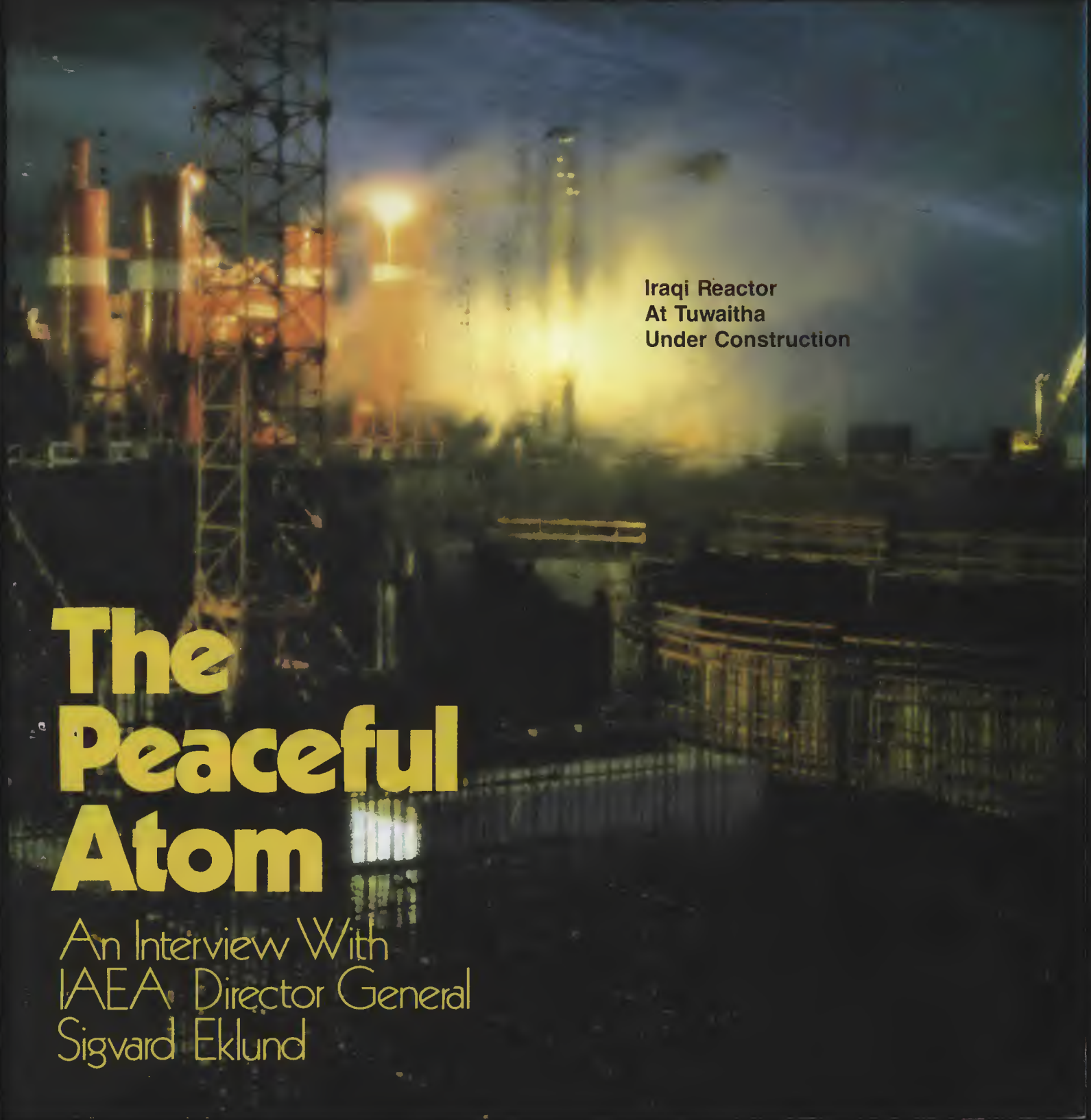


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COVER: A night-time view of the French-built Osirak reactor in Iraq that was destroyed by an Israeli air strike, now a fitting symbol of the irony in the U.N. International Atomic Energy Agency's program to bring "Atoms for Peace" to the world. Our interview with IAEA Director General Sigvard Eklund begins on page 22.

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The decline of the Foreign Service began when Henry Kissinger upgraded the role of the national security adviser and has been worsened by attitudes within the State Department itself. By Elliot L. Richardson.

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Had there been an understanding in place among the U.S. and its allies on how to respond to Iran's kind of state-sponsored terrorism, the hostage crisis might have been much shorter. By Bruce Laingen.

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The *Foreign Service Journal* is the magazine of professionals in foreign affairs, published 11 times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the International Communication Agency, the Agency for International Development, or the United States Government as a whole. While the Editorial Board is responsible for general content, statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 on the editorial page and in the Association News, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

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LETTERS

Undermining an Ally

I read with interest and some nostalgia Charles Maechling's review of Barry Rubin's book on Iran (*Paved with Good Intentions*, May). As one who served (with Bruce Laingen) in Iran after the fall of Mossadeq and later managed Iranian affairs in the department for over three years, I believe both Maechling and Rubin have put their fingers on the point at which U.S. policy began to undermine an ally we wished to maintain.

We followed during my time, and for some years thereafter, a policy of restraint in providing military assistance to the Shah. Our guidelines were to provide nothing beyond what the Iranian armed forces could operate and maintain. A concomitant

objective was to keep the number of American advisers to a minimum, to avoid a sudden flare-up of the xenophobia which lies so near the surface, for understandable reasons, in that ancient land. We applauded the Shah's efforts to modernize his country, we urged repeatedly that he provide some outlet for the political expression of his people, and argued with him when necessary about police excesses, the pace of development, and the rapidity with which he could reasonably expect to build up his forces. Incidentally, far from being the American puppet of popular portrayal, he was one of the most difficult leaders of a friendly country we have ever had to deal with.

On balance, I continue to believe that in his own milieu the Shah was a capable leader who did far more good than harm, and who deserved better treatment at the hands of his countrymen and his erstwhile friends. In later years he clearly suffered the corruption of absolute power and the accompanying megalomania, a powerful reason for the U.S. not to encourage the enormous military buildup and the influx of



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large numbers of Americans which marked, alas, the early 1970s. In this sense, we contributed materially to the timing of his downfall, though I personally think the conservative reaction to modernization and middle class dislike of political repression might have brought about his demise sooner or later; whatever our policy. We should also not forget that in geopolitical terms the Shah of Iran gave the West twenty-five years of stability in an area known for continual upheaval.

