

# Foreign Service Journal

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## A Diplomat's Viewpoint

JACK PERRY 6

## Communication re: American Wines

DON DRESDEN 10

## Is There a Future for Arms Control? Conversation with William C. Foster

RALPH STUART SMITH 14

## Breakout: A Plan for Reforming Our Foreign Policy Institutions, Part III

WILLIAM CLEVEN VEALE 16

## The Desert Road

MICHAEL A. G. MICHAUD 27

## American Foreign Policy: Friend or Foe for Saudi Arabia

OMAR KADER AND MATTHEW TUELLER 32

## The Pond

JANIS BENSON 34

Letters to the Editor	4
Editorial	13
Association News	21
Proposed Amendments to the Bylaws	23
Book Essay: Three from the Hoover by Clint Smith	36
Bookshelf	36
Foreign Service People	46

COVER: Chinese Red, by Sheila Isham

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## Letters

### The Hostage Wives

At a time when the role of Foreign Service wives arouses much controversy, it is heartening to witness the splendid example set by the spouses of the hostages in Iran. Two in particular have caught my attention, but the Foreign Service Association must know of others. I refer to the courageous, disciplined and, yes, thoroughly professional comportment of Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Laingen.

I know it is no longer permissible to comment on the performance of Service wives, but surely an exception must be made in these cases—even if it takes an unofficial form. I urge the *Journal* and AFSA to see to it that, once their ordeal is over, they receive an appropriate expression of our admiration and gratitude.

SAMUEL DE PALMA

Bethesda

### A Call to Arms

I serve proudly in the Foreign Service, but I know I would serve more proudly (and more effectively) if I were a member of a Foreign Service trained and serving in a corps like that recommended by Ambassador Poullada in his article, "A Call to Arms" (*Journal*, October 1980). I have long held very similar views about the training and function of our diplomatic corps, and have long hoped that our State Department and executive and legislative branches would come to the firm conviction that Ambassador Poullada's "Call" is the true, clear admonition about our corps that we must respond to earnestly—now. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 was a good beginning (in other areas of concern). But we must maintain its impetus, and respond to the "Call" we all know is so valid.

LOUIS H. KUHN  
FSR-4, Chief, Office of Voluntary & Humanitarian Programs, USAID  
Jakarta

### Political Appointments

The article by Martin Hertz in the January issue of *The Foreign Service Journal* entitled "Who Should be an American Ambassador?" is well reasoned and well balanced. It

is the kind of writing that we have come to expect of Martin.

I can add another example of a political appointment that misfired. When it became known that President Kennedy intended to appoint Earle E.T. Smith as ambassador to Switzerland, one of my Swiss friends exploded, "We always get that kind!" Subsequently the proposed appointment was withdrawn, as the Swiss, obviously not wanting Smith, stalled on the agreement, using as an excuse that Smith had violated proper protocol by letting his proposed appointment become public before the Swiss had agreed, and that a delicate situation would be created with Switzerland representing United States interests in Cuba and with Smith having recently been the American ambassador in Cuba. President Kennedy became annoyed with the Swiss, and left the ambassador post vacant in Switzerland for several months during a time that our position in Cuba was very tense.

I am convinced that Switzerland, like Luxembourg as Martin mentions, has been unhappy at the quality of American ambassadors sent to Switzerland. During the 30 months I was posted there, the only previous American ambassador about whom the Swiss were complimentary was Frances Willis, a career officer. I do not know the Swiss reaction concerning subsequent ambassadors, but note that we now have a career officer in Bern, and I feel sure that Dick Vine is both respected and liked.

HOYT PRICE

Benton, Ark.

### Bureaucratic Regurgitation

I have just read Douglas Stevens's article about information processing technology in the December *Journal*. He is right, of course. Either the Foreign Service starts to apply this technology, or it will be buried under the mountain of paper that the US government manages to send to its posts in the field. These posts bear the full brunt of this bureaucratic regurgitation. While offices in Washington are safely compartmented one from the other, out here in the boondocks we see it all. Certainly, a means of consigning much of this drivel into electronic limbo would be an unmitigated blessing.

The article, in my opinion, suffers

a major defect. It is what I call the "Washington as the Navel of the Universe" syndrome. The bastard child of this syndrome is the administrative axiom that centralization equals efficiency. Mr. Stevens's scheme would create a centralized information system in Washington which would be manned and maintained by our own corps of professionals. The department has taken tentative steps in this direction by signing a contract for Wang word processors and minicomputers. The contract, along with the idea of a State Department computer bureaucracy, fills me with misgivings.

Venezuela is an example. The embassy in Caracas has a Wang machine. But Maracaibo is IBM turf. To repair a Wang machine here you have to fly in a technician from Caracas, which costs \$150 just for transportation. Thus, assuming the day will come when we shall have our own minicomputer, we should buy IBM equipment. Would the Wang contract allow us to buy "alien" equipment?

Another point is that our antiquated system defeats even technology. We recently had IBM do a study of the possible uses of a minicomputer at the consulate. Our big hope was that we could computerize the preparation of administrative vouchers. Bureaucracy defeated IBM. The engineers told us that the voucher form, with all its copies, was too thick to fit into any IBM printer presently marketed in Venezuela.

Thus, I would suggest that we, as an institution, first study how we do business and then decide on how to streamline it with the use of this technology in mind. Secondly, I would suggest that the administrative structure for acquiring this technology be as flexible as possible. For it to serve us well we shall have to take into account what can be effectively used in varying places around the world. Looked at from this viewpoint, exclusive contracts with one manufacturer are self-defeating. Monolithic structure is even worse. Clearly, the department will have to adapt itself to the world, not the other way around.

Finally, I would resist the creation of our own corps of electronics wizards. Certainly, we should all have training on what the capabilities of this technology are. We can buy technical advice and maintenance for

(Continued on page 45)

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## A Diplomat's Viewpoint

### Foreign Tongues

JACK PERRY

Today I propose a confidential discussion about languages—just among us diplomats, just among professional wanderers who know first-hand the pains and the necessities of speaking foreign tongues.

I suppose that word "pains" gives me away, and you will recognize me straightaway as a natural-born non-linguist. All right, let me admit that I learn foreign languages with difficulty, that I always speak or read or listen to English when I have a choice, and that I deeply envy those to whom languages come easy. But at the same time let me put it to you that I recognize the ability to use foreign languages as essential to good diplomacy, and through toil and travail have learned to be more or less at home in a number of languages. I guess the burden of my message is that a diplomat, even one of the great non-linguistically-gifted majority, can learn to use language as a tool of the trade. Without, in most cases, becoming an utter lunatic in the process.

Let me be plain that in the circle of this discussion today I am not including those who soak up languages. Mankind is divided into those who absorb foreign languages easily, and completely, and those of us who do not. (Linguists will probably argue that there is a sliding scale of language aptitude, but from where I sit it is "them" and "us," and God obviously loves them better than he does us.) These natural-born linguists perform brilliantly at all sorts of tasks, certainly including the communicative part of diplomacy, and when we encounter these linguistic aristocrats we can only tug our forelocks and wish them well. But I am talking to the rest of us.

Among the rest of us, there are those who have been exposed seriously to foreign languages—most happily through mixed parentage or through the opportunity of childhood living abroad—and those of us who have not. (As a Georgian, natal class of 1930, I never heard a foreign tongue spoken in earnest until I was in my early twenties in the Army. I except my high school Latin and college French and German, for in those classes I heard a great deal of grammar but little talk.) Even the less-than-superb linguist, if given enough exposure at the right age, will master a foreign language or at least become quite comfortable in it. That is indeed a happy situation, and many people—perhaps led into diplomacy by this accident of upbringing—become exceptional diplomats by building upon this at-home-ness in a foreign language and culture.

To digress from the American scene for a moment, there are whole nations which enjoy this multilingual (if not polyglot) experience. In my own diplomatic career, I have been hugely impressed by the abilities of some of the

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smaller European peoples to master a non-native second or third language. From my own experience I would rate the Dutch the most amazing linguists as a people, and the Swedes (and other Scandinavians) close behind. One is tempted to divide nations, like people, into the linguistically gifted and non-gifted, but I doubt that there is any scientific basis for this. I can only imagine that a nation's collective ability in foreign languages is due to a number of factors, including size, geographic location, economic propensities, and cultural predispositions. We can readily understand why citizens of huge, continental-size countries do not readily acquire foreign languages: They seldom hear them, as a normal occurrence, and they are absorbed into their own large cultures without a need for foreign languages. (I think of present-day China and the Soviet Union—or at least the Russian part of it—as well as ourselves, as prime examples.) Other countries, while not so large, have long and proud histories, as well as grand cultural traditions, which tend to make them assume that others should learn *their* language, not vice-versa. (Here I think immediately of France, Great Britain, and Japan, as well as pre-World War II Germany; perhaps Spain as well.) Diplomats from these countries, in my experience—with a great number of brilliant individual exceptions, of course—do not usually make the impressive polyglot diplomats that citizens of the smaller, more international-minded countries do. Most of us Americans who enter diplomacy have to work extremely hard, linguistically, to make the team.

Nevertheless, what I want to say is that it is possible for even a non-gifted, non-polyglot American to be a very

effective diplomat. The first step is to admit to oneself that foreign languages are part of our profession, and face up to coping with them. As for other steps, let me set down some psychological tricks of the language trade as I have learned them over the years (and I hope that others who know more about language than I do will add to the list).

First, it is not a question, for most of us, of “do you speak French” (or Russian or whatever). What we have to get through our heads first of all is that there are many French languages (or levels of French, if you prefer), and to be a good diplomat one must know only *some* French, not *all* French. We also have to face the fact that we speak better in some circumstances than others, to certain audiences, at certain times. After my wife and I had been in Paris several years, we passed a certain barrier and *quit worrying* about whether we “spoke French”—*of course* we spoke French, that's what you speak in Paris. And since we did not worry about it, we spoke it. Today, of course, if I had to address the *Académie française*, I would die of fright. Still, if you would put me in a Paris restaurant tête-à-tête with a knowledgeable French politician, I guarantee you that I could talk sensible French. There is language, and language.

That brings up the point that the good diplomat learns to listen more than he talks. I feel at home in Russian (I had a year at Army Language School when I was twenty-one), but I learned long ago that as a certified non-linguist, I listen a lot better than I speak. This is even truer in languages I have had to use but know less well than Russian or French—namely Czech, Swedish and now Bulgarian. Since my intelligence seems to equate itself

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with the language I am trying to speak (leaving aside the sensitive question of how smart I am in English), I found that in an un-mastered foreign tongue I was talking like a high-school freshman or worse, but I could *understand* like a Ph.D. So I have tried to specialize in asking meaningful questions, with often interesting results. (Also my food does not get cold.)

Another point is that the non-linguist diplomat should try hard to lose his fear or shyness and use whatever of the local tongue he knows, even if he makes errors or gets into blind alleys. The compliment of a foreigner's attempting to use your language is taken well in most countries of the world (perhaps not all), and an American diplomat—from a big, world-language country—can make many friends by using however much of a foreign language he knows. (Almost any diplomat should be able to work at most languages sufficiently to be able to *read* a public statement or short speech in the native vernacular. This can make friends.)

Another point is that reading is easier than talking for most of us, and a diplomat is well served if he tries to read the newspapers (at least) in the local language. Nuances are often missed, but getting the flavor and the local context is extremely important. Nowadays listening to the news on television is a handy substitute (in many countries the boredom level is quite high), but I still feel fingering a newspaper is important for a diplomat to do.

On the other hand, I would argue against trying to conduct negotiations, or important high-level diplomatic discourse, in the other man's language, unless you are one of the fortunate few who is totally at home in the foreign

language. Certainly dispensing with interpreters can increase intimacy and, sometimes, improve the atmosphere, and a brilliant handful of American diplomats have been able to work in this way. But the possibilities of misunderstanding do exist, and one loses the opportunity of careful thought during the translation. Well, this is no doubt a purely individual thing, and perhaps my lack of linguistic credentials makes me cautious. If you're good enough, go ahead. Still, in negotiations, circumspection is called for, and I personally think here that language should take a back seat to careful content.

Finally, I suppose the main point I want to make—especially to younger diplomats—is simply that the thing is possible. Yes, it is daunting, facing a new culture and a new tongue. Yes, it is hard work, and awfully tiring, getting through a "social" evening in a language you know poorly. (Alas, harder for wives than for husbands. Talking shop in a foreign language is acres easier than talking non-shop.) Yes, it is difficult to accept the profession as multi-lingual and to go about adapting to that fact. But it is possible. (After twenty-odd years in the career, this very non-linguistic diplomat is proof that it can be done, one way or another.)

And not only that. There is a positive side, even for us non-language types. Each language really is, as the old cliché goes, a door into another world. We have found that, along with hours of work, languages can be a source of pleasure and, indeed, even of joy. Diplomats have to use languages. The trick is to understand that professionals can cope with this challenge too, and survive—indeed, if you are lucky, even learn to enjoy.



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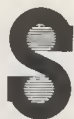
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## Communication Re:

### American Wines

DON DRESDEN

American wines have graduated from the once denigrating appellation as the "screw cap" trade, meaning the cheap, high alcohol wines bought by bindle stiffs for getting a great bang for half a buck, to the encomium of wine expert Hugh Johnson who wrote *The World Atlas of Wine*. He said, "If God had set about creating the ideal mealtime drink for America . . . California wine, the sort bottled in gallon and half gallon jugs for national distribution, is the best answer you could expect Him to come up with."

Few Americans, and fewer French people realize that American wines have won prizes for many years in which the finest and most celebrated French vintages have competed.

But more to the point, Frenchmen are buying American wines. Frank Prial, wine critic for the *New York Times*, until transferred (probably at his request) to that paper's Paris bureau, recently wrote in *Wine Spectator*, an American tabloid-sized paper devoted to the grape, about the inroads American wines are making on the French retail market.

"By now everyone in Paris who is interested in wine knows that America produces superb wines," he wrote. "They may not always admit it, but they know it."

He goes on to say that "several of the better shops in Paris, notably Steven Spurrier's Caves de la Madeleine, stock a selection of first rate California wines, and while quantities are still minute, they sell well. Now, a new experiment is about to get underway with the distribution here of some 4,000 cases of Louis Martini Zinfandel."

Prial points out that the distributors of American wines are hoping to get them into supermarkets, the biggest retailers of all wines in France.

All this is by way of saying that American wines, and especially those from California, are challenging the oldest and most recherché ones in France. But don't think you are going to find the American equivalent of Romanée Conti, or any of the other great burgundies. Nor will you find the equivalents of Chateau Lafite, Margaux or the other great wines of Bordeaux.

This piece is not aimed at such comparisons, but, rather what you should expect to enjoy for prices that will keep the family budget in balance, allowing for those special occasions when you transfer the root vegetable section of your personal family budget to the vinous.

But remember, to enjoy table wine as a part of your meals need not be expensive, and the ordinary American wine you drink is better than that which you get in western Europe. Moreover, you usually have the option of trying a wine in several ways.

First, more and more wine bars have sprung up, at least in Washington, which gives one an opportunity to sample, at a reasonable price, a number of wines.

Then, if you are aiming at larger quantities for everyday drinking, or cooking, which demands the same quality, you have the option of buying fifths which are also sold in gallons or halves, or liters plus fractions of those metric scale measures.

Now let's get down to wine countries. First, they extend

across the nation. Not every state produces wine grapes, but many of those in reasonably temperate climates do, with California the queen of wine states.

That does not mean putting down New York, which makes some of the best, notably whites, in America. Indeed, it was Konstantin Frank who proved that the vinifera grape which supplies the great whites of France and Germany, could be grown and harvested in the Finger Lakes District of New York. (More about New York later.)

Here is a list of states (furnished through the courtesy of the Culinary Institute of America, the celebrated professional cooking school), that produce wine in commercial quantities, some of which reach District of Columbia stores and restaurants.

Washington. Ste Michelle Vineyards, Seattle, has been selling its various wines on the East Coast for some time. I think their rosé is particularly felicitous, and the odds are that others are too, for the winery has been growing classic grapes such as semillon, cabernet sauvignon, pinot noir, grenache and Johannisberg riesling.

Oregon has several wineries, notably those in the Willamette Valley, which produce classic wines from classic grapes.

Other states in the wine sweepstakes include Arkansas, Michigan, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, Virginia, and, notably, Maryland. Philip Wagner, a newsman with wine making as a hobby, proved that classic grapes could be grown near Baltimore at his Boordy Vineyards. Recently, his Beaujolais nouveau was chosen over several similar wines from France and California; in both instances, the makers were top notch. While this may not have been a thoroughly professional tasting, it did show what the public liked best, and it was Boordy.

Mr. Wagner's influence on American wine making extended far beyond Boordy and its products. The reason: he had developed a hybrid grape that could flourish despite extremely cold winters, and produce wines that rated with some of the best.

The Finger Lakes district of upper New York State had seemed a natural setting for viticulture, indeed wild grapes flourished almost all over the United States. But they produced an inferior wine. Even domesticated grapes were unsatisfactory. One critic said the product they produced had a rank smell and taste; he said they had the odor of a fox, and so the term "foxy" became common, and is today, for wines in the early days of attempts at American oenology.

The trouble was the kind of grapes being used. There was nothing in the American array of grapes comparable to the classic vinis vinifera, the wine bearing grape of the great European vineyards that over the centuries had gone into the production of great vintages.

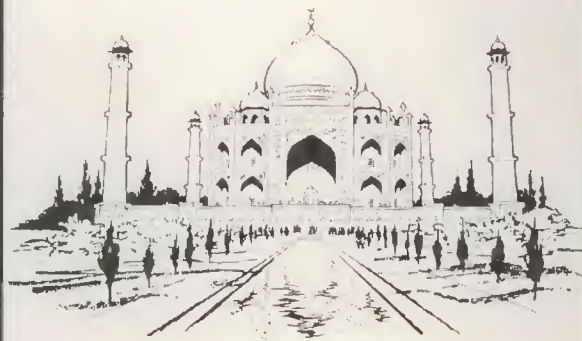
In the latter part of the last century, American vintners tried growing vinifera cuttings from Europe, mainly in upper New York state, but the winters killed them.

A series of circumstances reversed the initial disasters. Curiously, another disaster set off a chain of events—it was a plant louse, phylloxera vestatrix that started the concatenation. This pest attacks the roots of grape vines, but most American root stock was impervious to the killer—California vineyards, however, fell victim in the last century.

