members and employees to indicate clearly whether they are expressing official views or personal views, and to refrain from using AFSA letterheads, personnel, facilities or titles to communicate personal views orally or in writing.

The resolution was affirmed by 113 members, 10 voting against. By constituency the vote ran:

	State	USIA	Total
YES	72	8	113
NO	7	0	10
	AID	Retired	
YES	11	22	
NO	2	1	
Total			
YES	113		
NO	10		

In this referendum only 2 per cent of the membership voted.

**JOIN AFSA**  
(OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO JOIN)

**DUES CHECKOFF MAKES IT EASIER**

## Foreign Service People

### Deaths

**Denys.** Emiel Denys, father of Arnold J. Denys, Consular Officer in SCA/VO, died in Bruges, Belgium, on July 7.

**Pappas.** Chris C. Pappas, Jr., FSO, died on July 18, in New Orleans. Mr. Pappas joined the Foreign Service in 1955 and served at Tampico, Lima, Dar-es-Salaam, Mbabane as DCM, on detail at the Air War College and in the Department. He was Director of the Reception Center in New Orleans at the time of his death. He is survived by his wife, of 516 9th Street, Slidell, Louisiana 70458, two daughters and a son.

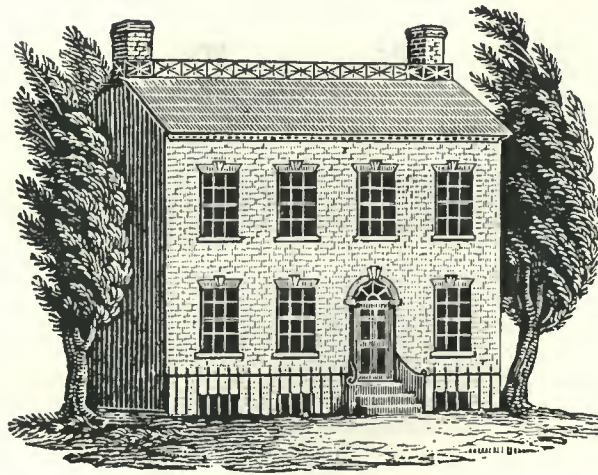
**Provencher.** Josette Provencher, wife of FSO Roger A. Provencher, died on May 31, in Farmington, Connecticut. Mrs. Provencher accompanied her husband on assignments to Frankfurt, Koblenz, Chiangmai, Genoa, Rome, Leopoldville, Benghazi, Bangui, Moscow, Montreal, Vientiane and Tehran. She is survived by her husband, American Embassy, Tehran, a daughter, Frances, and a son, Carl.

**Ragland.** Joseph P. Ragland, FSO-retired, died on July 16, in Washington. Mr. Ragland entered the Foreign Service in 1924 and served at Monterrey, St. John's, Halifax, St. Pierre-Miquelon, Brisbane, Medellin, Naples and Southampton, before his retirement in 1953. He is survived by his wife, Ruth, 3230 Highland Place, N.W., a daughter, Frances S., of Washington, and two sons, Joseph P., Jr., of Richmond and John C., of Long Island.

#### NORMAN B. HANNAH WINS WELLS FARGO AWARD

Norman B. Hannah, former Consul in Sydney, won a \$1,000 fourth place award in the Bicentennial Awards Program sponsored by Wells Fargo Bank in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution.

Mr. Hannah's winning essay, entitled "The Rights of Americans in Our Third Century," explored the relationship between God, Man, Society and State as sources of human rights. The subject of the contest was "Toward Our Third Century," and entries were to deal with one of five themes: individual freedoms in our society; American arts and culture; science, technology, energy and the environment; family life, work and leisure; the United States and the world.



## FOR THOSE BACK HOME

A gift of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL will bring you closer to them, each month of the year. Families and friends will enjoy learning more about the foreign affairs agencies, and the duties, problems and pleasures of life overseas and in Washington.

Gift subscriptions from American Foreign Service Association members are at the reduced rate of \$5.00 per year. Attractive announcement card will be sent to the recipient.



FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL  
2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037

Please enter a JOURNAL subscription for one year, \$6.00, to be sent to:

Name .....

Street .....

City and State ..... Zip .....

Please enter a GIFT subscription for one year, \$5.00, to be sent to:

Name .....

Street .....

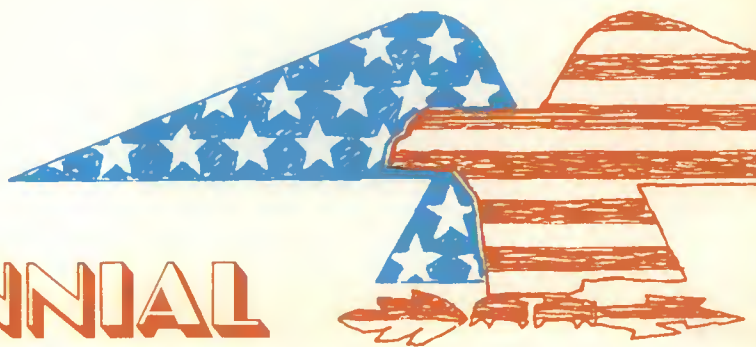
City and State ..... Zip .....

DONOR (must be AFSA member) .....

Street .....

City and State ..... Zip .....

## FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL



# BICENTENNIAL CONTEST

for the David K. E. Bruce Awards

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is pleased to announce that Ambassador David K. E. Bruce has generously funded a contest to stimulate contributions to the JOURNAL from members of the Foreign Service and the American Foreign Service Association. Information and contest rules follow:

**PRIZES:** \$500 first prize, \$300 second prize, with two additional prizes of \$100 each.

**ELIGIBILITY:** All members of the Foreign Service of the United States (Department of State, United States Information Agency, Agency for International Development) and all members of the American Foreign Service Association, except for members of the JOURNAL Editorial Board and employees of the American Foreign Service Association, are eligible.

There is no limitation on the number of manuscripts which an entrant may submit.

**SUBJECT MATTER AND LENGTH:** Manuscripts may be either factual or fictional but should deal with some aspect of Foreign Service life, foreign policy, or diplomacy and its operations. Manuscripts must not have been previously published. Length should be 2500-3500 words.

**FORMAT OF ENTRIES:** Entries should be typed, double-spaced, one side of paper only. Cover sheet should carry author's name, Foreign Service rank and assignment, title of manuscript and the notation that it is submitted for the David K. E. Bruce Awards. An author wishing to use a pseudonym may do so by submitting a separate letter which will be held in confidence by the JOURNAL staff.

**JUDGES:** The Editorial Board of the JOURNAL will serve as the contest judges. Determination of the winners will be by majority vote of Board members.

**USE OF CONTEST ENTRIES:** It is understood that the JOURNAL may retain any non-prize-winning manuscript for publication at regular rates. Payment will be made on publication. Authors of prize-winning entries will receive their prizes in addition to the regular rates. Any manuscript which the JOURNAL does not plan to publish will be returned to its author.

**CLOSING DATE:** All entries must be received by close of business September 30, 1976, at the JOURNAL's office, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

**ANNOUNCEMENT OF AWARDS:** The awards will be announced in the December 1976 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. Publication of winning entries which have not already been published will follow as quickly as possible.

**AWARDS:** The funds for the awards donated by Ambassador Bruce are on deposit, in escrow, in a special AFSA Fund. The awards will be mailed immediately upon the final determination of the judges which will be no later than November 15.

**MAILING ADDRESS:** David K. E. Bruce Awards, c/o FSJournal, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

The JOURNAL hopes to see this evolve into a yearly contest.