Charles Maechling makes another point which I would like to endorse strongly. The role of U.S. intelligence in the overthrow of Mossadeq has been so grossly exaggerated that it may take years for fact to catch up with popular myth. With the best intentions, Mossadeq was pushing his country to the brink of political disarray, economic chaos, and perhaps a new intervention by the Soviets. The Iranian people, for whom I continue to have the deepest affection despite my abhorrence of their action against our embassy and my longtime friend Bruce Laingen, are no fools, then or now, and they sensed in 1953 that the genuinely popular Mossadeq was leading them to ruin.

My thanks to both the author and the reviewer for some simple truths on a subject tormented by distortion, twisted facts, and outright falsehoods.

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Diplomatic Descriptions

John P. McKnight's entertaining article on "The Diplomat's Lexicon" (June 1981) brings to mind the anonymous definition of diplomacy as "consisting of saying the nastiest things in the nicest ways."

As for diplomats themselves, Somerset Maugham expressed the following views in his short story "The Human Element": "It was stupid of me not to have seen at once that he was connected with the diplomatic service. He had the supercilious courtesy that is so well calculated to put up the backs of the general public and the aloofness due to the consciousness the diplomat has that he is not as other men are, joined with the shyness occasioned by his uneasy feeling that other men do not quite realize it."

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Affirmative Action

The highly emotional tone of Paul Molineaux's letter (June 1981) on affirmative action leads me to several observations. The many *ad hominem* remarks by Mr. Molineaux should have given pause to your editors. These remarks suggested an incomprehension about American political dynamics and principles that would probably make useful communication with Molineaux impossible.

So turning to the *Journal*, I am appalled such remarks would appear without giving others an opportunity (in the same issue, preferably, as is done in national magazines) to bring Molineaux up short on his diatribe, which lowered the level of intellectual exchange which the *Journal* should encourage. There is nothing in Molineaux's letter that invites serious discussion on a matter which concerns, one way or another, broad sectors of the American public. You seem deliberately to have played into his hands, gratuitously inviting insult to those persons such as myself who believe affirmative action can best provide some equity in the sorry situation which has continued to exist in the Department of State since I joined it in 1957.

This is not the first time that the *Journal* (and AFSA) has shown either directly, or indirectly, as in the above case, its bias against management's efforts to make the Foreign Service a more representative institution. I have complained in the past that AFSA has not encouraged an objective debate on the matter, but has rather taken sides. I see, given the nature of Molineaux's letter, that the same attitude still spills over into the *Journal*.

R. V. FIMBRES
Deputy Chief of Mission
Quito, Ecuador

BOOK REVIEWS

Califano's Revenge

GOVERNING AMERICA, by Joseph Califano, Jr. Simon & Schuster, 1981. \$16.95.

Joseph Califano's book about his years with Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter might have been called *Califano's Revenge*. Of the two presidents that Califano served, one was the quintessential man of the system. The other won—and later lost—the presidency because he never figured out the system. This book leaves no doubt which president the author admired; indeed, it strips Carter, who fired Califano as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, of all but his good intentions and his strong Baptist faith. In one illustrative scene, Califano describes savoring a spirited debate with Senator Russell Long over health-insurance legislation, as would any person who loves good political negotiation, and then reporting to a president who confesses, "I can never understand what he (Long) is talking about . . ."

Califano's skirmishes with the White House staff also demonstrate that the skills required to win elections are not necessarily those needed to govern. As the first HEW secretary to attend the annual World Health Assembly, in Geneva in May 1978, he sought U.S. endorsement of a Saudi resolution against smoking, as consistent with Carter's preventive-health position and vital to Third World leaders concerned about health problems in developing countries. That support had to be rescued from White House staff efforts to mollify North Carolina tobacco interests. Dr. Peter Bourne, that unforgettable health aide, was even spouting the tobacco lobby's propaganda about the "relaxing" and other benefits that "might be in smoking."

Anyone writing of service to a president will mark that work with personal philosophy. Harry MacPherson, writing of Lyndon John-

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son, could not help invoking his own personal faith, nor could Bill Moyers. If Califano has a Washington faith, it is pragmatism. A Roman Catholic, he "sensed that the abortion issue was headed inexorably for my desk." When it got there, he consulted with Catholic leaders and was able to resolve, for himself at least, that a man could hold firm beliefs that abortion was wrong and still uphold federal laws granting women the right to decide. Although declaring all out war on smoking, he was able to rationalize ignoring the issue of federal price supports for tobacco, on the grounds that subsidies have no effect on personal decisions not to smoke.

Califano's thirty-month reign at HEW also involved him in infant nutrition, alcoholism, welfare reform, Social Security, civil rights, education, student loans, swine flu inoculations, affirmative action—the major social problems of our time. Readers who lack a passion for bureaucratic detail may be forgiven for passing quickly over accounts of how each battle was won or lost. Yet, the book also is rich in recent history and that combination of personal gossip, inside revelations, and name-dropping that is the stuff of Washington. Califano portrays himself dancing heroically between such exalted egos as those of Johnson and the brothers Kennedy, often telling each things he did not wish to hear. He describes listening in horror as Teddy Kennedy claimed Califano for his own on the issue of national health programs, during Kennedy's stirring address to the 1978 Democratic mini-convention. Kennedy had the session in the palm of his hand, outshining the incumbent president as he was to do again a year and a half later at the Democratic nominating convention. At that moment, Califano must have begun to feel the ax rubbing his neck before it finally fell the following July.

—MARIANNE KARYDES

AIDing Nutrition

COMBATING NUTRITIONAL BLINDNESS IN CHILDREN: *A Case Study of Technical Assistance in Indonesia*, by Carl Fritz. Pergamon Press.

Several years ago while on a trip in Southeast Asia, I saw my first keratomalacia victim—a tiny child whose eyes had been converted into sight-

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The task facing the author, Carl Fritz, and his Indonesian and American colleagues working for Helen Keller International under an AID contract seems relatively simple at first glance. They were to develop estimates of the magnitude of the problem of eye disorders due to vitamin A deficiency in Indonesia, to provide additional insights into those factors which bring about these diseases, and to design a program to prevent them. When one considers the plethora of problems encount-

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ered in implementing the project, it is not surprising that it was not completed when Fritz finished this account.

Many of the obstacles were a reflection of the culture of rural Indonesia and the poverty of its people. In one instance, the use of home remedies to treat early symptoms of an eye disorder caused a delay in seeking appropriate care, and the child went blind. Mothers were reluctant to allow blood samples to be taken from their children. Some families simply could not afford the costs of transportation to bring their children back to a hospital for follow-up care after they were treated for nutritional eye diseases.