In the 1870s, European vintners faced declining grape production because of various ills that crippled the vines. They reasoned that American cuttings might be the answer,

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provided of course they would grow in Old Country soil. The imports did very well, but they were a vinous typhoid Mary; the root lice they could resist spread to European vinifera and almost obliterated every vineyard on the continent. The Europeans noted the resistance the American root stock had against the pest. So, they planted the American roots, but grafted their own classic European stocks to them. This worked. They had, in effect, created a hybrid.

When Charles Fournier came to New York in the 1940s, he was convinced that to make acceptable wine he had to do something about the raw materials—the grapes. He enlisted Mr. Wagner to try some hybrid cuttings, and that turned out well. The other was to try growing vinifera again. For that task he called on the talent of a German expatriate, Dr. Konstantin Frank, whose vintner father had been brought to the Ukraine by the Russians to start vineyards. He succeeded. The son recalled the conditions his father faced in growing vinifera, and they were much the same as those around the Finger Lakes.

Dr. Frank reasoned that he had to have sturdy root stock to withstand the brutal winters, so he developed his plantings from wild vines. His horticultural legerdemain worked: vinifera such as chardonnay, riesling, pinot noir and traminer came through some winters.

Among the New York wines, look for Fournier Nature, a delightful white, and his Blanc de Blancs champagne-like white. Also, Dr. Frank's pinot gris, pinot chardonnay and pinot noir. All these, and others are genuine vinifera. Try Taylor's output, and Widmer's, both of which deserve attention. Everyone in the industry is experimenting with growing techniques and vinification toward improving the end product.

California, quite understandably, is perhaps the most diversified (and by far the greatest volume producer of wines) of any state. The wine industry there is more than two centuries old, and it has distinguished itself despite some setbacks, the worst of which was the phylloxera plague and prohibition.

The industry got rid of the root louse infestation, but prohibition was a blow that took years to overcome. When repeal came, just about every facet of the wine industry that made it healthy in Europe had been eliminated. First, only inferior grapes, ill-suited for wine making were being grown. But worse, the product they went into was the high alcohol content sneaky pete that would give the drinker a high octane belt. Little table wine was being produced.

But wise heads prevailed. The University of California at Davis was established and swiftly became a member of the Ivy League of institutions of higher learning in viticulture and oenology in the world. It retains that distinction today.

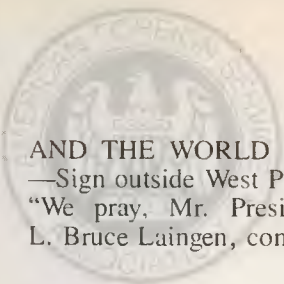
But it should be noted that early in the 1900s, California wines were winning top medals in European competition, so it was clear that if managed properly such accolades could be the joy of vintners in the present era, and are.

The prediction of Robert Louis Stevenson, who enjoyed a year's stay in the Napa Valley, one of California's prize vineyard areas, that "The smack of California earth shall linger on the palate of your grandson" has come true.

If you go to California, one of the best ways to taste its wines is visiting wineries, especially those in the Napa and Sonoma Valleys, fairly near San Francisco.

It is true that some of the finest California wines never leave the state for their production is limited, so much so

*(Continued on page 40)*



## FREEDOM

AND THE WORLD WILL BE BETTER FOR THIS  
—Sign outside West Point, N.Y.

"We pray, Mr. President, that this will be so."—  
L. Bruce Laingen, commenting on the West Point sign.

The return of the hostages did something wonderful for our country, and perhaps for the world too. Americans of every background and political philosophy were brought together by the determination to reject Iran's gross violation of international law. We all shared the suffering of the hostages as Iran extended its crime day after day. There was nothing very complex about what we went through as a nation. Iran's seizure of the hostages seized us all, and their safe return brought relief to a country united by the ordeal we had shared.

Some commentators have sought to downplay or detract from the genuine outpouring of national affection that greeted the returned hostages, pointing out that the end of failure does not substitute for success, or that some Vietnam veterans felt slighted by comparison of their quiet homecomings. Such comments fail in their effort to obfuscate the simplicity of our national reaction. The hostage seizure unified us because what Iran did was bad, and because getting our fellow Americans back alive was good. We all understood, and shared in the happy outcome.

Honest people will differ on the complexities surrounding the seizure, detention, and eventual release of the hostages. US involvement in Iran prior to 1979 remains a controversial issue, as does the shah's performance in power. Whatever the reasons for admitting the shah for medical treatment, in retrospect the action seemed unwise at a time we maintained a large staff in Tehran. People disagree about the use of force to free the hostages, including the rescue mission that led to former Secretary Vance's resignation. Questions remain surrounding the role the US media played in covering the crisis, and the extent to which the crisis became a part of former President Carter's re-election campaign. Issues such as these may not be sorted out for months, years, or ever.

These matters now seem secondary in the face of the human story told by our returned embassy Tehran colleagues. As Richard Queen said before the last 52 got home, each hostage has a different experience to relate. With the ordeal over for everyone, the entire group of 66 seized on November 4, 1979 has finally been able to disclose to the public the details of their capture and detention. For us, as Foreign Service, the experience begins with Americans much like ourselves working together overseas. Few of us, however, have ever known anything even vaguely resembling what the hostages went through.

Many returnees are now saying, as did Sergeant Joseph Subic, "We are not really heroes. We work for the government and just did our job." Some job. The job they performed—surviving 444 days and nights of illegal incarceration under the most trying of circumstances—has brought great honor to their country, to

their mission of serving our country overseas, and to their respective professions. Some fought openly back, insulting their captors or refusing to talk. Some practiced quiet forms of sabotage, designed to get around the captors' regulations. Many undertook ingenious forms of communication with each other, contrary to the captors' wishes. Some performed acts of obvious heroism, attempting to escape or helping others escape, destroying classified material under duress, or refusing to open safes even when threatened with death. Some used their understanding of Iran and the Muslim culture against their captors. All of them, according to one of those who examined the last 52 in Wiesbaden, recognized what successful prisoners of war discover: since you cannot conquer the system that imprisons you, nor should you surrender to it, you must try to manipulate and rise above it while maintaining a sense of self. Many former hostages displayed a typically American sense of humor. Marine Sergeant James Lopez, sketched and surreptitiously passed around cartoons during captivity that delighted his fellow hostages. Just as soon as the hostages got out, some were asked if they would return to Iran, one replied "only in a B-52." Another said of the settlement that Iran's assets should go back as "\$8 billion worth of bombs . . . on Iran." Malcolm Kalp advised people to "buy Iraqi war bonds." Bruce Laingen said he felt at home when he saw a sign proclaiming "IRS welcomes you back," and Marine Sergeant John McKeel said he and his buddies would be all right when they could "start chasing girls" again.

Humor represented one part of the Americans' struggle with their militant captors. Another was religion. The Iranians who seized and held the hostages, Ann Swift and Kathryn Koob affirmed, were religious fanatics. They were quite willing, and in some cases anxious, to martyr themselves. But the Americans never fired on the militants, or otherwise provided the "students" an opportunity to kill themselves and take the hostages with them. Americans value life on this earth and the variety of opportunities freedom provides. We recoil from the notion of dying as preferable to living. In Iran, our colleagues faced the basic challenge to affirm life, and the hope for freedom, in the face of captivity and the promise of death. US 72. Iran 0. The hostages survived, and freedom won.

We will never forget the many other people who played a role in the hostage release. First come the eight Americans who gave their lives to rescue the hostages, along with others on the rescue mission who were willing to sacrifice their lives as well. The hostages' families endured the agony of separation with no assurance they would ever see their loved ones again. They played their part with dignity and creativity, helping to remind the country of the hostages' plight, but refraining from complicating official attempts to bring them home as soon as possible. The Canadians, our old friends, worked magnificently to protect and withdraw six colleagues from Tehran, and the Algerians, our new

*(Continued on page 40)*

# IS THERE A FUTURE FOR ARMS CONTROL?

RALPH STUART SMITH

**Q:** A certain number of talented people still seem drawn to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA)—which you directed from 1961-69—but I gather it is regarded as pretty hazardous duty, career-wise, and that there isn't much left of the enthusiasm and optimism it was once known for. How would you characterize what has happened to it?

**A:** It's clear enough that arms control has had some rough going. SALT I, for instance . . . It was really a great achievement—ably carried out by my successor, Gerard Smith. It even helped President Nixon to get re-elected. And yet, Smith and others who negotiated it were shamefully treated by the Nixon-Kissinger White House. Arms control had become a dangerous occupation; and even on the substantive side, it took a beating: The arms control people in SALT I wanted a complete MIRV ban, which would certainly have been better for the real security interests of the country; but they were overruled by the military.

Of course, there was always at

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*Ralph Smith is a former official of ACDA and former chairman of the Journal's editorial board.*

least a *potential* for "danger" in this work. I was told that President Kennedy had appointed me, a Republican, not just because of my background but because he didn't want a Democrat to have to take the kind of heat that might be involved. All the same, he did give us good support.

**Q:** Having arms control in the hands of a small independent agency—ACDA—doubtless seemed very sensible at the time you first took charge of it. To begin with, you had a good relationship with President Kennedy, and having been deputy secretary of defense gave you additional authority. Also, people may have been somewhat more receptive to arms control at that time than they are now. But over the years, ACDA has been increasingly overwhelmed by the power and vested interests of the military establishment; so that today it really is a very weak presence. Therefore, I would like to ask you a far-out question: Instead of trying to undo the damage that has been done to ACDA, why not make arms control *the responsibility of the Pentagon*? Seriously. You could have a deputy secretary of defense for arms control. Among other things, people would then come to realize, at last, that

arms limitations can be just as much of a national-security measure as a new weapons system. And maybe you would finally get some government-wide positions in this field, instead of having the civilians and the military marching in opposite directions . . .

**A:** I agree with your conclusion that arms control needs a stronger voice, but I'm afraid that shifting this function to the Pentagon would be asking for a human impossibility. The Defense Department is run by dedicated, patriotic public servants; but many of them, civilian and military, have spent their lives in a different tradition or point of view: the tradition of security through arms. Some individual military men have made brilliant contributions to arms control; but asking the Defense Department to take on an institutional responsibility in this field would, I think, be a mistake. I would suggest a different approach: that arms control remain an independent operation, but that the agency be raised to cabinet-level—so that it would have a new voice, politically on a par with that of other cabinet members. But of course you have to remember that wherever the locus of arms control policy may be, it *has* to have the support of the president if it is to succeed . . .

**Q:** There has also been talk of putting arms control in the State Department . . .

**A:** This idea was discussed very early on—it was suggested that I might become an under secretary of state for arms control. But I felt then, and still do, that arms control should remain an independent function if it is to carry enough weight.

**Q:** Let me put it another way: if you and arms control had been in State, would you have gotten the Non-Proliferation Treaty?

**A:** No, I don't think so.

**Q:** If ACDA remains in existence (perhaps upgraded to cabinet-level, as you suggest), don't you think it should at least have a name-change—dropping the word "Disarmament," which sounds utopian to a lot of people and causes needless distrust among the military?

**A:** Yes, I think it would be a good idea to drop "Disarmament"—not because I don't believe in that as an ultimate goal that we should work toward, but because the word has come to be misunderstood. It sounds to many like some kind of do-good operation—or as if we were about to lay down our arms completely. That, of course, has never been the intent. There is no world I can envisage where you would be able to eliminate arms completely. It might be helpful in accomplishing the things we *can* do, however, if we eliminate this confusion.

**Q:** Getting back to non-proliferation . . . It seems to me that if there is one aspect of foreign policy in which the United States has shown consistently good leadership, it is in the field of nuclear non-proliferation. Even before the Non-Proliferation Treaty—which you negotiated in 1968—and certainly since then—the United States, far more than any other country, has acted to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. Given that this is such a horrendous problem, however, we probably are not doing enough . . . ?

**A:** This is a case where you really have to look at the big picture. Every country, including ours, is becoming more vulnerable. This means that we have to look to our defenses; but simply doing this

as we have in the past is not enough. We naturally are concerned about the Soviet Union, the other major nuclear power; but it's no good concentrating all our attention on that country and neglecting other possible sources of danger. Also, we must develop the best intelligence capability we can, worldwide; but even that is not enough. Through our alliances and other relationships, we have to do everything we can to see that

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"As time goes on the chance for real arms control becomes lower and lower. Before the end of this century the probability of nuclear weapons use, somewhere in the world, is very high. And the probability of escalation into a holocaust is far from zero."

—George B. Kistiakowsky

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other governments do *not* have incentives for going nuclear. As an extension of this, we have to be concerned about the way people in various parts of the world *think* about the United States. As a purely practical matter, I believe that besides projecting a picture of strength, we have to project ourselves to the rest of the world as a civilized country which understands its responsibilities as the world's leading nuclear power. This means that when we have an international obligation, we should try to carry it out. In this connection, there is something very specific that we should do in the field of arms control:

The Non-Proliferation Treaty, since its entry into force in 1970, has called on us and the Soviet Union to negotiate mutual arms limitations—which we have done, at least to some extent, in SALT. But in order to get the treaty we also undertook to negotiate, as expeditiously as possible, a halt to all nuclear-explosion tests; and this, under one pretext or another, we have resolutely failed to do. We therefore must ask ourselves: Is it really more important to our

national security to squeeze out a few more tests, after the thousands we have already conducted, than to negotiate a Comprehensive Test Ban which virtually the entire world has called for?

So I would say that a Comprehensive Test Ban heads the list of additional steps we should take, in the name of non-proliferation.

**Q:** What about the SALT II treaty, which has been in limbo since the Russians invaded Afghanistan? Under the circumstances, I guess it's understandable enough that President Carter asked the Senate to hold off consideration of it; but in the end, won't this mean that years of painstaking negotiation will have gone for nothing?

**A:** This has to be handled with great care. Partly through poor handling by the White House in the preceding administration, the existing draft treaty has become so discredited in the minds of a number of senators that I think it has to be set aside, at least for now. At the same time, I would hate to see an actual break-off in the US-Soviet arms control negotiating process. Therefore I believe that negotiations should be re-started on a new track—and perhaps in a less formal way; and that it should be possible to salvage the most important elements of SALT II in this manner.

**Q:** You used to say that one should be an optimist in arms control. Do you feel that way now?

**A:** Yes. I think General Haig is a very intelligent man, who will give vigorous leadership in foreign affairs and who will see the need for pursuing the arms control process—through whatever organizational set-up the new administration finally chooses. As for the new president, I know that he has spoken disparagingly about the SALT agreements; but I believe that, faced with the realities of his office, he will come to feel differently. As one of the television commentators noted during the inauguration coverage, President Reagan is a "terrific communicator"; and so I also believe that when the time comes, he will know how to explain the need for SALT and other arms control measures to Congress and the American people.



# BREAKOUT

## A Plan for Reforming Our Foreign Policy Institutions: Part 3

WILLIAM CLEVEN VEALE

### Strengthening State's Personnel Resources

As America moves into its third century, we face an era demanding new ways for us to exercise our power and influence. We must not forget that what has made America great is that we have behaved quite differently from other major powers, acting with great restraint in the use of our unparalleled military strength. Yet, increasingly, we are constrained from using our power directly, recognizing that factors beyond our control prevent us from having any real assurance of success. Instead, we are drawn by necessity to be better practitioners of the indirect approach. Such conditions call for a highly sophisticated, and carefully coordinated approach to diplomacy.

The reformulation of the Department of State's mission and the structural reform proposed in the two earlier sections (January and February *Journal*) are aimed at improving the coordination and sophistication of our foreign policy from an organizational standpoint. What remains, however, is a revitalization of the other essential ingredient in recasting our foreign policy machinery: people. In short, we must also have the best diplomats to successfully carry out and coordinate the sophisticated foreign policy the times demand.

If in the years ahead there is to be a premium on having better diplomats and diplomacy, then we must also recognize that the two go hand in hand. The view that our times make diplomacy more important,

and diplomats less so, must be countered by mustering the facts which demonstrate that foreign offices cannot effectively conduct foreign policy alone.

Henry Kissinger is reported to have remarked once that diplomats try to deal with reality, while statesmen change it. This perception symbolizes the challenge to which the American Foreign Service must respond. Any Foreign Service officer who cannot place himself in the shoes of the statesmen he serves, using his imagination and creativity to generate sound policy recommendations, is shirking a major part of his responsibilities. That the system we live under today is widely held in contempt for its emphasis on conventional wisdom, group-think, excessive deference to superiors, and superficial treatment of pressing issues is a measure of how uncomfortable we are with the norms of our bureaucratic culture. That these conditions persist, however, is also a measure of our lack of courage to address them. Instead of a defeatist, demoralized dwelling on our powerlessness to change these conditions, each of us as individuals needs to begin to act to set things right. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 is potentially a step in the right direction, but we must all be vigilant to keep it on course as it is implemented.

The Foreign Service today, despite isolated pockets of self-delusion, is no longer an elite organization, either in socio-economic makeup or bureaucratic terms. The scope of State's authority in foreign affairs is eroding at an accelerating rate, and with this trend the perception grows in other agencies that the Foreign Service is made up of lightweight pushovers. Also, the Foreign Service has been financially disadvantaged

relative to both the military and the civil service. Together with other disincentives, such as service at hardship posts, increased physical danger, and the general disruption to family life caused by excessively frequent moves, these factors lead to questions about the ability of the Foreign Service to continue attracting the kinds of applicants it needs. Much comment is made about the 12,000 who each year compete for 150-200 openings, but it should be noted that even more people compete for a civil service job. We could usefully examine how many potentially first-rate Foreign Service applicants are instead attracted to the CIA or the Civil Service Management Intern program.

In the face of these developments, the Foreign Service has tried to bank on the glamor of overseas assignments and the "psychic pay" of participation in affairs of state. The illusion of proximity to power is compelling, however, and breeds efforts to ascribe to the Foreign Service an elitist character which becomes in part the cause of its own undoing.

Yes, the Foreign Service should be an elite, but not a self-proclaimed one drawing on social and academic backgrounds. Rather it should project the image of an organization which, because of its high standards, unsurpassed performance, and concomitant rewards, rightly earns the distinction of being a functional elite. Unfortunately, this is not the case today. However, strengthening the institutional framework of the Foreign Service, i.e., the Department of State, and reforming the Foreign Service itself, could begin to redress current trends and permit movement toward a Foreign Service with elitist credentials more in ac-

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*This is the third and final section of Bill Veale's plan for reforming our foreign policy institutions. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author.*

cord with democratic principles. In short, if the Foreign Service wants to play a bigger role in foreign policy, it needs to get its own house and its own act in order first.