The most formidable obstacles, however, had their origins in the U.S. and Indonesian bureaucracies. At one point, it took Fritz and an Indonesian assistant several weeks (and not a little cash out of pocket) to get greatly needed equipment cleared through Indonesian customs. A number of items requested through an AID PIO/C issued in September 1976 were not ordered by the General Services Administration until May 1977. Spare parts ordered through the GSA for AID-purchased jeeps did not reach Indonesia until the project was finished.

Fritz has high praise for the local AID mission and, indeed, it seems clear that essential basic data would not have been collected had the mission not loaned Helen Keller International several vehicles at the beginning of the project. This praise seems doubly merited in view of AID missions' general distaste for centrally funded projects such as this one, sponsored by the AID Office of Nutrition in Washington.

Despite these problems and a host of others, the team did demonstrate that nutritional blindness is a formidable public health problem in Indonesia, and plans were elaborated to combat vitamin A deficiency. The author gives much of the credit to the project scientist, Dr. Alfred Sommer, and his Indonesian co-workers, but I suspect that Fritz was responsible for the relative success of this venture to a greater degree than he implies.

I heartily recommend this absorbing book to all who are interested in the development process. In particular, it should be read by AID's detractors, who insist that the agen-

cy is woefully ineffective. This well-documented treatise suggests that AID's supporters can make an excellent case for their own view.

—DONALD W. MACCORQUODALE,
M.D.

Hitler's Foreign Policy

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HITLER'S GERMANY: *Starting World War II, 1937-1939*, by Gerhard H. Weinberg. University of Chicago Press.

This is the second volume of Weinberg's foreign policy series on Nazi Germany, taking off from the end of the earlier volume, *Diplomatic Revolution in Europe, 1933-1936*, and continuing the most comprehensive study available in English on German diplomacy under Hitler. Our appetite is whetted for a final volume to carry us through 1945.

There has been, of course, a tremendous amount of scholarly research on Nazi Germany, and popular writing as well. To cover the burgeoning literature is, in itself, no mean feat. But to synthesize it, to combine elements derived from original research, and somehow to put it all together is a masterly accomplishment.

The book carefully shows what Hitler's foreign policy objectives were and how he achieved them. It weaves in all the complex strands of military strategy and objectives, domestic policy, and those of political concern, giving us the full fabric of Nazi diplomacy. In Weinberg's view, Hitler was firmly determined to wage war, placing all else subordinate to that goal. Thus, we see Germany's support of Franco in the Spanish Civil War as a means of securing access to Spanish raw materials while denying them to the British—not just as an exercise for weapons and tactics. The Czech crisis was as much an effort to test the resolve of the West as it was to destroy Czechoslovakia, that hated creation of Versailles. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact was aimed at pacifying the East so that Poland could be eliminated as a trouble spot before the main action against the West—rather than only an effort to delude the Soviets before the Nazis unleashed their *blitzkrieg*.

Weinberg makes clear that, during this period, Hitler was fully in command and highly rational in his manipulation of foreign policy. Having successfully consolidated his control over Germany by 1937, he



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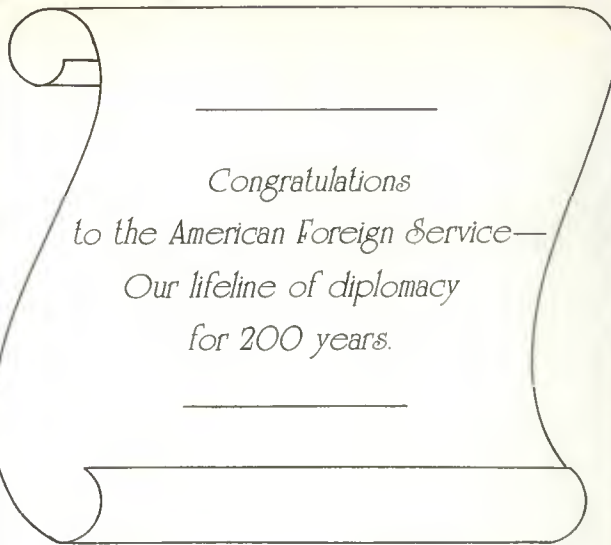
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was able to lay the diplomatic groundwork for the military actions that ticked inexorably toward the outbreak of formal hostilities. His tactics were designed to achieve certain aims and, for him at least, those aims were clear. The indecision of his opponents was based on internal divisions, acknowledged military weakness, and, in part at least, wishful thinking. Until he underestimated the resolve of Britain to stand by Poland, it all seemed to be going his way.

Analyzing Nazi Germany from the foreign policy angle is a refreshing change from studies that start from *Mein Kampf*, the party's programs, the Holocaust, etc. Weinberg's approach is an antidote to some of the rhetoric and impassioned prose in literature; he demonstrates that foreign policies are not isolated from national goals and ambitions.

—PRATT BYRD

Battles Over Oil

SEARCH FOR SECURITY: *Saudi Arabian Oil and American Foreign Policy, 1939-1949*, by Aaron David Miller. The University of North Carolina Press. \$19.00

The title is misleading: there are allusions to broader questions such as Soviet intentions toward the Middle East, but essentially this is a workmanlike account of ten years in the history of two concomitant battles for control of Saudi Arabian oil concessions.

The first was fought between the United Kingdom and the United States. It began when a British minister of state could write that "the British Empire had a predominant interest in the Middle East and the American interest . . . was relatively minor . . ." It involved eventual agreement to accord pre-eminence to the British in Iran and Iraq, and to the Americans in Saudi Arabia. It ended with the laying of the foundation of the special Saudi-American relationship that is central to U.S. Mideast policy today.

The second battle took place within the American bureaucracy. The effort by Interior and Defense to promote U.S.-government ownership of American petroleum and pipeline concessions in the Mideast was beaten back by the oil companies, aided by the Department of State—which was itself overruled by the

White House in its subsequent opposition to the partition of Palestine.

The book is a better source for reference than for new ideas. It is extensively researched, generally well edited, somewhat repetitive and discursive, minutely documented. Those not already enthralled by the story of Arab oil will find it heavy going. The analysis seems sound and objective, although friends of the late Bill Eddy may question his characterization as a "virulent" anti-Zionist, possessed of a "deep emotional stake in the Arab world."

—CURTIS F. JONES

Members of the Foreign Service and the professional diplomatic community who have had books published recently are invited to submit them for review in the Foreign Service Journal. Authors should ask their publishers to mail review copies to Book Reviews, Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, DC 20037.

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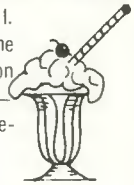
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Is the Service Sound?

I am glad to have this opportunity to speak to the membership of the American Foreign Service Association as I commence my term as its president. It was encouraging to note that my majority spanned the various constituencies of the Association and that members on active duty supported the idea of a retired officer heading the Association. I am prejudiced, naturally, but I believe the recently elected Board is a strong one which will serve the Association well. Thea de Rouville, Ron Witherell, and Joe McBride, the vice presidents and secretary of the Association, are experienced veterans of AFSA affairs, and the new members of the Board and I will profit from their guidance. The AFSA staff is capable and highly qualified. During my two years of service on the previous Board I learned to appreciate the professionalism with which it carries out its duties.

Like any living organism the Foreign Service adjusts and changes to meet new circumstances and new concepts. I was born into the Service and have seen it change in the course of fifty years from the patrician and clubby Service of the Twenties and Thirties through many mutations into what it is now.

The material improvements have been tremendous, but I cannot help brooding over the state of the Service today. The members of the Service remain capable, intelligent, and dedicated. We can all be proud of the job being done in posts around the world. But what worries me is that, notwithstanding many betterments in the conditions of service, the Foreign Service seems to me to be confronted with problems so serious that solutions to them will be very difficult to find. Let's face it. A Service—any Service

—is basically unsound when a large number of its married members are separated from their families while carrying out their official duties. A Service is unsound when the top third of its membership is "capped" at the same salary regardless of differences in levels of responsibility. A Service is unsound when lack of confidence in the inherent fairness of the system of assignments and promotions is widespread. A Service is unsound when political pressure is often brought to bear to place non-career officers in subordinate positions, and an exaggerated number of political appointees in high positions upsets traditional balances. A Service is unsound when its functions begin to be taken over by other organizations. A Service is unsound when many of its ablest members are either leaving it or thinking of doing so.

I believe the foregoing is a stark, but not exaggerated, description of the problems found in the Foreign Service today. In many ways and often inadvertently, the Foreign Service has been put, or has put itself, into positions which are fundamentally unsound. Overcoming that unsoundness is really what the newly elected Board of AFSA must try to do.

The new Board will work with the foreign affairs agencies to implement the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which can redress many of these problems. The Board will seek to improve the public image of the Service. It will try to build up the Association. It will take pains to try to influence Congressional attitudes. These are important activities, but what is really key is to work with the Administration further to improve conditions of service and to overcome the "unsoundness" which we all know is there. We may not succeed, but we will try.

—CHARLES S. WHITEHOUSE



The State of State

Some Reasons for the Department's Decline Can Be Found Within Its Own Walls

By ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON

For more than a decade the primacy of the State Department and the Foreign Service in the formulation and execution of U.S. foreign policy has been in eclipse. This phenomenon first became apparent during the Nixon era as the role of the National Security Council expanded. The trend continued under the Carter administration and was exacerbated by, among other things, the stripping away of the department's role in export promotion and trade. Even during the first few months of Ronald Reagan's presidency, it has become painfully clear that the Foreign Service has not yet regained its predominant role. Although the NSC has maintained a relatively low profile, other offices—Management and Budget, the Pentagon, and the president's principal advisers—have already demonstrated their considerable influence in foreign policy.

The Foreign Service has maintained its dedication, resourcefulness, and effectiveness in the face of

Elliot L. Richardson has headed the departments of Justice, Commerce, Defense, and HEW. From January 1969 to June 1970 he was under secretary of state. He has served as ambassador to the Court of St. James's and special representative to the U.N. Law of the Sea Conference. He is now the senior resident partner in the Washington office of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy.

This article was updated by Ambassador Richardson from a speech he gave last fall in Rochester, New York, at the presentation of the Joseph C. Wilson Award to Ambassador Morton I. Abramowitz.

this decline. But, this is not to say that the Service has had no part in bringing it about. Some of the underlying reasons for the deterioration of the State Department's role in determining U.S. foreign policy and for the relative increase in the visibility and responsibility of a White House-based staff are to be found within the Department of State itself.

Strengthening the NSC

The readiness of the State Department to accede to a strengthened position for the NSC was established at the start of the Nixon presidency. The transition team was headquartered at the Hotel Pierre, where Henry Kissinger was busily blueprinting the structure of the National Security Council and its various appendages, including their relationships with the State Department. As the newly designated under secretary of state—and with virtually no preparation for the role—I found myself acting as the department's representative in negotiations over the details of this structure. An acknowledged premise of these negotiations was that it was legitimate and indeed necessary for the president to have access to the advice and recommendations of every department with some stake in the ultimate decision of national security issues. It seemed equally plausible that the president needed a staff that could reconcile the competing views and interests of the departments of State, Defense, Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture, and others. Most crucially, it was also taken for granted that there was such a thing as an interest of

the Department of State distinguishable from, and on a par with, the interests of these other departments.

All this seemed reasonable enough at the time. What was not understood was that, having conceded the premise, the rest would follow. Hind-sight now makes clear that the Department of State has too readily acquiesced in the impression that a State Department interest exists where the foreign policy of the United States is concerned, and that this interest can be distinguished from the interests of the United States as a whole.

The Foreign Service itself has contributed to the emergence of this impression. Many members of the Service have quite willingly allowed themselves to be seen as advocates of a "State Department point of view." Having expended blood, sweat, and tears in developing and maintaining good relations with other countries, they have been understandably reluctant to see a good relationship hurt by the assertion of some U.S. interest that, from their viewpoint, may not seem sufficient to justify the damage. On occasion such reactions have seemed to reflect a belief that the preservation of good relations with other countries is an end in itself. The reality, of course, is that they are an asset that, like a bank account, should be drawn upon whenever the situation requires—to achieve needed cooperation in a crisis or to prevent retaliation against some U.S. action that the other country regards as inimical to its interests.

Another factor contributing to the development of a staff within the

“At the start of the Nixon presidency, Henry Kissinger and the rest of the transition team took for granted that there was an interest of the Department of State distinguishable from—and on a par with—the interests of the other departments”

White House charged with analyzing and articulating the overall interests of the United States has been the distaste felt by many Foreign Service officers for this type of policy analysis. They instinctively avoid long-range planning, including the formulation of objectives, the selection of priorities, and the allocation of resources. Traditionally these activities have not been regarded as the proper business of diplomats.

To understand this point of view requires a quick look at the normal operation of the diplomatic gristmill. The process starts in the field with the collection of information by trained observers. This information is transmitted to the department in Washington, analyzed, and used to formulate instructions. These go back to the field and, in turn, lead to the generation of additional information. This new information then gets the same treatment, and the cycle is repeated endlessly. Every stage in this cycle is essential to the conduct of foreign relations, and each demands a high order of skill. Like professionals in other fields, the experienced diplomat develops a “feel” for his discipline that sets him apart from the amateur. Because planning places a higher premium on intellect than on this experience, the professional tends to regard the process as an inferior function, even while acknowledging that it is important to the formulation of policy.