In an institutional sense, a great many things can be done to reinvigorate the personnel systems which govern those who help make and carry out foreign policy. In the first place, it is useful to distinguish between two basic categories of personnel under the aegis of the Department of State: The domestic service of the Department of State and the Foreign Service of the United States of America. Clearly, these

cious circle that leads only to further narrowing of State's mission and further shrinking of State's personnel assets. A priority matter in this connection is the critical need for greatly increased administrative assistant-type personnel in nearly all areas of the department.

Besides supporting the secretary of state, a Foreign Service of the United States must, as agent of the presidency, the Congress and the American people, provide overall coordination and management for the foreign activities at other US government agencies. The success it has in serving these three masters will

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**“The Service has seen an abundance of past efforts at reform, most of which fizzled out into relatively inconsequential fine-tuning of an obsolescing machine, or only exacerbated existing problems.”**

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two categories should be institutionalized, with the domestic service being essentially an excepted Civil Service component supporting the secretary of state in his capacity as head of a cabinet department. Domestic service personnel would not be available for worldwide service; they would staff specially designated positions, from clerical to Senior Executive Service level, in the department and its specialized subordinate agencies, and they would have clear-cut patterns of career development.

In the second place, there must be a wholesale recasting of the staffing patterns in State. No amount of tinkering with organizational relationships can result in significant improvements in organizational performances unless long-neglected problems in staffing are faced and resolved. Specifically, a careful and comprehensive look should be taken at what positions can tolerate high turn-over generalists, and what positions need relatively static specialists who contribute to continuity and institutional memory. Most importantly, it should be recognized that State is seriously understaffed and that this is a contributing influence to a vi-

determine in large measure how far State's power will extend beyond other cabinet departments. In this connection, however, we should not forget that although the Foreign Service is an agent of the presidency, it serves presidents one at a time.

The Foreign Service, therefore, must have as its chief purpose the presentation to the president of a candid, unadulterated picture of what the world is really like, and of sound recommendations on how America can best act in it. Were this process to become excessively subjected to narrow, short-term political interests, the president's picture of the world could become distorted and, the recommendations that resulted could counsel unwise actions. Individual presidents must be shown how important it is that they not surround themselves with foreign policy advisors who tell them what they want to hear and lead them to believe that foreign policy can be manipulated to serve domestic needs. Such folly inevitably backfires. A Foreign Policy Advisory Council, as suggested earlier, is one way to avoid this problem organizationally. However, it is also important for the Foreign Service to estab-

lish a special relationship with the presidency, building perhaps on the presidential commission. But, only by being a recognized functional elite—and not a self-proclaimed elite—through hard work, dedication and skill, can we expect the department and the Foreign Service to enjoy and exercise a commanding position vis-à-vis other departments and agencies in the field of foreign affairs.

The Foreign Service of the United States is at a major crossroads. It is also in transition, lacking confidence in its past legitimacy as an institution truly representative of the American people, largely unaware of the meaning of its present state, and uncertain about its future role. But what is most damning is that it has almost convinced itself that it is a helpless victim of the times, unwilling to muster its true capabilities to meet the challenges of our era.

Realistically, the only solution to the Foreign Service's problems lies in the long term recasting of the bureaucratic culture in which its members work and live. It means finding ways to balance diplomatic prudence and caution with incentives for creative thinking and action, nurturing dynamism and managerial skill. But, to be attained eventually, the process of moving towards this outcome must begin. Regrettably, it probably has to be launched and sustained from outside the Foreign Service.

Morale in the Foreign Service has dropped in recent years to a disturbingly low ebb. Senior officials have become concerned about signs that the Service is becoming undisciplined, and possibly an impediment to the attainment of the administration's policy objectives. But the restive mood of the Service is understandable in the face of the department's deplorably poor record in looking out for its people. When President Carter visited with department personnel at the beginning of his administration, it was not very surprising that the first two questions asked of him were housekeeping ones—pay and reorganization. The Service has seen an abundance of past efforts at reform, most of which fizzled out into relatively inconsequential fine-tuning of an obsolescing machine, or only exacerbated existing problems. It should therefore come as no surprise that

the Service reacts to new proposals with an unenthusiastic sense of *déjà vu*. We need only remind ourselves that those who propose reforms from on high seldom stay around long enough to see them through.

At a time when only fragments of an overall approach to reorganization are unveiled, and plans for personnel restructuring are yet to be implemented, undercurrents of doubt about true intentions are to be expected. When the nature of the problems facing the Foreign Service is seen by its members to loom so large, more incremental fine-tuning, even when packaged in omnibus legislation, inevitably shakes confidence in management's ability to formulate wise and appropriate solutions.

In this climate, the twin forces of necessity and expediency will soon begin propelling the Foreign Service in one of three directions:

- Toward an even-smaller Foreign Service, knowledgeable to a degree of foreign countries and of negotiating skills, and providing only policy advice from a vastly honed-down Department of State that essentially defers to much larger domestic agencies responsible for conducting their own specialized activities overseas.

- Continuing in our present direction, "muddling through" as best we can, with incremental reforms advanced in the name of pragmatism, but really covering an inability or unwillingness to think comprehensively about our problems and their root causes. It means a further aggravation of the problems outlined earlier, and inevitably, leads by default, after many balls have been dropped, back to the first direction.

- Toward a larger, more powerful Department of State that is clearly dominant in foreign affairs because of the organizational and personnel assets it commands, but mostly because it has fully assumed a mission that puts it in charge. Its Foreign Service would consist of a highly skilled cadre of generalists—considerably smaller than the 3500 in today's FSO corps, probably 1000-1200—plus a significantly enlarged specialist component carrying out much of the overseas related work now performed by other agencies. This is the direction advocated here.

To know which of these roads to take requires, not surprisingly, that

we know why we are traveling in the first place; in short, that we know, understand, and believe in our mission. The central problem facing the Foreign Service today is the crying need to better define the mission of the Department of State. From that definition flows the future role of the Foreign Service and the criteria by which to judge its needs.

*Key problems of the Foreign Service:* If we choose to follow the last course advocated here, three problems facing the Foreign Service must be solved:

- How to ensure that we have a more representative Foreign Service;
- How to enhance the career development process;
- How to relate generalists and specialists.

1. *A more representative Foreign Service:* To be relevant in today's world, we cannot afford a Foreign Service whose members all share a common perspective of what the world is like, as the early Foreign Service shared the perspective of wealth. We live increasingly in a global village, a world made smaller by modern communications, where problems in one area almost immediately give rise to problems in another. The world has grown more complex, composed of countries whose leaderships claim many different origins. Great currents are at work as this world collapses on itself, shaking old shibboleths to their foundations. Such a dynamic world calls for a resilient foreign policy which, of course, conserves the American example for all to see and judge, but which at the same time is capable of adjusting to new realities. A Foreign Service whose members uniformly shared an outlook based on only one type of socioeconomic status or ethnic background would be ill-suited to help formulate policies that are relevant for today's world. The times call for an American Foreign Service that is composed of people from a wide variety of backgrounds who can better understand how much of the rest of the world lives and thinks.

What is needed is a whole-hearted commitment to making the Foreign Service more representative, not just in certain skill areas, but across the board in all areas. It is patently unfair to those who have met and

now compete under stringent standards to seek to make the Foreign Service more representative by selectively altering standards. Even more, as we are now seeing, it is unfair to those who come in with preferential treatment, and then discover they really can't compete successfully without some kind of continued preferential treatment. But in the final analysis, it is the American people who are being cheated out of a Foreign Service built on vigorous standards of excellence.

We should therefore return to uniform standards of entry, and aim to make the Foreign Service more representative by targeting our recruitment efforts at qualified applicants able to make it so. Only in this way can the Foreign Service hope to become and remain the functional elite this country needs.

2. *Career Development:* The Foreign Service lacks a clearly defined approach to career development, perhaps because for so long it has been a career in transition. Shifting ideas about what kind of personnel resources the Foreign Service should produce have littered the landscapes of our foreign affairs agencies with both surpluses and shortages of needed skills. Ambivalence about the relationship between generalists and specialists has produced crop after crop of senior officers who are either managerially incompetent "bench scientists," or administrative managers devoid of political sensitivity.

The department's proposed Professional Development package for FY 1982 appears to be a step in the right direction. Developing FSI into a Foreign Affairs Academy might be another. But we need to recognize that only a comprehensive approach to career development—combining assignments based on reassessed classification of positions and staffing patterns, a three-tiered training program, and vigorous application of threshold criteria can begin to turn things around. Together these would provide a long needed roadmap for those aiming for the top.

The chief objective of any Foreign Service career development program has to be the cultivation of future career ambassadors—leaders capable of integrating the full range of American foreign relations from either an overseas mission or Washington perspective. This puts a pre-

mium on the development of generalists. However, an enlarged Department of State successfully carrying out the mission set forth here will need a wide range of highly skilled specialists whose competence is unexcelled elsewhere in the federal government. While generalists can and should be drawn from this pool of specialists, the need to begin cultivating generalists early on must not be overlooked. Serious consideration should be given to starting detail assignments, at least to the specialized agencies of the department, at much earlier stages of a Foreign Service career.

3. *Generalists and Specialists:* Superficiality is endemic to the Foreign Service in part because there is so little emphasis put on developing and retaining substantive specialist skills. Language and area training as currently offered by FSI is not enough to give the Department of State and the Foreign Service the kind of in-depth knowledge and, most important, understanding of foreign historical and cultural processes needed for effective diplomacy and management of our overseas programs. Even an academic year at a university to study a foreign area falls short of what is needed. And assignment and promotion policies do little to encourage officers to devote long periods of their careers to service in one particular area where they might gain the kind of specialized expertise that should be the department's forte.

A number of the structural changes proposed above are designed to integrate specialist functions into a coherent, focused effort. This broader range of specialist skills requires, however, that highly talented, imaginative, and dynamic generalists be placed at strategic points throughout the new structure. Therefore, the development of a staffing pattern which identifies the specific positions which should be filled by generalists and those to be filled by specialists is critical. The key point is that the department and the Foreign Service have become top-heavy with generalists; what is needed is a Foreign Service with fewer generalists and more specialists. At the same time, specialists cannot be allowed to dominate the system: the old saying that experts should be on tap, not on top, remains valid. Careful attention to organization and

staffing patterns can protect this vital principle.

The chief way to control the relationship between specialist and generalist positions is through the use of different career ladders for each. From recruitment on, there should be separate tracks for cultivating generalists and specialists. In this connection, a management intern-type program to cultivate the best generalists in government should be created within the Foreign Service. Those selected would receive presidential commissions, while specialists would be commissioned by the secretary of state.

At any point in his career, say, when he is not progressing at the usual pace in the generalist track, the generalist intern would have the right to convert to the specialist track, providing he had some needed specialist skill. Similarly, specialists who demonstrate generalist skills should be given a chance to enter the generalist track and compete there. A limited two-way flow of specialists and generalists would be highly desirable, keeping the overall system flexible and dynamic, and allowing it to tap whatever sources provide the best talent.

The specialist corps of an expanded Department of State would consist of the following distinct services, centrally and uniformly administered as part of a unified Foreign Service personnel system:

- Foreign Administrative Service
- Foreign Agricultural Service
- Foreign Commercial Service
- Communications and Courier Service
- Consular Service
- Foreign Cultural Service
- Foreign Development Service
- Foreign Economic and Financial Service
- Foreign Environmental Service
- Foreign Information Service
- Foreign Intelligence Service
- Foreign Labor Service
- Foreign Legal Service
- Foreign Political Service
- Foreign Scientific and Technical Service
- Foreign Security Service

#### **Enhancing Operational Effectiveness**

For the vicious circle keeping State and the Foreign Service from meeting presidential needs to be broken once and for all, reforms

must go beyond organizational and personnel structure. Outmoded ways of doing the business of foreign affairs must be replaced by new managerial and productivity-enhancing techniques.

The changes proposed here would build on the greatly strengthened upper management levels of the department. For example, the present system involves a confusing array of four under secretaries, some fourteen assistant secretaries, three bureau directors, the counselor, executive secretary, ten other special office directors and advisors. In contrast, the new system would have a more orderly hierarchy of three under secretaries, seven subordinate deputy under secretaries, and eight powerful assistant secretaries heading interagency groups. And, the programmatic activities of the foreign affairs community would be clustered in the seven or eight specialized agencies directly subordinate to State. Further, all these bureaucratic channels for policy advice would be counterbalanced by the new Foreign Policy Advisory Council of senior career FSOs serving the secretary and the president. The end results, hopefully, would complete the process begun when the country team concept was implemented overseas, and make the Washington policy apparatus much more responsive to changing realities.

To achieve this goal, however, four actions must be undertaken and meshed with any process of organizational and personnel reform:

1) *Relate Policy and Resources More Closely:* The department's Priorities Policy Group has made major strides in this direction in the brief years since its inception, but much remains to be done. The process needs to better distinguish management and budget preparation problems so that the department can make more convincing cases to OMB. Also, the role of overseas posts in the process needs to be looked at more carefully, reducing meaningless burdens, and producing instead management tools that are useful at all levels. These efforts can be aided significantly by undertaking the three following actions as well.

2) *Establish a Foreign Affairs Programming System:* Past efforts (CASP, PARA, etc.) in this regard have

failed to take hold because they lacked high level support, and were grafted on an inadequate organizational base. Also, substantive traditionalists in the Foreign Service did not understand the new techniques and failed to see their potential for enhancing State's power over other agencies. They were also prejudiced against the "administrative types" who advanced such ideas. However, with a broadened State mission, and the incorporation of programmatic specialized agencies into the State complex, a comprehensive programming system is required. Also, program evaluation tools must be developed and used at the lowest organizational levels feasible. In this context, country directors could realistically be expected to assume responsibility for post management.

Some of the program clusters established might be for reporting (including the full range of political, economic and other specialized areas): representation of US interests bilaterally, multilaterally and to individuals; development assistance; foreign information, broadcasting; and exchange; arms control activities; security assistance; consular operations; trade promotion; foreign intelligence operations; refugee activities; export control; foreign defense relations; scientific and technical cooperation; environmental protection; commodity buffer stocks; transportation and telecommunications cooperation; energy cooperation; agricultural cooperation; contributions to international organizations and conferences; international peacekeeping operations; covert operations; narcotics control; population affairs; counter-terrorism; personnel and physical security; training, assignment, and professional development; foreign buildings; recruitment; communications and information processing; medical services; post inspection; and administrative support. Each of these programs would have a clearly designated program manager at the senior levels of a reorganized State Department. This would fix responsibility for achieving results, but overall program evaluation would be the responsibility of the under secretary for resource management.

3) *Develop an Integrated Foreign Affairs Budget:* With a programming system in place that showed the overall resource levels being committed to specific countries, the secretary

would be in a much better position to advise the president of the funds needed to carry out his foreign policy. The Foreign Affairs Budget Review process begun for FY 1982 is a positive step in this direction, but it could be made much more effective if budget submissions were uniformly prepared using programs wherever possible. The subordination of the specialized agencies to State

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"We trained hard—but it  
it seems that every time  
we were beginning to  
form up into teams, we  
would be reorganized. I  
was to learn that later in  
life we tend to meet any  
new situation by  
reorganizing."

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would also contribute to making an overall foreign affairs budget a reality.

4) *Revitalize Internal Bureaucratic Processes:* Here a whole range of steps must be taken. They would include cultivating a philosophy of solving problems at the lowest levels feasible, delegating authority, fixing responsibilities, promulgating and reviewing standard operating procedures, fostering loyalty downward as well as upward, reducing reliance on written communication, expediting paper flow through electronic rationalization, stressing teamwork instead of destructive competition, providing for overlapping tours, more rigorously distinguishing between clearances for control and clearances for information, and holding meetings chiefly when collective feedback is needed. These actions could be usefully adopted in any organization, but many of them are long overdue at State. Concurrent with moves to strengthen organizational structure and the personnel system, an effort should be made to launch a long term shift in our bureaucratic culture, stressing cooperative endeavor to balance its underlying competitive spirit.

## Conclusion

All the above proposals for redefining State's mission, designing a new White House connection, restructuring organizational assets, strengthening personnel resources, and improving operational effectiveness are aimed at breaking the vicious circle feeding presidential doubts about the department and the Foreign Service. An integrated, comprehensive approach to solving the eight problems outlined at the beginning is the only course to rebuilding confidence.

- Contributing to more effective *implementation* of our foreign policy would be the more cohesive Washington backup for truly integrated country teams abroad, a clearer statement of the department's mission, its stronger mandate to oversee foreign operations, and improved staffing patterns. Further, a more aggressive, better motivated Foreign Service would soon garner the confidence of presidents.

- Improved capacity to implement foreign policy also puts State in a better position to *coordinate* it. Contributing to that end would be a more encompassing organizational structure, the establishment of an executive undersecretary to oversee regional operations and the specialized programmatic agencies, the new under secretary for policy coordination and his four functional deputies, more powerful geographic bureaus and a reinforcement of the Interagency Group concept set up by NSAM 341.

- Better implementation and coordination can also improve *responsiveness*. In this regard, the new organizational structure reduces layering, improves working level integration, and brings together under one organization the specialized agencies dealing with foreign affairs.

- The department's capacity for taking the *initiative* would be enhanced by its broader mandate, and its closer engagement in foreign operations would facilitate synthesizing and enrich its policy planning process. Further, State's improved staffing and enlarged responsibilities would work to discourage a reactive role and encourage anticipation. This alone would measurably improve White House confidence.

(Continued on page 41)

# Association News

## HOME LEAVE CASE

On January 21, 1981, the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit held that home leave travel expenses are deductible from federal income tax. The Court decision came in the case of *Brewin v. Commission* (Case No. 79-2433) and *Teil v. Commissioner* (No. 79-2510), sponsored by the American Foreign Service Association and the Thomas Legal Defense Fund, with Murray J. Belman as counsel. Copies of the decision are available in the AFSA office, room 3646, N.S. The court found that the food, lodging and transportation expenses of Messrs. Teil and Brewin incurred during compulsory home leave relate primarily to their trade or business as foreign service officers and that these expenses are deductible under section 162(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as expenses incurred in pursuit of a trade or business.