The Foreign Service’s neglect of planning may also be accounted for, in part, by our history. Before World War I the United States virtually stood apart from the rest of the world. Between the two world wars we abdicated the responsibilities that would have required a foreign policy which recognized the need for planning. For a long time after World War II, the United States enjoyed such an excess of military and economic strength that we could count on being able to flounder our way out of almost any situation, no matter how belatedly we reacted to

it. Not until the mid-1960s did the relative decline in U.S. economic and military strength oblige us to think in terms of long-range goals and priorities and the resources required to fulfill them.

Moving hand in hand with the relative decline in our strength has been the incremental growth of global interdependence. This in turn has led to an enormous increase in the importance of the economic components of foreign policy. As compared with the governments of other advanced industrial countries, the government of the United States has little power to influence the overseas activities of its nationals. Indeed, any increase in such power could only be accomplished at an unacceptable cost to the freedom and pluralism of U.S. private enterprise. Nevertheless, the consequence has been to limit the ability of the U.S. government to take advantage of the overseas activities of its citizens and businesses for foreign policy purposes. But the difficulty of this task does not make it either futile or unimportant; instead, harder thought and more careful effort must be devoted to finding ways of harnessing these economic relationships to our overarching national interests in a manner that does not unduly infringe upon the freedom of the private sector.

Meanwhile, the increasingly compelling realities of interdependence have led to a proliferation of multilateral institutions and negotiations. These in turn have claimed a growing portion of the time and energy of the Foreign Service and the State Department. Multilateral negotiations are intrinsically more complex than bilateral ones. Our bargaining leverage in multilateral forums is ordinarily small, and the risk that the negotiating process will get out of control is always considerable. To maximize that leverage and minimize the risk requires that both our goals and our strategy be carefully defined in advance.

The cumulative result of these developments has been to add new dimensions of difficulty to the conduct of foreign relations. As we have become less able to afford reactive responses, the lead-times necessary for the formulation of intelligent policies have correspondingly increased. The United States can no longer afford to be without a highly developed planning capability resting upon the application of sharply honed analytical skills to the most complete information possible.

Given this need, others were bound to exploit the opening created by the impression of a State Department tendency to pursue interests narrower than those of the United States as a whole and the predilection of Foreign Service officers to persist in the rotational processes of traditional diplomacy. Under the circumstances, the function of defining the interests and policies of the United States, as distinguished from the interests and policies of a particular department, has inevitably been dominated, if not pre-empted, by the NSC and other staffs within the White House.

It is arguable that this has been a healthy development. Circumstances change, and the institutional adaptations made in response to these changes may thus have a certain presumptive claim to be regarded as desirable. The observable results,

“The distaste felt by many Foreign Service officers for long-range policy planning has been one factor contributing to the development of a staff within the White House charged with determining the overall interests of the United States government”

however, require a more pessimistic diagnosis. The relative decline in the role of the Department of State and increase in the role of staffs based at the White House have led, and will continue to lead, to a multiplicity of voices in the articulation of policy. This fosters a perception on the part of other countries that the purposes of the United States are neither clear nor steady. It also creates a tendency toward politicizing the conduct of foreign policy. The people close to any president instinctively think in terms of his personal political interests. They tend, moreover, to view those interests in a markedly short-run context—as short, even, as the next election.

Furthermore, this politicization of foreign policy by the White House seems to have encouraged the Congress to let its own political priorities influence the conduct of foreign policy. Certainly the intrusiveness of Congress into the day-to-day conduct of foreign policy has followed hard on the heels of the aggrandizement of the NSC staff's influence and power. Quite apart, therefore, from the debilitating impact on the morale of the career Foreign Service, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the net result of this syndrome has been injurious to the health of the overall foreign policy-making process. But we do not have to resign ourselves to the perpetuation of this unfortunate state of affairs; these tendencies can be checked and reversed.

The first step must be the wholehearted acceptance, both inside and outside the State Department, of the fact that the president should be the leading spokesman for, and executor of, U.S. foreign policy. Such acceptance is not now universal. Most foreign policy professionals harbor a propensity to regard the president as an interloper who, in relation to the secretary of state and the department, needs to be cut down to size. This is a dangerous fallacy. In the field of foreign and defense policy the president has ex-

ecutive powers to a degree that he does not possess in any other area, and it is unrealistic to expect that any effective president would abdicate these powers. Therefore, the secretary of state and the department should see their greatest potential for influence as depending on their ability to become the primary instruments by which the president obtains the information, advice, and diplomatic capability necessary for the formulation and execution of policies responsive to the president's leadership.

Dean Acheson was one secretary of state who assiduously cultivated the public perception of himself as the faithful instrument of his president's policies. Although Acheson was also the principal architect of those very policies, he took pains to make sure that his recommendations would be regarded as presidential policies from the moment President Truman adopted them. Acheson never allowed daylight to appear between the president's views and his own. He understood that the conduct of foreign policy must be a continuum that starts with the president and extends through the secretary and the Department of State to the field. He sought to assure that the actions of our missions abroad would be as closely coordinated with the decisions of the pres-

ident as the fingers of the hand are responsive to the brain.

The State Department itself must demonstrate by the manner in which it deals with concrete foreign policy issues that it has no interests distinguishable from those of the United States. The Foreign Service must at the same time give higher priority to increasing its involvement in overall policy analysis and formulation. Only the development by the State Department of an effective strategic and tactical planning capacity—one that gives full weight to trade, transportation, agriculture, and every other relevant interest—will lead to a revision of the current assumption that such diverse concerns can only be reconciled outside the department. Rather than let the interests of other departments be exposed to short shrift from a State Department that has been elevated in responsibility and prestige, the challenge to State will be to demonstrate that it can accommodate those other interests at least as well as can a staff based within the White House.

Under the leadership of the president, the Department of State and the Foreign Service should have primacy in the formulation and execution of U.S. foreign policy. This should be so not for reasons of prestige or morale, but because this is their mission and their responsibility. The State Department embraces an extraordinary aggregation of knowledge, experience, and skill. On matters of foreign policy the Foreign Service constitutes an invaluable professional resource. The Service itself can help to increase the demand for its own expertise by accepting a wider view of its own role and a greater appreciation of the need for planning. Through this enlargement of its vision, the Service can also enlarge its contribution to the coherence, steadiness, and balance of U.S. foreign policy. When that happens, the Foreign Service's prestige and morale will take care of themselves. □

Diplomats & Terrorism

A Former Hostage Looks at the Need For Physical Safety and Multilateral Accords

By BRUCE LAINGEN

Shortly before I was taken hostage in Teheran, a cartoon appeared in the newspapers that showed an American couple soliciting advice from a travel agent. The agent was handing them tickets for an overseas vacation and saying: "By the way, here's the address of the American embassy. In case of trouble, *don't* go there."

Amusing but true. And a sad commentary on the circumstances in which the American Foreign Service carries out its work at many of our missions.

I would like to reflect on what these new circumstances mean for our diplomats, now and in the future. My comments are my own, reflecting my experiences in Teheran. They are the views of a practicing diplomat, not of a legal expert.

I hardly need describe what was at stake in Teheran—a blatant violation of centuries-old international law and custom. This tradition provides that every diplomatic agent enjoys immunity, and that under no circumstances may he or she be seized by the receiving state, as a hostage or for any purpose. Compounding this denial of immunity were the takeover of our embassy and the ransacking of its archives.

Acts of political terrorism against our diplomatic missions and person-

nel are of course not unusual. Tragically, they have become almost commonplace. Since 1945 a total of 45 Americans have been killed overseas in the exercise of their duties. Five were ambassadors. In 1980 alone there were 271 terrorist attacks against Americans abroad—of which 177 involved U.S. personnel or premises. Nor are our country and its overseas representatives the only victims. Such violence is only part of a larger pattern in which the diplomats of many other countries suffer as well. Since 1970, there have been some 64 instances of forcible incursions into diplomatic missions. Ironically, diplomats seem to be safe from danger only in countries such as the Soviet Union. Even in Washington, according to stories in the press, some embassies are no longer prepared to open their premises for traditional walk-throughs in support of local charities because of security concerns.

Unique & Egregious

But what happened in Teheran in 1979 was unique and particularly egregious because it was endorsed by high officials and thus became government-sponsored terrorism. Worse, the hostages became pawns in the local political infighting so painfully apparent to the American public. They were held like common criminals, often subjected to physical abuse and long periods of solitary confinement, denied communication of any kind with their government and without meaningful contact with their families, the latter having virtually no assurance of the welfare of their loved ones.

As the United States said in its brief before the World Court at The

Hague: "From the 16th century down to the present time no receiving state has authorized or condoned a breach of a diplomat's personal violability. . . . To the extent that a state uses force to assault the mechanisms of peaceful diplomacy, it strikes at the jugular of the entire system by which the world seeks to maintain the peace. . . . For centuries international wars have come and gone, but by universal agreement embassies and their diplomatic staffs have been regarded as inviolable from official interference through the use of force. That great tradition. . . has now been violated for the first time in modern history."

So in that respect I suppose I qualify for an entry in the *Guinness Book of World Records*: I am the first chief of mission to lose his embassy and all of its personnel to terrorists supported by the government to which I was originally accredited. But it is an entry with which I can live, because of the well-nigh universal recognition of the wrongness of the act against me and my colleagues.

It was not, incidentally, the first time such an attack occurred in Iran. In 1831, in the context of a dispute over implementation of the Treaty of Turkomanchai with Russia, a mob stormed the Russian legation in Teheran and killed all of its occupants but one, including the Russian minister. And in 1924 an American vice consul was attacked and killed by a mob on the streets of the capital in the midst of religious demonstrations and political agitation. But in both instances the Persian government immediately recognized its responsibility and took ac-

Bruce Laingen was chargé d'affaires at the U.S. embassy in Teheran until November 4, 1979. He joined the Foreign Service in 1949, served in Iran twice as an economics officer, and was ambassador to Malta 1977-79. This article is based on his McLaughlin Lecture in International Relations at University of Minnesota in May.

Association News

Whitehouse Wins AFSA Presidency



Ambassador Charles S. Whitehouse

Ambassador Charles S. Whitehouse defeated Jeffrey White in the race for the Board of Governors presidency of the American Foreign Service Association, 1626 to 430. Both ran as write-in candidates after former President Kenneth Bleakley's re-election bid ended when he was assigned to El Salvador as deputy chief of mission. Whitehouse had been a representative of the retired constituency on the former board, and White is a Foreign Service officer in the State Department.

"I was particularly pleased to have had a majority in each of the constituencies that make up the Association," Ambassador Whitehouse said. The

vote in State was 659 to 297, in AID 247 to 75, in ICA 46 to 4, and the retired vote was 674 to 54. Other write-in candidates polled 88 votes in all constituencies combined.

The other elected Governing Board officers are Anthea S. de Rouville, vice president; Ronald Witherell, second vice president; Joseph N. McBride, secretary; and Michael Speers, treasurer. The State Department representatives are Robert Franks, Donald K. Holm, and Irving Williamson. The retired representatives are Spencer King and Charles Whitehouse (Whitehouse will be resigning his retired position). The AID representative is William Schoux. The ICA representative is Stephen Chaplin. The new board took office July 15. The members' terms are specified in the new bylaws.

de Rouville Cites 'Pivotal Year' at D.C. Membership Annual Meeting

"The past year has been a pivotal one both for the Association and for the Foreign Service," outgoing AFSA President Anthea de Rouville told the Association's annual meeting for its Washington membership held at the State Department on July 13. "The structure of the Service, its relationship with the Congress, the American public's perception of what we do, and the importance of our role to national security have all been subtly—and in some cases not so subtly—altered. The Association has played a significant role in the process."

De Rouville amplified her remarks by citing the events that kept the Foreign Service on the front page for much of the year. Two of the most important



were the successful conclusion of the hostage situation and the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Outside the headlines, the Service and the Association made progress in a number of employee-management areas, she said. De Rouville will turn over the gavel to AFSA's newly elected president, Ambassador Charles S. Whitehouse (see related story), on July 15, "With frustration that we have not been able to accomplish all we wanted to, but also considerable pride in the very real progress the Association has made under the stewardship of the outgoing Board."

The other outgoing Association officers made reports to the membership and then conducted a lengthy question-and-answer session on matters of member concern.

Outgoing Board Issues Final Annual Report

Sections of the outgoing Governing Board's Annual Report, the final one of its two-year term, appear on pages 18C through 18F. The revised bylaws passed by Association members in the recent election appear on pages 18G and 18H. All proposed bylaw amendments were passed by the membership. Members desiring the entire report should write AFSA.

IRS Concedes On Home-Leave Deductions

The problems many members of the Foreign Service have had in deducting home-leave expenses are a thing of the past. In a letter to AFSA General Counsel Susan Holik, the Internal Revenue Service acknowledged "the substantiated home-leave expenses of a U.S. Foreign Service officer for himself are deductible business travel expenses."