The D.C. Circuit now joins the Fourth and Ninth Circuit Courts of Appeals in the cases of *Hitchcock v. Commissioner* (4th Circuit 1978—affecting Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina) and *Stratton v. Commissioner* (9th Circuit 1971—affecting California, Washington, Oregon, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Alaska, Hawaii and Guam). We

believe the IRS will acquiesce in the issue nationwide, as is their practice once there are three decisions adverse to them.

The Tax Court had disallowed the deduction of home leave expenses, holding them to be expenses connected with travel of a personal nature. In overturning the Tax Court's decision, the Court of Appeals relied on Section 933(a) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, which requires that foreign service employees take home leave every 18 months to 3 years. The home leave requirement is retained in the Foreign Service Act of 1980 in Section 903.

We suggest that foreign service personnel claim their home travel expenses as deductions in their 1980 returns and cite the Stratton, Hitchcock, and Brewin cases. Be sure to keep all receipts and be reasonable in calculating costs of food and lodging.

The Association wishes to thank all those who assisted in funding this case with their contributions. It's not too late to make a donation to help defray remaining expenses. Donations made to the Thomas Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 19443, 20th Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20036, and earmarked as AFSA contributions, are tax deductible.

## GOVERNING BOARD ACTS ON INSURANCE PROGRAM

Acting on the recommendation of an Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Insurance, the Governing Board has established a Board of Trustees for the AFSA Insurance Program. The Board of Trustees will constitute a permanent subordinate body to review existing programs and to take action to develop new and better insurance plans designed to meet the needs of AFSA members. Under the guidance and control of the Governing Board, the Trustees will be responsible for overseeing the operation of such a program, which should also serve to attract new members.

The seven member Board of Trustees will always include the AFSA Treasurer (ex-officio) and one other member of the Governing Board. Thus, Treasurer Ronald With-

crell and Vice-President Anthea de Rouville are among those recently appointed as Trustees. The other members of the new board are: Amb. Herman J. Cohen, chairman; Teresita C. Schaffer, vice-chairman; Mary Muller, secretary; and two retirees who served on the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee and were instrumental in the establishment of the Board of Trustees, Manlio DeAngelis and Hugh Wolff.

The Trustees would welcome suggestions from AFSA members as to how the insurance program might be made more responsive to their requirements. All such suggestions should be addressed to the AFSA office for the attention of Insurance Trustees.

## AID/AFSA NEWS

### *SER/MO Position*

During the month of January the Agency redesignated the position of director, SER/MO as GS, thus effectively depriving foreign service executive officers potential access to that job; which is a significant policy position. The AID Standing Committee informed management that this was a clear violation of the Obey Amendment implementing regulations. The serious morale-lowering implication of this action on the entire service was also pointed out to management. AFSA expressed dismay that decisions critical to the health, safety and efficient functioning of our overseas missions would be put in the hands of an individual with no overseas experience. We have received tremendous support from our executive officer members.

### *Area Studies At FSI*

At the same time that the agency was circulating notices for training on how to speak and write English or how to practice multilateral diplomacy, it also circulated a memo cancelling all area studies at FSI for the remainder of the year. AFSA strongly protested this action which is contrary to the training mandate of the new Foreign Service Act and which deprives the most critical cadre of our service, those working overseas, of even the minimum amount of briefing before getting to a new post. As of this writing, the decision had not yet been rescinded.

### *Implementation of the F.S. Act*

The Standing Committee has met on several occasions with management on the proposed implementing regulations under the new Act. Management has been slow in developing these regs and at this writing has not transmitted drafts to the Standing Committee for negotiation.

## DOMICILE CORRECTION

"Income Tax Tips," February *Journal*, page 25, under the heading Domicile Status, is in error in stating, "There is a fundamental rule of law that all persons who are US citizens must have a US domicile somewhere."

In fact, American citizens do not have to have a US domicile. They may have a domicile abroad.

## MEMBERSHIP—TARGETS ACHIEVED AND RECORDS SET

The climate for new AFSA membership has been phenomenal since October. The events speak for themselves:

- Passage of the Foreign Service Act;
- The State Department/Foreign Service Bicentennial;
- The safe and happy conclusion of the hostage ordeal;
- The advent of a new administration (no endorsement, we are apolitical).

Such concurrence of so many exciting events, with broad implications for the Foreign Service, occurs but rarely. It is only natural that people would respond to this series of events by wanting to be part of the action. And action we have had!

Not least to be mentioned when talking about action are the coordinated efforts of AFSA Board members and Staff, networks of keypersons in all agencies and reps at overseas posts.

The statistics on membership can be viewed in several ways.

### Recent Percentage Increase through January 15, 1981

AID	28%
Retired	18%
Associate	13%
State	9%
AFSA (total)	11%

### Passing Milestones

AFSA membership reached 6500 in January; expected to reach 7000 in February;

Retired membership reached 2000 in January;

AID membership is expected to be comfortably above 1000 within a month or two.

### Targeting All-Time Records

There are some all-time records that are either already broken, or may be broken with continued effort.

Retired membership now at all-time record;

Associate membership now at all-time record;

State all-time record of 3232 in 1977 could be surpassed in the next few months;

AID all-time record of 1293 in 1975 could be reached with determined effort;

AFSA all-time record of 7316 in 1975 could be surpassed in the next few months.

### Some Significant Unit Achievements

We have noted membership results at many of the larger posts and Washington bureaus, but it is difficult to document results in small units where 1 or 2 memberships may be significant. (These figures are understated if anything.)

#### Name of Unit

#### Rep/Keyperson

#### New members (3 months)

#### Large Posts:

Cairo	Richard Burke	13
Geneva	Peter Keller	3
Guatemala	Robert Miller	3
Kinshasa	Richard Thornton	3
La Paz	Charles Moseley	4
Lima	Alford Cooley	8
Managua	John Curry	3
Mexico City	William McLeese	4
Ouagadougou	R. Carey Coulter	3
Rome	John Madeiros	3
San Jose	Gene McCoy	3
Tegucigalpa	John Kelley	10
Valletta	Bernard Bies	3
Yaounde	Richard Goldman	6

#### Large units:

State/Africa	Dan Waterman, Bill Burke	7
AID/Africa	Frank Diamond, Brenda Hus, Ted Lewis, Willie Saulters	15
AID/Asia	Dick Nelson, Willie Baum	6
State/East Asia	Bob Stern, Jim Landberg, Stuart Schwartzstein	8
State/Economic and Business	John Pitts, Dana Marshall	8
AID/Near East	Jon Sperling, Ron Witherell	9
State/Politico-Military	Mike Lemmon, Ken Longmyer	6
State/Security	Bob Franks	21

The AFSA reps and keypersons and others who have dedicated time and energy to membership deserve thanks.

State membership is expected to reach 3000 in February;

Associate membership is expected to reach 500 in February.

### ICA Membership

ICA membership is not posting any records, but a corner appears to have been turned. The many year down-trend seems to have stopped, and we are now looking for ICA membership to start moving up.

### The Overall Picture

The overall picture is good. Membership is what counts. It supports the efforts being made by the Association to provide good quality services and deliver on commitments. It helps us with management in labor

negotiations. We presented our membership achievements in a recent meeting with the new secretary of state. Secretary Haig, by the way, complimented AFSA on the uniqueness of its dual role as professional association and brotherhood. It is his feeling, and ours, that the two roles are mutually reinforcing.

### FAREWELL FROM WARREN CHRISTOPHER

*(From remarks in the C Street Lobby, January 21, 1981.)*

I care about the people in this building and the work that is done here. I find that my caring and concern grows and has grown over the last four years. I don't want to make a long statement on this subject today. I would just like to say that I leave not with any sense of regret, but a sense of gratitude. For having been able to stay this long with these people in this kind of work, I thank you all, all around the building for making me feel this way. Thank you very much.

## WELCOME HOME



Two scenes from the hostages' return show Bruce Laingen, above, and Alan Golacinski in front of the Department of State. Photos by Steve Berkowitz.



## NOTICE TO MEMBERS FROM ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

The Standing Committee on Elections has received from the AFSA Governing Board ten proposed amendments to the By-laws, each accompanied by a short statement of explanation. These amendments appear below and on the following page of this edition of the *AFSA News*.

Article VIII of the present bylaws provides that "for 45 days following the date of publication of the proposal, the Elections Committee shall accept statements of appropriate length submitted in opposition thereto, provided each statement is signed by not less than 10 Members, and no two statements shall be signed by the same Member." The Committee has decided that 500 words is a maximum appropriate length for such statements in opposition. Each such statement should identify by letter the draft amendment to which it refers, and should be signed by 10 current AFSA Members (not Associates). Each Member may sign no more than one statement in opposition to *each draft amendment*.

Any statements in opposition which are received by the Committee within 45 days of publication of the proposed amendments—i.e., by April 15, 1981—will be provided to the Membership, together with ballots and statements to be furnished by the proponents of the amendments, when polling on the proposed amendments commences. Polling must commence within 90 days of this publication—i.e., on or before May 30, 1981—and shall conclude 45 days thereafter.

Should any Member or Members wish to distribute at their own expense additional statements regarding a proposed amendment, the Association shall make available to them on request the Membership list or address labels. In such cases the Members concerned will reimburse the Association for all related expenses. Members may also take out advertisements in the *Foreign Service Journal* on this issue.

Statements in opposition, requests for the Membership list or address labels, and questions or comments relating to the amendment process should be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20037.

C. Robert Moore  
Chairman, Standing Committee on Elections

### Draft Amendment A

1.2. Change to read:

"2. To represent [all the men and women of] *the members of the Foreign Service in [employee] labor-management relations and grievances;*"

Explanation: This change would conform with the terminology in Chapters 10 and 11 of the Foreign Service Act, and with actual AFSA practice.

### Draft Amendment B

11.1. Delete, and insert:

"1. *American citizens who are or were members of the Foreign Service as defined by Section 103, paragraphs (1) through (5), of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, or predecessor or successor legislation are eligible to become Members of the Association.*"

Explanation: This change takes account of the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Members of the Foreign Service as defined above include chiefs of mission, Ambassadors at large, members of the Senior Foreign Service, Foreign Service Officers, and Foreign Service personnel. Anyone eligible for membership under the existing bylaws would remain so under this amendment, but so would members of the Foreign Service in the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture.

#### Draft Amendment C

IV.4. Delete, and insert:

"4. *The Representatives shall be elected by and from constituencies composed of the Members of the Foreign Service in each of the departments or agencies to which Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 applies, pursuant to Sec. 1003(a); provided that Chiefs of Mission and Ambassadors at large shall be members of the Department of State constituency, and all former Members of the Service shall be Members of the Retired constituency. Each constituency shall be entitled to one Representative for each 1,000 Members or fraction thereof as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election year.*

Explanation: This provision would define constituencies as those agencies and departments which have Foreign Service labor relations under Chapter 10 of the Act (State, IDCA, USICA, FCS in Commerce and FAS in Agriculture). As is present AFSA practice, all former Members would be in the Retired constituency.

#### Draft Amendment D

IV.4. add:

"*provided, that any constituency which for three consecutive months has a membership which would on the above date have entitled it to an additional Representative shall have an additional Representative, who shall be appointed by the Governing Board. If subsequently during that Board's term that constituency has for three consecutive months a membership which no longer would entitle it to an additional Representative, that constituency will lose such additional Representative, who shall be the Representative most recently appointed by the Board.*"

Explanation: This provision would permit a growing constituency to have an additional Representative during the course of an incumbent Board's term but that constituency could lose the additional Representative if its Membership once again for three consecutive months fell below the number required.

#### Draft Amendment E

IV. Add new paragraphs 8, 9, 10:

8. *The Board shall assure that persons affiliated with Communist or other totalitarian movements, and persons identified with corrupt influences, are excluded from any position of authority at any level of the Association.*

9. *The Board shall assure that persons in any position of authority at any level of the Association are prohibited from business or financial interests or activities which conflict with their duties to the Association and its members.*

10. *The Board shall maintain fiscal integrity in the conduct of the affairs of the Association, including provisions for accounting and financial controls, and regular financial reports or summaries to members.*

Explanation: Sec. 1017 of the Act, consistent with the Landrum-Griffin Act requires exclusive representative labor organizations like AFSA to be free from "corrupt influences and influences opposed to basic democratic principles." However, a labor organization is not required to prove this if its bylaws contain certain "explicit and detailed provisions" to this end. AFSA's bylaws are silent on the exclusion of totalitarians, the prevention of conflicts of interest and the maintenance of fiscal integrity, which are referred to in Sec. 1017(a) (2), (3), and (4) of the Act: the above paragraphs would make these points explicit in the Bylaws, placing the responsibility for them explicitly on the Governing Board, and somewhat reduce AFSA's vulnerability to harassing and frivolous attacks on its performance in maintaining proper standards of conduct.

#### Draft Amendment F

V.1. Delete the third sentence from the end of the section: [The first Committee to be appointed after ratification of this amendment shall be appointed as soon as possible, with a term expiring in July 1980]

Comment:

This statement deals with transitional arrangements and is no longer pertinent.

#### Draft Amendment G

VI. Change ["Elections Committee"] to "Standing Committee on Elections" wherever it appears.

Explanation: This provision would change the terminology of the Article to conform with that used elsewhere throughout the Bylaws.

#### Draft Amendment H

VI.1. add:

"*Officers and Retired Representatives shall be elected in even-numbered years, beginning in 1982. Other constituency representatives shall be elected in odd-numbered years.*"

#### Draft Amendment I

VI.4. Delete and insert:

"4. *Pursuant to such regulations as it shall prescribe, the Committee shall receive campaign statements from candidates and/or slates and distribute them to the concerned Membership at Association expense, and shall, during a campaign period of not less than 30 days, facilitate the distribution of additional material related to the election which candidates and/or slates and/or other Members wish to distribute at their own expense. Those initiating such material shall assume full legal responsibility for its contents.*"

VI.5. Change to read:

"5. *The official ballot bearing [only] the names of all qualified candidates, slate identifications when applicable and voting instructions shall be mailed to each Member on or about May 15.*"

Explanation: This provision would shorten and simplify VI.4; eliminate the reference to the organization of campaign meetings, which is permitted anyway under Article VI.1; specifically permit candidates and other Members to have facilitated during a campaign period of at least 30 days the distribution of election-related material at their own expense; and require the initiators of any such material, whether or not distributed at AFSA expense, to take all legal responsibility for its contents, for example against defamation suits.

The related change in VI.5 would permit the Association to save election costs by including campaign statements, or material on referenda or bylaws amendments, in the distribution of ballots packets.

#### Draft Amendment J

VI.6. First line, and 9. Change to read:

"6. *Each Member may cast [one] a preferential vote for each Officer position.*"

"9. *The [Elections Committee] Standing Committee on Elections shall decide all questions of eligibility and declare elected the candidates receiving the greatest number of votes for each position. However, if no candidate for an Officer position has more than 40 per cent of the valid votes cast for candidates for that position, the Committee shall distribute to the two leading candidates the preferences as between them of the other valid ballots, and shall declare elected the candidate receiving a majority of preferences.*"

Explanation: If no candidate for an Officer position has near-majority support, this provision would permit, in effect, a runoff between the two leading candidates, without the expense and delay a runoff would entail. Preferential voting, in various forms, is used in Australia, in Ireland, and in representation elections in Foreign Service bargaining units under Sec. 1011(d) (2) of the Foreign Service Act.

# BYLAWS OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

## As Amended 12/18/78

### *ARTICLE I Purposes and Objectives*

In addition to the general purposes and objectives of this Association as set forth in the Constitution, the following are declared to be the primary purposes and objectives of this Association:

1. To further the interests and well being of the Members of the Association;
2. To represent all the men and women of the Foreign Service in the Foreign Affairs Agencies in employee management relations;
3. To work closely with the Foreign Affairs Agencies, other interested institutions and individuals to strengthen the ability of the foreign affairs community to contribute to effective foreign policies;
4. To accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds from such other voluntary associations as may be created by Foreign Service personnel or to accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds as otherwise donated to this Association by any person or persons, group or groups, and to utilize or dispose of the same for the purposes of this Association, or, as directed by said other associations or said other donors;
5. To publish the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and AFSA NEWS as the official organs of the Association.
6. To maintain and operate a Scholarship Fund or Funds or such other funds as are commensurate with the purposes and objectives of this Association;
7. To carry on such other activities as the Association may deem practicable in order to serve the interests of the Association and its Members.

### *ARTICLE II Membership*

1. Persons eligible for Membership are those American citizens, wherever serving, appointed in or assigned to a Foreign Affairs Agency under authority of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as Amended, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as Amended, Public Law 90-494, or successor legislation to these Acts; persons who have retired or been terminated from the Foreign Service; and persons appointed as Chiefs of Mission, Ambassadors, or Ministers.
2. Any person eligible for Membership may be so admitted upon application and payment of dues, and shall be permitted to maintain membership so long as he or she remains eligible and maintains current dues payment; only Members shall have voting and other rights regarding the conduct of the affairs of the Association.
3. The Board shall establish terms and conditions for affiliation with the Association, other than Membership, for persons not eligible for Membership. American citizens closely associated with or interested in the foreign affairs of the United States may become Associates upon the acceptance of their applications by the Board and the payment of dues.
4. The Board may invite to become Honorary Members for specified periods such representative American citizens as they deem proper. Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payments of dues.
5. The rates of dues shall be set by the Board provided that dues shall not be increased, or an assessment levied, except after approval by a majority of those Members voting in a secret ballot referendum.
6. Members may be expelled or otherwise disciplined by the Association for engaging in conduct which discredits or brings into disrepute the Association or the Foreign Service, or taking court or Administrative Agency action against the Association without exhausting all reasonable internal administrative procedures which the Board shall establish. However, no Member may be disciplined by the Association unless such Member has

been served with written specific charges, given a reasonable time to prepare a defense, and afforded a full and fair hearing. The Board shall establish procedures for such disciplinary actions.

### *ARTICLE III Rights of Members*

Every Member shall have equal rights and privileges within the Association, freedom of speech and assembly, and all other rights guaranteed by law, Executive Order, and regulation.