Three previous circuit court decisions had agreed with the Association's position on home-leave deductibility, but the IRS had refused to acquiesce to the courts' holdings. Holik had written a letter to the IRS deputy chief counsel of litigation citing "overwhelming precedent" against the IRS's previous interpretation that in some states deductions could be denied.

"The IRS has determined that it will revoke Rev. Rul. 68-513, 1968-2 C.B. 114," wrote John Menzel, director of the tax litigation division. "We will follow the holding of the Ninth Circuit in *Stratton v. Commissioner*," which substantiated deductibility.

Member Rise Tops 1000 in Last Year

After a period of steady decline, the drop in AFSA's membership bottomed out and turned the corner with a healthy increase of more than 1000 members in the past year, outgoing Association Second Vice President Frank Dimond reported. As of June 1981, the total membership was 7049, as opposed to 5937 one year before.

"The increased membership has affected all constituencies except ICA," Dimond said, "and the ICA downward trend now appears to have bottomed out." State's membership increased

AID Standing Chides Agency On Delayed Assignments

With some 70 AID Foreign Service personnel either on complement or on home-leave/post-to-be-determined orders, the AID Standing Committee has pointed out to management "that the financial, schooling, and morale effects of this situation are of great significance." The committee told management "we saw no reason decisions had not been taken earlier on unit ceilings" since the agency's 1981 and 1982 overall ceilings had been known in March.

"Once again the Foreign Service personnel of this agency are being kept on tenterhooks while the decision-making drags on." Management acknowledged the problem and declared it was working to resolve it.

Retreat From Obey Would Mandate Association Action

The AID Standing Committee reported that the Association will challenge "any retreat from full implementation of Obey regulations" in a July 14 situation report to agency members.

"Rumors regarding reorganizations and workforce cutbacks in AID/W and their possible effects on Obey Amendment implementation have been working overtime lately," the standing committee declared. "AFSA's position is and will remain that the Obey Amendment is law and AID is essentially a Foreign Service agency." Any abrogation of the amendment would be treated "as a serious matter" and the Association "would take whatever action appropriate to assure that the principles underlying the amendment are not violated."

12% to 3042, AID's by 38% to 1095, the retirees' by 25% to 2261, and ICA's by 1% to 187. In addition, there are 456 associate members, 6 honorary, and 2 in the Foreign Agricultural Service.

"There has been an increase in AFSA membership every single month for 12 consecutive months," Dimond observed. "The total increase was 1112 for the latest year, an average of about 93 per month." Dimond cited several factors for the increase, most notably the strengthening of representative and keyperson networks, letter campaigns, recruitment sessions for new employees, and—very significantly—major efforts at certain overseas posts by on-board representatives.

Journal Chooses Associate Editor



Frances G. Burwell of Chevy Chase, Md., has been chosen to be the *Journal's* new associate editor. Fran comes to AFSA from *Foreign Policy* magazine, where she was an editorial assistant. Her job included reviewing and editing of manuscripts plus author relationships. On the *Journal*, in addition to editorial duties, she will be in charge of advertising sales. She and the editor will be conducting several ad campaigns to help increase the magazine's revenues.

Fran received the degree of master of philosophy in international relations from Oxford University in 1980. Her studies concentrated on alternative conceptions of international relations, and on relations among communist states. Her thesis examined U.S., British, and French foreign policies. She has a bachelor's degree from Mount Holyoke College conferred in 1978, with a major in political science. Her honors at Mount Holyoke included Phi Beta Kappa and graduation magna cum laude. In the summer of 1977, Fran worked as a State Department intern on the Policy Planning Staff.

AFSA, Meresman Win Lawsuit On Annuity Eligibility

The Association and senior officer Joseph Meresman have won a suit filed against the secretary of state challenging the department's determination that those who do not enter the Senior Foreign Service are not eligible for an immediate annuity at the time of their departure unless they have at least 20 years of creditable service and are age 50 or older. The court upheld AFSA's contention that the department misinterpreted the Foreign Service Act. The case was decided in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 established a new Senior Foreign Service. It provides that those officers who, prior to February 15, 1981, were serving under FSO/R/RU-2 appointments or higher and who requested conversion to the Senior Foreign Service after June 14, 1981, and were not accepted (or who do not request appointment to the Senior Foreign Service) are required to leave the Foreign Service by February 14, 1984. The court held that under the Act officers not converting to the Senior Foreign Service are entitled to an immediate annuity upon separation when they are forced to leave at the end of the three-year period, even if they do not meet the 50/20 standard.

Insurance Board Seeks Improved Health Coverage

AFSA's new board of trustees for insurance programs has made several proposals to improve health coverage under the American Foreign Service Protective Association's benefit plan. In turn, AFSPA is seeking Office of Personnel Management approval of a number of features in its 1982 coverage.

The schedule of surgeon's fees—which has become outdated—would be abolished. Instead, the plan would cover all "usual, reasonable, and customary" charges. Mutual of Omaha is considering the trustees' suggestion that a private hospital room be covered when medically necessary. Mutual is also studying a proposal to cover private rooms on an "exceptions basis" in unusual overseas situations where there are no suitable semi-private facilities.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNING BOARD

President's Overview

As required by the Bylaws, the Association conducts an annual meeting of the Washington membership of AFSA and provides an annual report to all of the membership, including a financial statement and budget. The report submitted here is the final accounting of the stewardship of the current Governing Board. The newly elected Board took office on July 15.

As you read the report, it will be evident that the past year has been a pivotal one both for the Association and for the Foreign Service itself. The structure of the Service, its relationship with the Congress, the American public's perception of what we do, and the importance of our role to national security have all been subtly, and in some cases not so subtly, altered. The Association has played a significant role in this process, and has itself grown and changed to meet new challenges and demands.

Last year Ken Bleakley outlined to the membership the path the Association was taking:

- improving the public image of the Service;
- learning to deal effectively with the Congress and establishing a network of contacts there;
- building the Association itself in terms of membership and services to members; and
- using the dual Association role of union and professional association as complementary and mutually reinforcing tools rather than as competing entities.

While still falling short of perfection, we have moved forward significantly in each of these areas.

We had the joyous opportunity to welcome home our colleagues held hostage in Teheran, to honor them at a luncheon, and to present to them the 1980 Harriman, Herter, and Rivkin Awards in the form of a contribution in their names to the AFSA Scholarship Fund. We had the honor on Foreign Service Day of presenting plaques in tribute to the eight servicemen killed in the rescue attempt, and the five diplomatic couriers who have been killed in the line of duty since World War II. These plaques will be placed in the Diplomatic Lobby in the near future. We have continued to employ the news media actively to enhance the public awareness of the Service. We have had the privilege of organizing ceremonies for Secretary Muskie and Secretary Haig.