### *ARTICLE IV The Governing Board*

1. The property and affairs of this Association shall be managed by a Governing Board composed of Officers and Representatives who shall be elected biennially for terms of two years in the manner prescribed in Article VI from among the Association's Members. Each Board Member shall have one vote.
2. Vacancies occurring during the term of the Board shall be filled by the Board by appointment from the Membership, provided that Representatives shall be chosen from the constituency of the vacancy as defined in Article IV(4).
3. The Officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Second Vice President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, elected by and from the entire Membership. They shall have the powers and duties specifically conferred on them by applicable law and regulation, these Bylaws, and the Governing Board.
4. The Representatives shall be elected by and from the Membership employed in the Foreign Service in each of the foreign affairs agencies and by and from the Membership formerly employed in the Foreign Service in all the foreign affairs agencies (State Department, ICA, and AID, or successor Agencies). One Representative shall be elected by each of the above constituencies for each 1,000 Members or fraction as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election year.
5. The Membership has the right to recall any Officer, and the Membership of any constituency has the right to recall any Representative, in whom said Membership has no confidence. Two-thirds of the Governing Board Members or five percent of the Membership concerned, may recommend such recall by written request and supporting statement to the Standing Committee on Elections. The Committee shall submit the recall proposal, accompanied by such supporting statement and by statements, if any, submitted in favor of the Board Member in question, to the Membership concerned for a secret ballot election.
6. The Governing Board shall, to the extent practicable, keep the Membership currently informed, seek its advice before making decisions, and inform the Membership of its decisions, on important matters affecting the Membership, the Foreign Service, and the Association. The Board shall report to the Membership annually on its management of the Association affairs and the Association's financial position, and its plans and budget for the succeeding year. The Board shall also facilitate communication from any Member(s) to the Membership, or any practicable portion thereof, on Association business, at the expense of the Member(s) initiating the communication.
7. The Board shall meet at least once each month. The Board shall also meet to consider a particular subject or subjects upon the written request of the President, one third of the Members of the Board, one Chapter, or 25 Members, submitted at least five days prior to the date of the proposed meeting. Meetings shall be announced and open to members and Associates; provided that the Board may adopt regulations to preserve good order, and may go into executive session. Minutes, except of Executive Sessions, shall be available to Members and Associates.

#### ARTICLE V Internal Organization

1. There shall be a Standing Committee on Elections which shall have full power within the Association, subject to applicable law and regulation, these Bylaws, and the Association budget, to conduct regular elections for Governing Board Members, any election for the recall of a Governing Board Member, any referendum, and any vote on amendments to these Bylaws. The Committee shall establish regulations for these procedures and interpret relevant sections of the Bylaws, resolve disputes, and determine and declare results. The Committee shall be composed of at least five Members, including a Chairperson and including at least one Member from each constituency. The Governing Board shall appoint the Chairperson and Members of the Committee for two year terms beginning July 15 of each even-numbered year, and shall fill vacancies occurring during such term, but may not remove Committee Members except on recommendation of the Committee, or in accordance with disciplinary procedures. The first Committee to be appointed after ratification of this amendment shall be appointed as soon as possible, with a term expiring in July 1980. Committee Members shall be impartial in the performance of their duties. While serving on the Committee, and for six months thereafter, they shall not be Board Members, or Candidates or nominators thereof, or accept appointment to the Chair of another Committee.

2. Standing Committees for each of the constituencies shall have primary responsibility, subject to the overall direction of the Governing Board, for the interests of Members of said constituencies. The Chairperson and Members of each such committee shall be appointed by the Governing Board from among the Members within each such constituency.

3. The Governing Board shall appoint the Chairman and members of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board, and who, under the general direction of the Board, shall be specifically responsible for the publication of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. The yearly dues shall include a payment of at least \$5.00 for a subscription to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

4. The Washington Membership shall consist of all Members resident in or assigned to the Washington Area (the District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia). The Governing Board shall call a meeting of the Washington Membership at least once annually; and must call such a meeting to deal with a specified agenda at the written request of one fourth of the Board, or 100 Washington Members. Such a meeting may make recommendations to the Board on any matter within the Board's authority.

5. Members may organize Chapters, subject to regulations to be issued by the Board, to carry out the purposes of the Association. Chapters shall adopt Bylaws, subject to the approval of the Board. The Board shall delegate such authority to such Chapters as it deems necessary.

#### ARTICLE VI Elections

1. The Elections Committee shall issue an election call to all Members in the February FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and/or AFSA NEWS, prescribing the terms and conditions of the election and soliciting candidacies.

2. Candidates may make known their candidacies or Members may nominate candidates in writing to the Elections Committee not later than 30 days following the date of the election call for Officer or Representative positions. Candidacies may be filed for individually or in slates. Candidacies must be accompanied by evidence of eligibility as of June 30 of the year of the election.

3. The Elections Committee shall verify the eligibility of candidates for each position, and announce publicly the names of the candidates on or about April 1.

4. Candidates may submit campaign statements according to regulations to be established by the Elections Committee. The Elections Committee shall have published in the April FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, and/or AFSA NEWS, and/or elsewhere at Association expense, the platform statements of the candidates and/or slates during the beginning of a campaign period of not

less than 30 days. The Elections Committee during this period may organize and publicize campaign meetings. Should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the Association will make available to them on request the membership mailing list or address labels. In such cases candidates will reimburse the Association for all related expenses.

5. The official ballot bearing only the names of all qualified candidates, slate identifications when applicable, and voting instructions shall be mailed to each Member on or about May 15.

6. Each Member may cast one vote for each Officer position and, in addition, each Member may cast one vote for each Representative position available in the Member's constituency. Members may vote for candidates as individuals or as a slate, or may write in the name(s) of any Member(s) who fulfills the eligibility requirements as of June 30 of the election year.

7. The secrecy of each Member's vote shall be guaranteed.

8. The Elections Committee shall count on or about July 1 all ballots received at the Association as of the close of business the last working day of June. Candidates or their representatives may be present at the counting and challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter.

9. The Elections Committee shall decide all questions of eligibility and declare elected the candidates receiving the greatest number of votes for each position.

10. The new Officers and Representatives shall take office on July 15.

#### ARTICLE VII Referendum

The Membership may, by majority vote in a referendum, determine the Association's policy on any matter within the Board's authority. One-third of the Board, 10 Chapters, or 100 Members may initiate a referendum by submitting a specific proposal to the Standing Committee on Elections. If the Committee determines that the proposal is within the authority of the Board, it shall submit the proposal, accompanied by statements, if any, from the proponents and opponents of such proposal, to the Membership in a referendum.

#### ARTICLE VIII Amendments

1. One hundred Members or the Board may propose an Amendment to these Bylaws by submission to the Standing Committee on Elections. Each such proposal shall be accompanied by a short statement of explanation.

2. The Committee shall promptly circulate to the Membership each such proposed Amendment and statement in explanation by publication in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL or AFSA NEWS. For 45 days following the date of publication of the proposal the Committee shall accept statements of appropriate length submitted in opposition thereto, provided each statement is signed by not less than 10 Members, and no two statements shall be signed by the same Member. Further, the Committee shall commence within 90 days following the date of publication of the proposal, and shall conclude 45 days thereafter, polling of the Membership on the proposal. The Committee shall provide to the Membership, together with the ballots, the statements in opposition accepted by it in accordance with this Article, as well as statements to be furnished by the proponents.

3. Should Members wish to distribute, at their own expense, additional statements regarding a proposed Amendment, the Association shall make available to them on request the Membership list or address labels. In such cases, Members will reimburse the Association for all related expenses.

4. The adoption of a proposed Amendment will require the affirmative votes of not less than two-thirds of the valid votes received.

#### ARTICLE IX Parliamentary Authority

The Association's Parliamentary Authority shall be the most recent edition of Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised: except as otherwise provided by applicable law and regulation, these Bylaws, and the Governing board.

# The Desert Road



*The holy city of Qom, location of the shrine of Fatima.*

## MICHAEL A. G. MICHAUD

Iran, rich as it is in natural resources, is cursed by aridity, long distances between places of settlement, and vast areas of wasteland. In ancient times, it must have been

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*Michael A. G. Michaud served in embassy Tehran from 1967 to 1970 and as Iran desk officer from 1972 to 1974. This description of a journey across the Iranian deserts, made a decade ago, reflects the views of the author and not those of the US government. Mr. Michaud, a frequent contributor to the Journal, is the author of more than 50 published articles and stories.*

*Photos by the author.*

*The publication of this article was delayed at the author's request until the hostages were released.*

as much an obstacle as a bridge between East and West, Middle East and Central Asia. Topography and climate conspire to confine travel and trade to relatively narrow corridors, and ancient routes around and through the deserts—and the towns along those routes—have been of great historical importance.

When the central Asian silk route was closed long ago, the European colonial powers approached southern and eastern Asia by sea; the Suez Canal made the route almost direct. Iran was then a weak and helpless state, divided into spheres of influence by greater powers. But in this century a renascent Iran began re-

viving the land route between the Middle East and South Asia. This ancient way, which can be traced back to the Royal Roads of the Achaemenids, now branches at Tehran to go around the great Iranian deserts. One branch runs south of the Elburz mountains to the Afghan border. The other skirts the southern edges of the great deserts to reach what is now West Pakistan. The latter route—the Desert Road—is a superb example of how new communications routes often follow old ones; alongside the lines of ruined forts, caravanserais, and watchtowers are unfinished roads, railroads, and a microwave relay system. The

completion of the road and railroad to the Pakistani border will reopen an ancient route to the East. It also will determine the fate of the old cities along the southern edge of the deserts, which have been losing their substance to Tehran, and will assist both the integration and decentralization of the Iranian economy.

The Desert Road has a political dimension as well; southeastern Iran has long been neglected, and Baluchistan is a potential trouble spot still poorly integrated into Iranian life. The Desert Road has facilitated a growing government presence, and the Iranianization of the Baluchis. It also may increase contacts between the topographically separated countries of Iran and Pakistan, which divide Baluchistan between them. There may even be an increase in trade; not in silk, but in the ordinary commerce of modernizing nations.

### Tehran: The Beginning

Westerners living in the sprawling city of Tehran, the Los Angeles of the Middle East, can insulate themselves from the full impact of the Iranian plateau. They may feel the heat, even suffer an occasional dust storm, but the central Asian vastness—the emptiness of plateau Iran—is outside their ken. Only by journeying south and east, across the great deserts, can they experience the harshness and beauty that have shaped Iranian history and culture.

The traveler leaves the westernized city through its southern, poorer half. The streets are wide, the khaki-colored housing regularly spaced, and there is no obvious South Asian filth. But this is facade. By peering down the side streets, and the alleys called *kuches*, you see that conditions tend to deteriorate with distance from the main boulevards. The housing is obviously crowded; the number of people emerging from small, single-story dwellings to go to work and schools seems disproportionately large, and the high-rise government housing projects have that air of early dilapidation. This is the home of the urban mass, the genesis of the street mobs that can topple regimes. Still, many of the children are going to school; there are no large groups of jobless men loitering around street corners, and few beggars. The first city south of Tehran was Rey, the place where tourists go to see carpets washed and

dried on the rocks, but that old town has been absorbed into the urban sprawl of South Tehran. The Tehran refinery, an island of gleaming modernity, appears dwarfed by the scale of Tehran and the desert to the south. By contrast, the American-built generators at Farahabad loom gigantically.

The road south to the religious center of Qom is well paved, with only a few hairpin turns on desert ridges to slow traffic. There is no sign of the deliberate neglect to discourage pilgrimages that one sees on the way to Meshed in Iran's northeast. Instead, your eye is caught by the ubiquitous roadside first-aid stations, which disappear after Qom. On the left is the glaring white salt waste of the Daryacheh-e-Hows-e-Soltan, and roads leading to the old oil fields north of Qom. Then a large, fenced-in military camp with a prominent sign, in English: NO PHOTOGRAPHY.

The golden dome of the shrine of Fatima, rising above the flat brownness of Qom, is visible miles away. Qom is a bustling town, apparently thriving on the pilgrim traffic, and there is some new construction that shows an Iranian-style civic-mindedness. The park-like area in front of the shrine is modern, jarring slightly against the jumble of Islamic domes and minarets. As a westerner, you

are forbidden entrance, and you stroll about looking at the hordes of bearded, white-turbaned, brown-cloaked divinity students walking purposefully with books under their arms. Qom strikes you as the real center of organized religious activity in Iran; by comparison, Meshed seems only a pilgrimage site, and one far removed from the center of power in Tehran. You wonder what all these future mullahs will do, and how they feel about the glaring signs of modernity and westernization around them, including a newly opened cinema.

In the southern part of town, you see the first real desert architecture: wind-towers (*badgirs*) that pull the slight breeze underground to cool it, the underground water cisterns called *ab-ambars*, and the external uniformity of dried clay. The roads to Isfahan and Arak go off to the right, and the real Desert Road begins, straight ahead to Kashan. From a long, bare ridge to the right, small channels and underground water tunnels called *qanats* reach out to water islands of green, some on the margins of the desert to the left, where the still whiteness of the Daryacheh-e-Namak (Salt Lake) stretches across the horizon.

The city of Kashan seems to have achieved stasis, neither growing nor declining. With its textile mills, it is



Desert city—the ancient city of Yazd, seat of the Zoroastrian culture in Iran.

almost a classic provincial town; traditional building styles still predominate, and there are fascinating old quarters that were not disrupted by Reza Shah's straight boulevards. The factory whistle seems to time the city's life. At night, the government guest house glows greenly under neon lights, and second-rate western music is played at full volume in the garden. The local cinema, new and spacious, is showing a dreadful Italian film, dubbed in Persian, to some twelve paying customers. But there are the old royal gardens at Fin, with their gravity-fed ceramic fountains and mossy tiled pools, and the neolithic mound at Tepe Sialk where archaeologist Roman Ghirshman dug out a ton of ancient pottery.

One out-of-the-way monument in Kashan seems to epitomize the place, and much of provincial Iran. The Mausoleum of Habib ibn Musa, which looks like a mosque and is attended by a *muilah*, is reached by a winding lane in the old quarter. Inside, in an obscure corner, is the severe black stone sarcophagus, exquisitely incised in Arabic script, where Shah Abbas is said to be buried. To that greatest of Safavid rulers is attributed every interesting construction in Central Iran less than a thousand years old, as if his name were a symbol of better and more confident times. A few yards away from his alleged tomb, the sarcophagus of Habib ibn Musa is bathed in sickly green neon lights, and is sur-

rounded by religious pictures. Outside, the courtyard is being roofed over with corrugated aluminum to make the faithful more comfortable, and electric lights are being hung. Even the Qajar dynasty would not have shown such bad taste; you hope that Shah Abbas is unaware.

### Kashan to Yazd: Civilization, Desert Style

The asphalted road, and with it the feeling of modernization, ends southeast of Kashan. The gravel track roller-coasters over desert ridges, passing mysterious little side roads that lead off into the desert. Men and machines are working on a new road that eventually will reach Kerman and perhaps Zahedan, on the Pakistani border. Periodically, a truck or a bus roars by in a thick cloud of dust, carrying goods and people to Kashan and beyond. After passing through more of the wasteland between the towns—a fearsome barrier to communication in the past—you come to believe that the Mercedes bus is the most revolutionary instrument in Iran.

Just off the road, you find Natanz to be a pleasant, self-contained little town tucked into a pocket and surrounded by orchards. There are signs of modest progress: paving, lighting, some new buildings. At the high school, a neatly dressed, well-groomed young Peace Corps volunteer springs out of his classroom to say hello, and cheerfully comments

that he doesn't really need anything from you because he frequently gets to Isfahan, whose sphere of influence you have entered. You puff up the dark interior stairway of the 123-foot Seljuk minaret of the Friday Mosque only to discover that the opening at the top is blocked by a loudspeaker.

After Natanz, the road veers sharply northeast, straight into the desert. At Mughab you encounter the railway line, standing in splendid, unused isolation, its culverts and embankments appearing as if they had been completed yesterday; the desert preserves technology. There is even a new railway station, also silent and unused, with no one to even vandalize it. You hear that the railway was begun by Reza Shah in the 1930s, and is only now being completed.

Between Mughab and Ardestan is true desert, with a few small brown villages hiding from the sun. Here *qanats* and *ab-ambars* are the source of life. When *qanats* dry up, towns die and people migrate; you can see ruins off the road. The villagers are invisible, remaining in the relative coolness of their houses; only the noisy passage of the foreigners brings the children out to look. The road cuts through an area of pitch or tar; off to the left, floating on a shimmering mirage, a lone derrick is drilling for oil or, more importantly, water.

Ardestan is a dying city. It survived by being on the ancient desert trade routes, but these have declined, and the railroad line will bypass it. The buildings are crumbling, and most of the young men seem to have left for better things. There is a quality of age and lassitude about the place, as if it were a relic of the twelfth century, when its Friday mosque was built. There, in the courtyard, two young men are pacing the silence, reciting their lessons in preparation for the examinations that may get them into universities, and out of Ardestan.

Between Ardestan and Nain, there is nothing but rocky desert and a few miserable villages; a dirt road leads to a lonely school, and a sign indicates the presence of a Literacy Corpsman. Nain, of carpet fame, is introduced by a series of mirages. By some freak of nature, the city is cooler than the desert around it, and the sky is often clouded. The old section of town, where the ancient



Tower of Silence—known in Iran as a *dakhmeh*, this structure outside of Yazd holds the bones of the Zoroastrian dead.

mosque is located, is so crumbled and weatherbeaten that it appears to be a ruin, but people still live there. In a restaurant used by workers and truck drivers, you are surrounded by dark skins, and even negroid hair, in sharp contrast to the fairness of Tehran.

You find that desert towns close up early for the midday break: the bazaar is shut by noon.

Outside of Nain is one of a series of relay towers for the CENTO microwave system, standing atop a hill in spindly isolation. This chain roughly parallels the Desert Road all the way to Zahedan, and suggests the newness and fragility of modern communications across the eastern half of Iran. Afterward, the fortress town of Aghda pops up out of nothing; totally unmentioned by the guidebooks, it has ancient, crumbling citadel walls, and a magnificent mud brick entrance. Beyond it, your carryall overheats, and you stop in a tiny village to put in water; around you are Volvo and Mercedes trucks stopped for the same reason. You wonder what it must be like to drive uncooled trucks through the desert over dusty, unpaved roads, especially during the summer, and you understand why some drivers get high on drugs.

At Ardakan you come upon one of the finest oases in Iran; a wide, flat patch of green, well watered, with villages and a town, with its pigeon towers, its *qanats*, and its *badgirs* facing north to catch the prevailing wind. Lined up along the main street, next to a formal Persian garden, are several massive, self-propelled pieces of Soviet machinery. You notice that, while the painted labels are in Russian, the instructions are in English. There are no Russians in sight.

Beyond Ardakan is a Foreign Legion style desert, with sand dunes and weird hillocks topped with sandstone lids. West of Yazd, you see a camel train, acting as if the twentieth century had never happened. Then the clutter of civilization begins with a monument to the Iranian monarchy on the outskirts of Yazd—the city of the Zoroastrians.

Yazd is dry and hot; locals say there has been no rain for eight years, and the town is relying heavily on deep wells. There are no other paying customers at the new hotel outside of town, and you wonder if

it will survive until the new road and railroad lines reach the city; the manager wears the pained expression of someone trying to be modern and western in the provinces. The Zoroastrian presence in Yazd is muted; while there are allegedly 5,000 here out of 25,000 in Iran, their fire-temple, with a flame reportedly 700 years old, is a modest building of recent vintage surrounded by a high wall, and fewer than 40 chairs are in the meeting room. The most eloquent statement of the Old People is outside the city; two towers of silence, or *dakhmes*, where the bodies of the dead are placed for the carrion birds, sit in lunar quiet on a ridge at the base of the snow-topped Shirkuh.

### Yazd to Kerman: As Far as Civilization Goes

Work on the railway ends east of Yazd, though preliminary highway work extends much farther. Again you see camels ambling off toward the hills. New *qanats* are under construction, reaching out miles from the foot of the mountains. The road deteriorates again; you find it better to drive fast, and to strap in with seat belts. More ruined caravanserais and more microwave relay towers are strung out across the desert, monuments of their centuries. The dust gets thicker, filtering through every crack in the vehicle, into noses, ears, cameras, and suitcases,

and the gear in the back of the carryall rattles continually. You do not know it, but the fuel tank is cracking from the heat and strain.

Trucks loom up out of the blinding dust where road workers are crossing a low pass, once infested by bandits. It is not until the driver stops to tie down the tool kit and you get out to stretch that the desert really hits you; there is the white carryall standing in the middle of the flatland, with nothing moving as far as the eye can see, and no sounds except those you make. Later, you pass the old fort at Anar, and see a long, thin line of green paralleling the road to the north, revealing a water channel. A neat sign announces AHMADABAD, and flick! Ahmadabad is gone, for it consists of two houses where the water channel runs under the road.

West of Rafsanjan, men are digging *qanats* with the ancient square-wheeled bucket lift, descending again and again into the shaft to bring up mud and dirt. You enter Rafsanjan, Iran's pistachio nut capital, and find something faintly comical about the place. There children point to your leaking gas tank, now almost empty. While your driver repairs the crack with chewing gum (it works), you set off to find two Peace Corps volunteers; perhaps it is to their credit that they are known by their names, and not by the organization. During a fast tour of the town, you see the



Desert fortress—the entrance to the walled city of Bam.



The end of the road—a main street in the city of Zahedan, near the Iranian border with Pakistan.

gaudy house of an absentee landowner, and a fancy orphanage financed by the Pahlavi Foundation. For some reason, Rafsanjan is a stronghold of the right-wing Pan-Iranist party; there are pseudo-swastikas on the walls, and jack-booted fascists march on the shah's birthday. A storm blows up; as a whimsical tribute to Rafsanjan, it dribbles a little wind-blown rain. Outside of town is a dirt road leading south into the hills with a small sign: Kerman Copper Industries. You suspect that Selection Trust, and its Iranian partners, may lift Rafsanjan out of its provincial ways.

Between Rafsanjan and Kerman, there are signs of modernizing activity—trucks, tractors, new buildings, all clouded by a cold dust storm that blasts the long corridor between two mountain ranges. At Baghin the fine new road from the Persian Gulf port of Bandar Abbas brings trucks up from the south; at the intersection is an unusually posh gendarmerie post, and some watching eyes.

Kerman appears to be the chosen city of southeastern Iran. In a spectacular mountain setting, blessed with a bracing climate because of its altitude, the city has an air of disciplined energy: it is relatively clean, laid out along geometric lines, and dotted with large institutional buildings, many new. There is a strong military flavor, with army barracks, officers' clubs, and an unusually large police presence. In the streets you see Land Rovers from the UN,

working with the geological survey. In the bazaar are Russian experts and their wives, moving about singly and freely. The bazaar is a single covered passage half a mile long, with short side-courts where tribal women squat in corners hawking their wares. It is filled with goods, from Arabian Sea fish to Kashmiri shawls.

The old Sahra (Desert) hotel is busy with Europeans from East and West; two fiftyish British ladies in the hotel dining room discuss the good old days. Later, your driver describes the nearby locations of World War II bases, and points out the old Point Four building. He is a Kermani, returned to see his city and his mother for the first time in six years, and he is confused by the changes.

#### Kerman to Zahedan: The End of the Earth

Leaving Kerman for Seistan and Baluchistan is like leaving the *oikoumene*, or dropping off the edge of the civilized world. Construction work on the highway ceases, and only the widely spaced microwave relay towers suggest that something lies Out There. The road drops down toward Mahan, a small oasis with the last trappings of a Persian plateau town. When ancient travelers came this way from the East, Mahan looked so good to them after the desert crossing that they considered themselves to be in Paradise.

Then you begin the gradual de-

scent from the plateau. The road is pure gravel and dirt, winding down a long, desiccated valley toward the Kerman desert, south of the Kavir-e-Lut. There is hardly any traffic; one bus from Zahedan, and a government jeep, leaving long trails of dust hanging in the air behind them, like spray from World Cup hydroplanes. On each side, the ridges begin to drop away, and the flatness spreads out before you. At odd intervals you see crumbled forts and watchtowers, former guardians of the Desert Road. At Tahrud (end of the river, and it is), a roadgrader is smoothing the gravel; a track leads north to a place called Gowk, and you begin to see other strange, un-Persian sounding names. To the sides you notice sharp black ridges jutting up from the desert floor. At Darzin, a track comes in from Sabzevaran and the Jiroft plain to the south, and a petrol station sits alone in the last patch of green before Bam. Here the heat begins, and the flies buzz heavily into the carryall. Dry wadis come down from the drier looking ridges to the southwest; dips in the road suggest occasional flash floods.

Bam is the perfect oasis. You see its date palms first, and imagine that you are in Arabia; then the mud-brick dwellings, and finally the paved straight streets of the new town, baking in the sun. For a desert city, it seems active, and you can see that government money is being spent here. The tourist hotel has good food but an erratic supply of soft drinks; desert towns live on truck arrivals.

North of the new town is the Arj, or walled city, an evocative ruin with crenellated mud walls, orderly rows of crumbled buildings, and the great citadel towering above it all. The entrance looks like a set for the Arabian Nights; where is Rudolph Valentino? You think of this place as a potential tourist site, if the airfield is developed and restoration work is begun to save the walled city from erosion. But you note a cautionary graffiti: "Unhappy memories of Bam—leave it to the Bamians."

When you leave Bam you leave everything, driving across the nearly absolute flatness of the Kavir-e-Lut basin. Subconsciously, you gird yourself for a survival test, hoping that your machine, this intrusion of Western technology, will make it across

(continued on page 42)

# AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: FRIEND OR FOE FOR SAUDI ARABIA

OMAR KADER  
MATTHEW TUELLER

The threat to Saudi Arabia's future may come more from its friends than its enemies. An incoherent United States policy, backed by words only, has been contributing to an already unstable situation in the region. Saudi Arabia and the traditional friends of the United States in the area will be viewing the new administration skeptically to see if past policies are continued, altered or scrapped for a more realistic approach. Those in the region who would like to see a more coherent policy which explicitly projects US intentions are anxious to see a strengthened US military ability to counter any threat. Given the recent experience in Iran, however, the larger threat may come from a US policy which fuels inherent instabilities in the area. With a change of administration, the United States has an opportunity to assert itself in more positive ways.

Saudi Arabia would like to increase and enhance its relationship with the United States. However, the problem that the Saudis have at present is the political costs associated with close US ties. Close ties to the United States mean alienation from other Middle East states as well as provocation from anti-United States leftist elements within the area. Instability in the Persian Gulf and the Arab/Israeli conflict place the United States at the center of a major international crisis area. The portentous involvement of the United States could be eased if policy included the involvement of other Western industrial nations in dealing with Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states.

Traditionally the Saudis have been viewed as having a pro-American stable government. They project a political image of a benevolent royal family which seeks tranquility and consensus among their subjects. In America the Saudis have been popularized as wealthy, conservative investors, gentle and very pro-western. To some degree these words do describe the Saudi family accurately.

The most significant external influence the Saudis have allowed in the last 40 years comes from the United States and Great Britain. Western commitment has not waned, but its sincerity is definitely being questioned. United States policy in the Middle East has largely been an outgrowth of American domestic political considerations. The focus on the Arab-Israeli conflict, due in large measure to the influential Jewish community and its supporters, has relegated the Persian Gulf to a secondary role in American foreign policy. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has forced a shift in attention to the whole area of the Middle East.

The taking of American hostages in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the invasion of the Grand Mosque in Mecca have jolted the ruling Saudi family's image of tranquil conservative leadership in control to one of an unstable, vulnerable family dynasty living in an era that has long forsaken the anachronistic politics of royalty.

How has it been possible for the Saudis to maintain central control over the only government in the world named for a family dynasty? Michael C. Hudson, in his book *Arab Politics*, attributes the success of the Saudi family in controlling the government to three factors: "(1) the personal legitimacy of the king, (2) maintenance of a delicate balance between traditional Islamic values and modern Arab nationalism, (3) development of a technocracy

parallel to the royal family control structure—interlocked with it and subordinate to it" (p. 175). With the need for personal style as a central factor, instability and unrest could be anticipated from a number of quarters which have come to the fore in recent months.

Given the fact that Saudi Arabia has a governing system which fails to allow entry into the political power structure, one must wonder about the long-range future of such a government. A US foreign policy which focuses on Saudi Arabia as a "linchpin" is short-sighted in the light of the experience in Iran.

Internally Saudi Arabia has at least seven forces working against it. These forces could seriously affect the stability of Saudi Arabia and its ability to continue oil flow to the industrialized nations.

The first area of concern is the force of modernization. The traditional patterns and lifestyles have changed in rate and scope within the last ten years. New methods, different standards of living and different values have gained a permanent foothold in Saudi culture and traditionalists and fundamentalists have been forced to challenge and oppose these changes. Saudis are now being uprooted from age-old patterns of tribal and village life and transported swiftly to a 20th-century western system of urban life, including nuclear families and industrialized working days. The resulting social alienation opens the path to instability which, among the traditional sector, religious fundamentalists, and the disaffected educated groups, creates reverberations throughout the society.

The second force that threatens the ruling family's control of the government is corruption. There is no significant role for approximately 5000 princes of the ruling family in the government. Many have initiated

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businesses dependent on family connections in their efforts to receive contracts which draw lucratively from the billions of dollars of oil revenue the government is spending on internal development. It is no secret that certain princes hold contracts for the building of ports, industries, and entire cities. The immense wealth of the country has not trickled down, but has remained in the hands of the relatively privileged few within the royal family.

The third factor threatening Saudi Arabia is the presence of at least one million foreign workers among a population of about six million Saudis. A small population and shortage of skilled labor have forced them to import laborers from other Arab nations, South Korea and the Philippines. Most important, perhaps, is the number of Palestinians who reside in Saudi Arabia and make up the ranks of semi-skilled workers in the oil fields and construction industry. The Yemenis and Palestinians have supported causes contrary to government interests such as sympathy for the PLO. A Shiite Muslim minority in a Sunni Muslim state and hostile broadcasts beamed in from Iran are explicit threats but not ominous threats. Concentrations of these foreign workers and Shiite Muslims are found in the oil fields and throughout the industrial-expanding sectors of the economy. Reports of strikes and minor disturbances in the recent past illustrate the potential for instability which could be ignited by any number of external and internal forces. This explosive potential could easily be exploited by a number of groups hostile to the royal family and the status quo.

A fourth force is made up of young men educated abroad and disaffected by their inability to break into the political power system. Like many Third World students they tend to be leftists. Their role in the economy is essential to the nation because they have the expertise and skills that any developing nation needs. After being exposed to the openness of Western societies, they return to their country to find themselves closed off from participation or voice in the political process. While this group is relatively small, they are critical to the future of the country and their satisfaction is an important issue. Integrating these newly educated Saudis into the government power structure where deci-

sions are made is not likely to occur in the near future.

A fifth force to be reckoned with is the *ulama*, the religious scholars, who interpret the meaning of the Islamic writings concerning law, social practices, and morality. The *ulama* can legitimately exercise their political influence, as in 1964 when they sanctioned the ousting of King Saud. Islamic traditions and their legitimacy are firmly entrenched and the *ulama* could command a powerful wave of reaction to any progressive or conciliatory moves which undermine traditional Islamic values. The legitimacy of the *ulama* with the people and their access to the

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**“US response, while reassuring in word, is empty in deed. The ability of the US to aid the region militarily is based solely on a nuclear deterrent.”**

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decision-making process could place them in the forefront of any confrontations based on ideological grounds. The *ulama* could clearly command a significant amount of support to oppose any perceived threat to religious and traditional values.

A sixth and least known factor is the rivalry within the Saudi family. Speculation flourishes on the nature of relations between the Saudi ruling princes, and while very little can be confirmed, it is clear that the family councils split into various camps on several issues. Power bases that have been developed within the body of princes are the *ulama*, the National Guard and the family factions within the 25-member Council of Ministers. At least one group favors a policy of nonalignment that would include closer ties with the Soviet Union. Saudis have displayed an uneasy concern over the firmness of US commitments. Recent US policy has provided great support for those who question the unswerving nature of those commitments. President Carter's indecision in Iran and the demise of the shah were interpreted as signs of US weakness to act should the royal family become embroiled

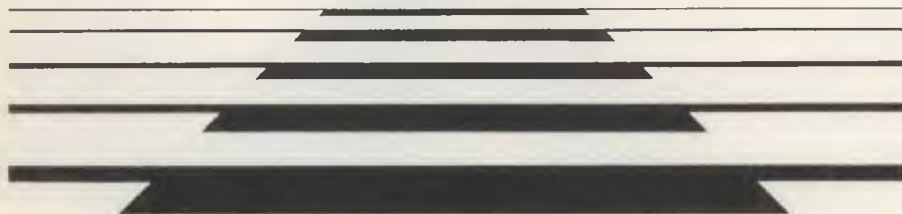
in turmoil. The major faction, led by the older, more conservative princes headed by King Khalid, favors a pro-western stance and a role for the country as an American surrogate power. This position, however, has been weakened by internal pressure on the Saudi government as American policy shifts in the face of the Saudi need for more assurances of constancy and direction. US efforts to plow ahead at Camp David for a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, void of support for other Arab nations, further lead to the reluctance of Saudi Arabia to embrace US policy intentions. Other issues that split the family spring from conflicting theories of economic development and political freedom. Saudi Arabia is producing more oil than is required for its economy, primarily due to its fears of upsetting a global balance between East and West. The country has also continued to use the dollar to price oil, in spite of the fact that the dollar has been extremely unstable on the world market. In effect, the Saudi trade and production policies have been supporting the United States at Saudi expense.

The seventh and final concern about the stability of the Saudi government comes from the region. It is conventional wisdom to suggest that the United States is ready to come to the aid of the Saudis in the event of a Soviet threat; however, that has become a threat in itself. Close relations between the two nations pose a threat to Saudi acceptance in the region as long as the question of Palestinian independence remains unresolved. Saudi Arabia could not risk isolation from other Arab nations for political reasons and friendship with the United States creates that threat. Aside from the question of Israel is the unsettling Persian Gulf region. Oil makes an already unstable situation volatile and conflict from India to the Horn of Africa presents a great threat to world peace and security. At the center of the explosive region, the Saudi family is trying to maintain a monarchy while countering Soviet threats from the Horn of Africa, Yemen, and Iraq. The anarchic situation in Iran and its war with Iraq, which strengthens the role of the Soviets, while straining Arab alliances, place a greater burden on Saudi Arabia to maintain United States interests in the region. The

*(Continued on page 44)*

"While men believe in the infinite, some ponds will be thought to be bottomless."—Thoreau

# THE POND



JANIS BENSON

Gideon was a big man, strong, quiet and very black. He was a Luo from the western province of Kenya. His wives and children lived on the shores of Lake Victoria, while he worked as cook and houseman in a big house in Nairobi. He was a good worker and proud of his work.

Memsahib was tiny, scarcely five feet tall. She was like a small bird, and, like a bird, moved with quick, small steps, her short curly hair bouncing as she walked. Her voice was high and bright, birdlike, and when she worked with Gideon in the kitchen her hands fluttered like wings over the food.

She was always with him in the kitchen. Gideon often resented this and felt he could have managed well

by himself. He knew how to make many European dishes and could read recipes easily. He would have liked to prepare the evening meals from start to finish, but Madam never allowed him to. She hovered near. Ah, well, she was too restless to wait patiently for a meal. She seemed always to have to be busy with something, always moving, always fluttering. She was never still—except at the pond.

Gideon could sit for hours and watch the trees and the sky and think about whatever entered his mind—or think about nothing at all. Sometimes Madam made him tired and he would move very slowly. Then there would be shouting. She would be angry and her high voice would become shrill as she berated him for being too slow or stupid. She would talk so fast he wouldn't understand her, and that would make matters worse.

He had almost left several times, but, well, she was the way she was and never seemed to stay angry very

long. It was just that her anger, instead of prodding him on, made him stubborn and he would do things wrong on purpose.

"Gideon! Slice the potatoes thinner, for goodness sake. Do it right!"

"Yes, Madam," and he tried, he really did, but her voice and frantic fluttering immobilized him and he became clumsy and cut his finger.

"Oh, God, Gideon! Just get out. Just get out! I'll do it. Don't drip blood on the floor, please!"

Her curls shook as she raged. But anger made her more efficient and she flew around the kitchen getting the meal ready.

Gideon went to his quarters at the back of the garden. It was a warm starlit night and he sat by the door and looked at the darkness. Already the night guard dozed in his chair by the gate. He would wake for his tea, pretending he had not slept, then doze off again. Sometimes Gideon envied him his peace. Ah, well. He watched a shadow move towards the pond and knew it was Memsahib.

Lucy Harrod had finished preparations for dinner. She felt her heart pounding in her breast and her face was hot. She needed a quiet moment before John came home, so she scurried out to the lily pond. Standing by the edge of the water she breathed deeply. This space of calm water on which floated great lily pads with their yellow and lavender blossoms, and in which swam multi-colored fish was an oasis for her. It was the only place she stopped fluttering. She herself had stocked the pond with huge goldfish, speckled carp and swift-darting swordtails.

She watched the fish glide among the lilies making small splashing sounds with their tails as they turned. They swam to her and she fed them. She liked watching their large mouths open into perfect "O's" as they drew in the food. The plop sound of their opening mouths was soothing.

"Honestly, I don't know what I'm going to do with that man," said Lucy that night at dinner. "He can't even slice a few potatoes properly. I had to fix the whole meal myself. I might as well not have a cook for all the good he does."

"The potatoes look all right to me," her husband remarked.

"Of course. That's because I took over. Didn't you hear me? I fixed the whole damned dinner!"

"Yes, dear, I heard you. I'm sorry you had to do it. Maybe we should

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*Janis Benson, who wrote "The Letter" for the March 1980 Journal, is a Foreign Service wife who has accompanied her husband on assignments to Stockholm, Paris, The Hague and Nairobi.*

get rid of him and look for someone else."

"Oh for heaven's sake, John, you don't understand. I can't lose him. He's used to me now and knows how I want things. It's just that sometimes when I'm in a particular hurry he seems to go into a trance. He doesn't hear a word I say no matter how loudly and clearly I say it. It's exasperating!"

"Easy, Lucy easy. You don't have to shout at me. I hear you, and I understand. Please." He was quiet as he ate his meal.

"Now you're going mute on me. I can't stand that. Come on, John, I'm sorry I'm upset, but do you blame me? He is so stupid, really."

John put down his knife and fork. He chose his words carefully.

"Remember that time you went to the coast for two weeks and I had to stay here alone? Gideon made some damn good dinners. I mean, he seems able to cook pretty well, don't you think so?"

"If I stand over him every minute. If I'm there to remind him to turn off the heat or light the oven or stir the sauce or slice the potatoes thin enough . . ." She stopped.

John was looking at her intently. Her mouth snapped shut and she pressed her lips tightly together. Then, like a bird opening its beak, her lips parted and she said, "Are you implying, John—are you implying that Gideon works better without me? That I, in fact, get in the way? IS that what you're implying, John?"

"I'm not implying anything, I'm just commenting, honey. But it might be true, you know. Some people work better by themselves if they're trusted with the responsibility. Maybe he needs a little more freedom. What do you think?"

"If I had not been watching him tonight the potatoes would have been an inch thick and would have taken hours to cook. I've told him a dozen times how to make scalloped potatoes and every time, no matter how much I remind him, he will not do it right!"

"Lucy, what does it matter if they take longer to cook? We've got the whole evening. I'd rather have you in a good mood than fixing dinner and coming to the table angry. Frankly, Lucy, it makes me want to just get out. Really. Maybe Gideon feels that way, too. Why not just . . ."

"Why not just shut up, John, My

God, you won't undersand. You take that wretched African's side against me." Again her voice rose shrilly and she began to cry.

John felt so sorry for her, but knew he was right. He'd seen her hover over the servants, heard her twitter directions without giving them a chance to work on their own. Sure, some servants needed to be told, but not constantly. He'd seen several good cooks leave because of it. Well, dear old girl, she didn't have enough to do. That was the trouble. Just one child, and she was away at school. Lucy had a few time-passing activities; bridge games twice a week, mah jongg every Wednesday, having friends to tea and giving parties. A bit of volunteer work once in awhile, but nothing to keep her really interested. She gardened a bit and enjoyed the fish pond. But that was it. She needed to get involved. Perhaps if she took up sewing again, or gave the book group another try.

That had been a failure once before because Lucy would chatter most of the time. She was in many ways a child. The only daughter of older parents, she had been spoiled. In a way she had never grown up. John walked outside.

"*Jambo*, Mr. Harrod," said a deep voice from the dark.

"*Jambo*, Gideon, You and Mem-sahib have a problem? Mem-sahib is very upset. Maybe you should go back in and clean up now."

"*Ndiyo*, Mr. Harrod. I will go."

"Good."

"Mr. Harrod . . ."

"Yes, Gideon?"

"Please . . . tell little Madam I come now. She can go. I can work alone, Mr. Harrod."

"Fine. Good night."

Next morning Lucy had a headache and stayed in bed.

"Tell Gideon not to cook your egg too long," she called to her husband as he went down to breakfast. "Be sure to remind him to warm the milk for your coffee."

John sighed. A busybody, that's what she was. Like a hummingbird poking her nose into everything, buzzing around from place to place, directionless. He felt a surge of pity for her.

"I ought to get out of the Foreign Service. No good for Lucy. She's bored and lonely. Or we ought to be someplace where she'd have to do all the housework herself . . . but I

suppose she couldn't manage that after all these years." He drove through the opened gates.

"Gideon! Gideon! Did you feed the dog? And feed the fish, will you? I have a headache." Her voice chirped down the stairs.

"Laddie fed, Madam. I will feed the fish."

"You'd better start on the baking now."

"Dough is already rising, Madam," he called.

"Oh, dear, I hope you remembered the salt, Gideon!"

She was out of her bed in a flash, grabbed her dressing gown, ran a comb through her hair and started towards the stairs, clutching the gown around her. The belt hung down and as she took the first step her foot caught, and she tripped. She fell from the top step, rolling and bouncing, body bouncing, curls bouncing, arms fluttering all the way to the bottom. Gideon heard the sound and hurried to the stairs. She lay on the floor, very quiet. She made no sound and her hands were still. She did not move.

Slowly he bent down, gently, very gently, turned her over. There was a trickle of blood from her mouth and her pert, bird-like head flopped back. The bright eyes stared unseeingly. He closed the eyes with his strong, black hand. He picked up her body which was as light as a feather and carried it into the garden. The sun shone brightly, but over the pond the tall, brooding grevillea trees kept out the light.

Gideon stepped carefully into the pond, carrying the small, still Mem-sahib. With his foot he parted the lily pads and laid the body down into the water. With his big hands he gently moved the lily pads back over her. Then he sat by the edge of the shaded pond and looked at the trees. His cheeks were wet with tears.

When John Harrod came home that evening he called for his wife, but got no answer. The house was strangely empty. He walked into the garden and saw Gideon sitting by the pond.

"Gideon, where is . . ." As he approached the pond he followed Gideon's gaze to the water and saw, under the lilies, the body of his wife, her lavender dressing gown floating like mist around her quiet form. The fish swam slowly in the dark water.



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## Book Essay

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### Three From the Hoover

It is difficult to keep up with the many lists of new titles from university and institution presses, yet a number of these books are either of general interest to those of us called upon to interpret the American scene abroad, or of specific professional interest to members of the foreign affairs community.

Three examples of books drawn from these categories have been published recently by the Hoover Institution Press. They are *The United States in the 1980s*, edited by Peter Duignan and Alvin Rabushka, with a foreword by W. Glenn Campbell, director of the Hoover Institution; *The Third Century: America as a Post-Industrial Society*, edited by Seymour Martin Lipset; and *Terrorism: Threat, Reality, Response*, by Robert Kupperman and Darrell Trent, with a foreword by Walter Laqueur.

*The United States in the 1980s* is an interesting and instructive collection of some 29 articles on domestic and international issues, including contributions on domestic economic issues by Milton and Rose Friedman, Alan Greenspan, Dan Throop Smith, and Michael Boskin, an article on energy options by Thomas Gale Moore, comments on environmental policy by Allen Kneese, and a particularly interesting look at higher education by the former president of San Jose State University, John H. Bunzel.

The foreign affairs issues raised in the *1980s* book include arms control (Fred Iklé), intelligence (Ray Cline), world energy (Hendrik Houthakker), foreign aid, US foreign economic policies, and international business. The book concludes with surveys on problem areas of the world prepared by such leading authorities as Richard Staar on the Soviet Union, Robert Scalapino on Asia, and Lewis Gann and Peter Duignan on Africa.

There is nothing novel about the concerns expressed in this book on America in the 1980s—diminishing productivity, growing inflation, and the energy crisis at home, and what Dr. Campbell describes in the foreword as the lack of a consistent and coherent strategy to counter increased Soviet aggressiveness throughout the world. But the comments offered on these concerns about America at

home and abroad by the writers in this book merit our careful attention. (A note on the editors: Peter Duignan is a senior fellow and director of African and Middle East Studies at the Hoover. Alvin Rabushka, also a Hoover fellow, is a specialist in fiscal policy.)

*The Third Century: America as a Post-Industrial Society* is a compilation by Martin Lipset, a professor of political science and sociology at Stanford and a senior fellow at the Hoover, of essays based on a recent and highly-successful lecture series at Stanford.

Most interesting to me of the essays were Lipset's own remarks on the future of post-industrial society; the future of the American labor movement as seen by Harvard professor and former Secretary of Labor John T. Dunlop; an excellent article by Sheila Johnson, a California professor of social anthropology, on the future of women; and a particularly brilliant piece by Stanford's Alex Inkeles on continuity and change in the American national character.

It is hard to turn from such stimulating intellectual fare to a subject which is especially depressing to many of us in the Foreign Service who have friends and colleagues being held by terrorists or under the threat of terrorist attacks. But *Terrorism: Threat, Reality, Response* is an important book in the field that must not be overlooked. As Walter Laqueur of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University points out in his foreword: "The serious study of terrorism is only beginning, but there should be no illusions about what it will be able to achieve . . . there are . . . aspects of terrorism that may forever remain beyond our comprehension . . . (but) to accept this is not to admit defeat; on the contrary, the present study shows convincingly in which directions our knowledge of the subject can and should be expanded."

In their book Trent and Kupperman describe the antecedents of contemporary terrorism, the tools and resources which terrorists today control, possible counter-measures, and a detailed analysis of crisis management in the face of terrorist operations. The book concludes with selected readings in terrorism techniques and possible anti-terrorism measures, particularly stressing the need for cool crisis management and

avoidance of panicky response by crisis managers.

The three books reviewed above can be obtained directly from the Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford CA 94305. *The United States in the 1980s* costs \$20, and the other two books are each \$14.95.

—CLINT SMITH

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## Bookshelf

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### The Issue of Democracy

THE FRACTURED CONTINENT: *Latin America in Close-Up*, by Willard L. Beaulac. The Hoover Institution Press.

Ten administrations in turn have rediscovered Latin America since Willard L. Beaulac began his long and eminent career as a diplomat with special flair for that region—a career marked by ambassadorships to five countries. Each of the administrations tried, with the usual optimism, to reinvent the wheel, but Beaulac's *The Fractured Continent: Latin America in Close-up* strongly suggests that the most lopsided design was the one produced under Jimmy Carter's misguidance.

Beaulac's book, full of sharp perceptions, astringent wisdom, and lively writing, comes at a propitious juncture, with a new administration attempting to get things moving along more sensible courses. The attention the book is sure to attract should help strengthen support for the Reagan administration's necessary policy revisions. In that connection I emphatically recommend chapter 17 on "The Issue of Democracy." But I also emphasize that the text is excellent throughout.

—CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL

### A Lost Golden Age

THE VICEROY OF OUIDAH, by Bruce Chatwin. Summit Books, \$11.95.

*The Viceroy of Ouidah* is certainly one of the more unusual books published in 1980. The Viceroy was a white Brazilian slave trader, Francesco Felix de Souza, who reached Ouidah, a Portuguese fort on the coast of the then Kingdom of Dahomey, in the early 1800s. His fortunes prospered with the slave trade, but subsequently collapsed; he left behind sixty-three mulatto sons and an unknown number of daughters whose descendants now gather an-

nually to commemorate the Slave Trade as a lost Golden Age and to bewail the evaporation of the family fortune.

Chatwin, a highly respected British author who has produced an earlier masterpiece of travel writing (*In Patagonia*), seems almost to have stumbled onto the story during his travels in West Africa, first visiting Dahomey in 1971. When he returned six years later to collect materials for a biography of de Souza, Dahomey had become Benin and Chatwin unwittingly became involved in a coup d'état attempt, was imprisoned and subsequently left hastily.

What he came away with was the skeleton of a story and a number of vivid impressions. Buttreasing these elements with research on the Brazilian end of the story, Chatwin has produced a gem.

Seeing Dahomey in the twentieth century, he is able to evoke the country of 100 years earlier, its primitiveness, its smells and colors, the people who inhabited it and some of their curious customs. He covers the main developments in de Souza's life, but does not attempt to imagine or rough in all the details. While he acknowledges the patchiness of his research materials, his book needs no apology—it successfully captures the atmosphere of the times and of the slave trade with which de Souza was involved.

—PRATT BYRD

### One Family's Ordeal

IN THE EYE OF THE TYPHOON: *An American Woman Shares in the Upheavals of China's Cultural Revolution 1966-1978*, by Ruth Earnshaw Lo and Katharine S. Kinderman. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, \$12.95.

When Ruth Earnshaw was a student at the University of Chicago in the mid-1930s, she met Lo Chuanfang, who was then earning his Ph.D. in psychology. In 1936 she went to China, met his distinguished family (to the great satisfaction of all concerned) and married him in Shanghai in 1937, on the eve of the Japanese attack. From then on, she and he were both university professors in China until his death in June 1969. She returned to the United States in 1978 and now lives in Boulder, Colorado.

In his commendatory introduction to her book, Dr. John Fairbank describes the "Great Proletarian Cul-

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tural Revolution" as "civil war of the cruelest sort—friend turning against friend, youth against age, students against teachers . . . an unending revival meeting, full of tension, often a nightmare."

A survivor of those terrifying years, Mrs. Lo recalls that no one knew what to expect from day to day. At Zhongshan University (Sun Yat Sen University) in Canton suburbs, regular classes ceased; rival bands of Red Guards ruled the campus. Houses were suddenly searched; books, pictures, typewriters and other possessions confiscated. Professors were summarily, incessantly, ordered to report for insulting examinations by Red Guards and held up to public ridicule. Their children were given work assignments in communes far from home.

"All the powerful forces of the new revolutionary society were bent on winning over the rising generation. Family must never come ahead of revolutionary interest. Loyalty must be to the Party, to the State, to the work team."

Living in China as a Chinese but seeing it as an American, she pondered the experiences of her four de-

acades there, and drew some conclusions. Americans who would understand China and the Chinese need to comprehend:

"There are a billion and more Chinese occupying a limited living space; there is never quite enough food for everyone; there is no traditionally sanctioned, generally accepted way for the masses of the people to express dissatisfaction and motivate change."

China's great unsolved problem of too many people and too little food augurs "no end to struggle in the People's Republic."

This easy-reading, anecdotal, conversational, personal account of one family's ordeal in the "Great Revolution for a Propertyless Class Culture" (Fairbank) is more perceptive (surely more absorbing) than most academic analyses and interpretations. Barbara Tuchman said that reading it made her "profoundly thankful to be an American." Also, surely, American readers will honor Ruth Earnshaw Lo for "Finally, my love and gratitude to the Chinese people, whose life I shared for so many unforgettable years."

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

### Courting Disaster

THE MEANING OF HITLER by Sebastian Haffner. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London. £5.95.

Sebastian Haffner's essay should be required reading for all history buffs, if only for its provocativeness. The Berlin-born, one-time *London Observer* correspondent has produced a brilliant commentary on the phenomenon that was Adolph Hitler. Belabored on occasion, and certainly not without bias, it is nonetheless a compelling discussion of the dynamics of the man and his impact. The original German edition sparked intense controversy in Europe; this very readable translation will allow an American audience to join the debate.

The series of individual treatises on Hitler's successes, his mistakes, his achievement, crimes, etc., builds in rough chronological progression to a culminating "betrayal" of Germany, and it is the hints of national exculpation here which arouse most contention. Central to Haffner's analysis is the thesis that Hitler had two overriding objectives—domination of Europe and elimination of Jews, both to be achieved within his

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**MARINE MILITARY ACADEMY**

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own lifetime—and that their incompatibility foreordained disaster. He argues in effect that Hitler could have gone down in history as a great statesman, Nazi brutalities forgotten, had he been content with his 1933-1940 achievements. But *Lebensraum* and racial obsession dictated a move east, and there, failure to crush Russia by late 1941 convinced him that the European goal was not to be attained in the time he had left. Only extermination of the Jews remained possible. So in a deliberately engineered “betrayal” of Germany, armies were sacrificed in the east to allow time for the gas chambers to finish their work, and for the German people, unworthy of their Führer, to be destroyed by the more vigorous races of the east.

Haffner contends that without Hitler, Europe would have retained its importance, neither Russia nor America could now be fixed at its center, Germany would not be divided, there would have been no Israel, and colonial empires would probably still be intact. Though Napoleon, Bismarck, Lenin and Mao had their

monumental, often bloody achievements, one must go as far back as Alexander the Great to find a figure who in so short a period so lastingly transformed the world. Even then, Hitler stands unique for having accomplished at mind-boggling human cost the exact opposite of what he set out to do.

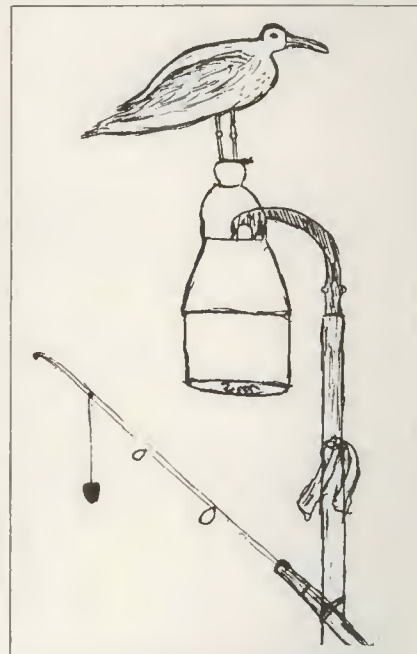
The arguments are persuasively developed. Still, detached readers may have difficulty accepting some of the premises, particularly Haffner's insistence that the *Gottterdammerung* represented a rational and inexorable finale to Hitler's political evolution. He seems strangely reluctant to concede, for example, that Hitler's later obsessions might have been essentially irrational, the product of a pathologically degenerating mind, despite the ample evidence on that score.

But taken as a whole, the commentary is unquestionably a *tour de force*. Its shortcomings, and its contentiousness, merely prove that the definitive explanation of Adolph Hitler has yet to be written.

—K. M. MAUTNER

## ERRATUM

Through a typographical error by our typesetter, regrettably missed by both their proofreaders and ours, the name of Gerard Smith, former director of ACDA, was misspelled in the January book essay. The author's manuscript was correct.



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**AMERICAN WINES** from page 12

that they become, in effect, bartering goods to be traded among vintners.

But nationwide distribution of really fine California wines is common. I have found that reputable wine stores in the District of Columbia, and I'm sure this applies elsewhere, can provide sound advice on what is a good buy in California wines.

For instance, Central Liquors recently advertised a cabernet sauvignon sale. That wine is named for its grapes, which account for the great chateau vintages of the Bordeaux region in France. Central's list included some of the fine, leading names of California, such as Beringer, Inglenook, Louis Martini, Parducci, Paul Masson, Souverain and Sterling. (Too bad Robert Mondavi was not included, for he makes one of the most distinguished cabernets in the nation, indeed in the world. Price probably was the reason, for the sale list ranged from \$2.59 to \$5.39 a bottle, which is quite a bit below Mondavi's charge.) Mondavi is also a fine producer of pinot noir and fumé blanc.

The list is almost limitless, and now includes the distinguished French house, Moet et Chandon. That firm has established itself in the Napa Valley, and there it makes a champagne called Chandon, which deserves marks for an American-produced product comparable to its French forebear's esteem. Quite properly, California wine makers gave up some years ago the gag that every year in California is a vintage year. But soil and climate combine to make conditions felicitous enough to have Moet put its name on a product produced there. I think the firm operated with reason.



**FREEDOM** from page 13

friends, performed superbly in the difficult middleman role with Iran which helped make the final settlement possible. We are grateful to the West Germans, the Swiss, and many other governments who also offered their support.

Closer to home, the Foreign Service owes a debt of gratitude to former Secretary Vance, former Undersecretary Newsom, former Assistant Secretary Saunders, the former Iranian Working Group, and others who from the beginning sought to provide balance and professional expertise to the release effort. We also greatly appreciate the successful work of former President Carter, former Secretary Muskie, former Deputy Secretary Christopher and the many others who worked tirelessly from September to January to secure the final release. Toward the end of the process, a number of additional people worked overtime to facilitate the return, including the staff of Amembassy Algiers, the battery of financial experts under former Treasury Secretary Miller, the State Department translators who worked 56 hours straight to render the documents in three languages, staffs in the intermediate points of Frankfurt, Wiesbaden and West Point, and those in the department who supervised and managed the return process. They, like the large number of colleagues who cabled greetings to the returnees from 155 posts, like the thousands who greeted the former hostages in front of the State Department and from the White House lawn, and like the rest of the Foreign Service, are delighted to have the former staff of Amembassy Tehran back. Welcome Home!

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## BREAKOUT from page 20

● As a result of these actions, State's bureaucratic *influence* would improve vis-à-vis Defense, Commerce, Treasury, and other domestic agencies. The diminished role for the NSC aside, State's influence would also be strengthened by the secretary's role as executive agent of the new Foreign Economic Policy Council, the establishment of a Foreign Intelligence Agency under State, and the rationalization of the Foreign Service personnel system to create a large, expert corps of specialist services. And, perhaps most significantly, the creation of the new Foreign Policy Advisory Council would give the career Foreign Service a direct channel for professional advice to the president.

● *Morale* among the department's employees and the Foreign Service would be improved greatly by giving State a more meaningful role and mission, and by improving staffing patterns and establishing a relatively clear road map for career development.

● State's *staffing* problems probably could be overcome with only modest

increases in the aggregate position levels of the foreign affairs agencies. Increased specialist positions and more careful identification of and grooming for generalist positions would make for better utilization of existing resources.

● Finally, State would be in a better position to integrate *domestic* factors into foreign policy through the new under secretary for policy coordination's relations, as well as functional policy coordination elements. In addition, the placing of the specialized agencies under State would bring abundant opportunities for detailed State personnel to feel the influence of domestic special interests bearing on their operations.

When proposals for reorganization are advanced, someone inevitably recalls the words of the Roman soldier Petronius Arbiter, circa 66 AD:

We trained hard—but it seems that every time we were beginning to form up into teams, we would be reorganized. I was to learn that later in life we tend to meet any new situation by reorganizing, and a wonderful method it can be for creating the illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency, and demoralization.

Perhaps one cause of the collapse of the Roman Empire was too many reorganizations fed by the lack of a grand design. But today, there is a crisis, increasingly less hidden, in the institutions that make and carry out American foreign policy. And, as we stand on the threshold of a different era that no longer will allow us the luxury of "muddling through," we must face squarely the necessity to develop a grand design, a design that lets us know where we are heading. It must not be an ossified monument, but rather a supple plan that remains coherent and offers lasting resiliency. The design offered here is one approach to that problem. Getting there is another task admittedly, but we must find the courage to take first steps and decide where we want to go. The last thing needed now is another commission to study the problem; analyses are abundantly available. The times call for action now. We must, in sum, devise a breakout from the vicious, self-defeating circle in which we have imprisoned ourselves for too long.



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## THE DESERT ROAD

from page 31

the desert, and not leave you stranded in this hellish wilderness. The terrain is so flat that there is not another microwave relay tower until the ridge on the far side of the desert—the largest gap in the chain. There is little distinction between the road and the desert floor; a bus roars by fifty yards to the right because the driving is easier there than on the road.

Just as you think that you have reached the center of lifelessness, you notice, on both sides of the road, a forest of sandstone outcrops of uniform height, stretching for miles along a dried-up river bed. On closer inspection, these appear to be the badly eroded remains of buildings, a ruined city in the desert. Local legend calls it Narmashir, allegedly a Zoroastrian site. You wonder if it truly was a city, and why it died; was there a climatic change? Did the depredations of man and his grazing animals ruin the distant watershed, causing the river to dry up? Or was an ancient trade route—the Desert Road—interrupted by poli-

tics? You think back to Ardestan, and consider that all these factors still affect the desert cities of Iran.

Now you are in the Kavir-e-Lut itself, driving over a salty, mineral whiteness streaked with black. It is a desert of death, the wasteland that tested Alexander the Great on his return from India. All water dies here, and the surface shimmers and glares in your eyes. You can see for miles to the featureless horizon. Then a tiny point appears at the end of the arrow-straight road, growing slowly larger as the minutes tick by. It is the Mil-e-Naderi, a brick tower built by Nader Shah to guide travelers on the desert—a lighthouse in the sea of sand. You stop to walk around it, and a deathly silence descends; you sneer at the baking whiteness, and gulp down a canned soft drink.

Beyond, you encounter one of several tiny, widely-spaced gendarmerie posts, where a few half-dressed, forlorn-looking men wander around the shell of a brick building, staring blankly at the God-awful desolation around them. There is no electricity, no telephone, and water must be brought in by truck. This,

you think, must be the worst duty in the world. Then, with superb Iranian incongruity, a Galion motor grader rumbles past the gendarmes, and the driver tosses a package on the ground; the desert mail service.

There is not a single town or petrol station in the 340 kilometers from Bam to Zahedan, which becomes an obsessive goal. Someone who understands the mentality of a desert traveler has put up small metal signs every ten kilometers to announce the remaining distance. At Shurgaz the road becomes sand, in and around a dry river bed; beyond, you encounter water running across the road and leap out to touch it, only to find that it is salty. Another gendarmerie post, with a raised wooden road barrier, pops up out of the dunes and ridges, and a gendarme sits tilted back in his chair beside a stop sign; as you roar through to the accompaniment of a lazily raised eyebrow, you wonder what kind of traffic he plans to halt.

A ridge appears to your right front, and the road begins to climb out of the Kavir-e-Lut. Now you are in badlands, highly mineralized desert hills that form a hump between

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## FRIEND OR FOE FOR SAUDI ARABIA

from page 33

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan sends a message of the willingness of the Soviets to carry out bold acts in the region. US response, while reassuring in word, is empty in deed. The ability of the United States to aid the region militarily is based solely on a nuclear deterrent. There is not sufficient manpower to repel a Soviet invasion.

US policy in the Middle East will serve its own national interest at the expense of Saudi Arabia. The Carter Doctrine specifically mentions the Persian Gulf—which means oil. In the past, American policy has focused on Israel only. The expansion of our sphere of interest unfortunately is not based on a close relationship with Persian Gulf states, but with western self-interest in securing an oil supply and an absence of Soviet influence.

The power play in the Middle East between the superpowers is likely to unfold slowly and over a prolonged period of time. That period of time

works against US interests in Saudi Arabia. The forces which work to undermine the Saudis are subtle but steady. As the population and the royal family grows, it will become evident soon enough to US policy makers that the royal family will view the experience of the shah of Iran as typical US policy in the future.

Basing a policy on protecting the Persian Gulf through support of Saudi Arabia, a nation that cannot accommodate transition from leader to leader, is dangerous and narrow. The United States needs a broader perspective in its policy. A regional policy which includes Saudi Arabia without making it the "linchpin" may be the best long-term solution for protecting western interests. The best hope is a broadly based coalition of moderate states made up of population centers and oil powers. Whatever the coalition make-up, Egypt and Saudi Arabia are key factors in Persian Gulf politics.

As for the United States and European assurances of an oil supply, time is long past for Western interests to coalesce into a coherent poli-

cy which benefits the area militarily and *all* of the West economically. It would appear wise to include European allies in the move toward a Gulf policy. A policy with broad Western backing not only helps the US but it takes the Saudis off the hook as a tool of an American policy which lacks definition and direction.

The challenge of the incoming Reagan administration in the Persian Gulf is immediate and crucial. Reagan has traditionally expressed a cool interest in the Arab side of the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, his strong commitment to business may force him to soften his attitude and expand his horizons.

The Reagan administration could be expected to initiate a forceful American presence abroad. How that presence translates is of major concern to the Persian Gulf nations. The dilemma for the next administration lies in the task of strengthening Persian Gulf states and therefore American oil interests, while at the same time maintaining America's traditional commitments in the Middle East.



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## Letters

from page 4

a lot less than it would cost to have "in house" capability. To paraphrase a distinguished Foreign Service officer, the principal officer at Maracaibo needs to be able to program a minicomputer like a cigar store Indian needs a brassiere. To further abuse the analogy, the emphasis should be on the Indian, not the brassiere.

ROBERT S. DRISCOLL  
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## Relations With Iran

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Based on our unprecedented experience, reality dictates that it should take many years for Iran to be entitled to US representatives on her soil.

PAUL A. CHADWELL  
*Department of State and  
Department of Defense (Ret.)  
Washington, D.C.*

## Shuttle Diplomacy

Charles Maechling's article in the excellent January *FSJ* seems to me, now eleven years distant from active service, a good analysis of what's wrong with the conduct of our foreign relations and what should be done about it. Moreover, it is provocative enough to warrant discussion.

The author gives rather short shrift to the usefulness today of Nicolson's "advocacy of certain timeless virtues . . . reliability, truthfulness, discretion, firmness, and consistency," which, I believe, are the elements of credibility, which in turn is the key ingredient of the effective conduct of foreign relations. Despite intermittent American failure to hold to this principle we do a better job of it than the Soviets and this explains to me why we, globally and on balance, do a better job of managing our foreign relations than they do, despite their several obvious advan-

tages. Mr. Maechling tosses Nicolsonism into the ashcan because of "its incomplete comprehension of the underlying idiom of history and human development . . . the basic reality" of which is "daily making the nation-state more obsolete at every level of international intercourse." This is selective quotation but it summarizes the message I get from his argument. He dilutes its plausibility when he then discusses "Extension of the Role of Government" as one of six "factors which are rapidly changing the shape of diplomacy."

A basic point he seems to miss is that despite the increasing oneness and complexity of the world, the vital decisions in international intercourse are still the result of negotiation between nation-states. The basic mission of an ambassador and an embassy is to find the levers of power in the nation-state to which they are accredited and learn just how the pulling of those levers can be influenced and how much. To use the author's phrase in a different context, to keep a "finger on the decision making pulse." American embassies may or may not be performing this function well today but there seems to be little incentive to make the effort. The shrinking world

apparently gives those in Washington a feeling of infinite wisdom which makes them forget that personal relationships remain important and that they are only effectively built up by day to day nurturing on the spot. So perhaps Mr. Maechling should balance his recommendations on "Specialization, Graduate Education" with a discussion of some reverse education of the Washington establishment on the advantages of listening to the man on the spot rather than despatching a high ranking emissary on a figurative gunboat to solve in 24 hours a problem which may have taken as many months, or more, to develop. Not that a Washington emissary cannot often be useful, sometimes even vital to the successful solution of a problem, but it should be undertaken in agreement with the embassy, not imposed on it.

I hope to see more *FSJ* issues as interesting as the January one.

J. K. Penfield, *FSO retired*  
*Longbranch, Wash.*

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*The JOURNAL welcomes the expression of its readers' opinions in the form of letters to the editor. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary. Send to: Letters to the Editor, Foreign Service JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.*

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## Foreign Service People

### Births

**Homan-Jones.** A son, Todd William, born to A. Elizabeth Jones and Thomas A. Homan on December 17, in Washington. Ms. Jones and Mr. Homan are assigned to State NEA and USICA NEA respectively.

### Deaths

**Henderson.** Elizabeth M. Henderson, wife of James E. Henderson, retired, died on July 18. Mrs. Henderson accompanied her husband on assignments to Vancouver, Tallinn, Salonika, Beirut, Guadalajara, Cebu, Manila, and Naples. In addition to her husband of 25984 Mesa Dr., Carmel, California 93923, she is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Guy M. McKhann of Baltimore and Mrs. Aristeo Renzoni of Siena, Italy, and nine grandchildren.

**La Rue.** G. Wallace La Rue, retired, died on January 19 in McLean. Mr. La Rue entered the Foreign Service in 1937 and served at Ottawa, Bombay, Algiers, Ciudad Juarez, Panama, Zurich and as consul general in Turin before his retirement in 1965. He is survived by his wife, of Apt. 726, 8340 Greensboro Dr., McLean, Virginia 22102 and two sisters, Mrs. O. C. Daggertt of Sterling, Illinois and Joyce La Rue of New York City.

**Olenik.** Joseph Eugene Olenik of the Board of Examiners died on November 11. Mr. Olenik entered the Foreign Service in 1950 and served at Jidda, London, Dacca, Tangier, Johannesburg, Hong Kong and Seoul before his assignment to BEX. He is survived by his wife of 2538 Villanova Dr., Vienna, Va. 22180, one son, two daughters, his mother and a sister.

### HOME CARE

WILL GIVE board, room and some care to elderly lady in private home. Licensed in District. 363-5110.

### WANTED TO RENT

WANTED TO RENT or house-sit June and July, house or apartment, minimum three bedrooms, close-in Northwest Washington near public transport. Foreign Service family home on leave, no young children or pets. Michael Pistor, New Delhi (ICA), Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

## MORE ON AID COMMISSIONS

Dear Jon:

Thank you for your letter of December 30, 1980, concerning the position I have taken regarding establishment at this time of a Commissioned Officer Corps for AID.

Your letter indicates that there may be a misunderstanding of my position on the subject. Specifically, I stated that:

I, therefore, have decided, without prejudice to the next administrator's final decision on whether or not AID should establish a commissioned officer corps, that we should over the next seven months or so, work out our Commissioning system for AID's Senior Foreign Service and use that experience as a guide to further consideration of establishing a commissioned corps below the Senior Foreign Service level.

I note with interest AFSA's observation that AID might consider commissioning of tenured officers at perhaps the FS-2 level and above. It is one possible option. I have asked Jim Kraus, chief of our Labor Relations Staff, to keep AFSA advised of our ideas on commissioning as they develop.

DOUGLAS J. BENNET, JR.

## OUR COVER ARTIST

Sheila Isham, whose "Chinese Red" appears on our March cover, has an exhibit entitled "East and West: Painting/Poems" at the National Museum of American Art. The exhibit opened on January 31 and will continue until April 5. It will then be shown at the Albright-Knox Gallery in Buffalo, N.Y.

Joshua C. Taylor, director of the National Museum of American Art, says of Mrs. Isham's work, "These are paintings wholly within the Western tradition, and yet the poetry and calligraphic tradition of China find place there, not as exotic intrusions but as a basic, readily apprehensible part of the artistic experience."

## ERRATUM

Those responding to the Population Action Control advertisement in the January *Journal* are advised that the street address was incorrect. Please see page 10 of this issue for the correct address.



# *More than 50 years in the Foreign Service*

One of the most common of occurrences nowadays is the ever increasing cost of things that we need, even insurance, and particularly health insurance.

As you know, premiums for insurance are based primarily upon the actual experience of claims made and benefits paid in the preceding year.

Last year (1980) the American Foreign Service Protective Association not only was able to avoid an increase, but to effect a substantial decrease in premiums. And for that Foreign Service Benefit Plan subscribers can thank themselves.

But that was last year!

Unfortunately premiums for 1981 are up substantially, and while it won't reduce the costs, at least some explanation might be helpful.

The first jolt was that for the first six months of 1980, our *Self Only* claims were up 79.5 percent and *Self and Family* claims were up 100.3 percent.

These increases translated into an actuarial basis meant that our premiums had to be increased 35 percent.

The premium cost for the *Self Only* subscription, both the employee and the government share, was increased 35 percent, raising the biweekly cost to the member from \$3.44 to \$4.64.

However, the impact on *Self and Family* enrollment was greater. There is a *maximum* government contribution computed each year as per FPM Supplement 890-1 Federal Employees Health Benefits; Appendix A, Chapter 89, Title 5. US Code Section 8906. In 1981 this maximum amount is \$35.64, effectively limiting the government participation and thereby throwing the additional premium cost (above \$35.64) onto the employee. This results in a *Self and Family* biweekly premium increase from \$14.32 to \$25.01 for 1981.

*P.S. Comments from members of the Association on how we can better serve are always welcome.*

## **AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, INC.**

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