On the legislative front, we worked hard to bring about passage of the Foreign Service Act. The Board believes that the information it made available to key Congressional figures contributed significantly to their understanding of the problems and concerns of the Foreign Service and influenced positively crucial decisions.

We finally achieved substantial pay equity, aided by an unprecedented blitz on Congress by members overseas, here at home, and retirees who pitched in when they were needed. The job isn't finished, and while we prevented the massive OMB-proposed downgrading of Staff Corps mid-ranks, thanks to friends in Congress, we have yet to counter the devastating effect of the Hay Study on Staff Corps grades. Much work remains to be done, but the lessons learned during the passage of the Foreign Service Act are being put to good use—making sure our friends on the Hill know what the Service needs to do

its job. The belt can't be tightened any more. We have made that clear in testimony before both House and Senate Committees. We have found members of both houses to be concerned and responsive, and are pleased with the initial funding of the Foreign Service Act. In practice, funding may prove to be inadequate, and having been so encouraged by members of Congress, we will not hesitate to go to the Hill and request increased funding where necessary. There are other concerns—premium pay for stand-by, protection of retirement benefits, and continued adherence to the Obey Amendment with AID, among them—where congressional contacts are essential.

In the Foreign Service Act, Congress gave us certain responsibilities and obligations. Congress also gave us material benefits to "minimize the impact of the hardships, disruptions, and other unusual conditions of service abroad upon the members of the Foreign Service" and "to attract and retain qualified personnel [and] . . . to encourage and reward outstanding performance." (Section 101, FS Act of 1980). The Association is spending an enormous amount of time and effort monitoring, negotiating, and assuming a general watchdog role in the implementation of the Act. This has been, along with obtaining the necessary funding, a top Association priority for the last four months. The effectiveness, security, and morale of the Service depend on how the Act is implemented.

The Board has addressed itself to expanding AFSA's membership in order to improve services to members and to carry out our responsibilities as a union. Since June 1980, our membership has grown from 5937 to 7049. Our network of overseas representatives is up to 154, by far the highest on record. With this, of course, goes an increase in the number of overseas chapters.

We lost a good friend and invaluable member of our professional staff when Shirley Newhall, the *Foreign Service Journal* editor, retired in May. The new editor is on board, and we have added an associate editor. The work of our General Counsel has increased so much that we have employed a law clerk to help her. We have also established a fulltime position to improve the flow of communications and work on further increasing membership. We are currently looking for a second grievance counselor. At the moment we have about a 90% success rate on grievances. We'd like to raise the percentage even higher!

We need even more professional staff. One of the biggest disappointments for Ken, myself, and the rest of the Board has been the difficulty in getting members to volunteer their services. The perception persists that AFSA is a mid-level-political-officer, old-boy stronghold. It is not true, obviously. But if you believe it is, what better way to correct the situation than to become active yourself?

We have been unbelievably fortunate in having the services of the current staff, as any of you who have dealt with them know. They have worked with genuine zeal and dedication and well beyond the confines of any "job description." But they are stretched to their limits, and the bottom line is that in order to continue to expand our services to meet the rising demands of our membership and our responsibilities under the new Foreign Service Act, we need either your services or help in recruiting more dues-paying members to hire additional qualified professional staff.

On the 15th of July I turned over the presidency of the Association to Charlie Whitehouse with much the same feeling Ken Bleakley had when he was inconsiderate enough to go off to El Salvador and leave the job to me—frustration that we have not been able to accomplish all we wanted to, but also considerable pride in the very real progress the Association has made under the stewardship of the current Board. The Association is in good shape in this Bicentennial year of the Foreign Service, and with your help it will become better yet.

—ANTHEA DE ROUVILLE

Finances

The financial affairs of the Association improved over the last year. This improvement was primarily due to the increased

revenues for the first full year of the increased level of dues, as well as the unanticipated increase in membership. This positive situation is expected to continue during FY 82, although the budget presented herein does not assume any further increase in membership or dues beyond that pertaining in June 1981.

The favorable increase in income was partially offset by the usual inflationary increases, especially in *Journal* production expenses, building maintenance, real estate taxes, and utility costs. In addition, *Journal* salaries reflect a period of several months' overlap (and thus double salaries) due to the retirement of the past editor and the arrival of the new editor. Administrative salaries are projected to climb reflecting the COLA increase in October of each year, as well as the presence on the staff of additional employees working in the area of member services.

During the past year a number of positive moves have been made to increase the control of costs and to ensure that temporarily idle funds are put into interest-bearing accounts. These actions are reflected in relatively minor increases projected in *Journal* expenses, a planned reduction in Club expenses through improved inventory control, and provision for interest income on cash accounts not immediately required for expenses. Overall, the Association realized a small surplus in FY 81 and is anticipating a larger surplus in FY 82. In addition, the FY 82 budget forecast reflects provision for contingencies such as unanticipated costs associated with the *Journal* and the Club, cost increases beyond the level projected, etc. A portion of these reserved funds, if they materialize, will be earmarked for further expansion of member services.

Most recently, a number of moves have been made to improve our cost and cash management operations: AFSA has moved its general funds to a new bank, the First American Bank of Washington, and has retained the services of a new firm of auditors, Peat, Marwick, and Mitchell. These and similar actions now under study should further improve AFSA cost control and ensure that maximum possible use is made of all income when received.

Both the *Journal* and the Club operations will be closely monitored so that each can be kept within the budget and, to the extent possible, their income balanced against direct expenses of each.

BUDGET

	Actual FY 80	Actual FY 81	Budget FY 82
INCOME			
Membership dues	\$263,000	\$391,000	\$440,000
Club Income	130,000	126,000	141,000
<i>Journal</i> Income	60,000	57,000	64,000
Reimbursement	26,000	26,000	27,000
Interest Income	—	—	5,000
Total Income	\$479,000	\$600,000	\$677,000
EXPENSES			
Administrative			
Salaries	\$142,000	\$159,000	\$178,000
Club Salaries	54,000	68,000	69,000
Club Expenses	76,000	75,000	70,000
<i>Journal</i> Salaries	23,000	45,000	32,000
<i>Journal</i> Expenses	78,000	83,000	99,000
Operations	74,000	93,000	107,000
Occupancy	43,000	65,000	72,000
Total Expenses	\$490,000	\$588,000	\$627,000
Provision for Contingencies	—	—	30,000
Total Expenses and Provision for Contingencies	\$490,000	\$588,000	\$657,000
Surplus (deficit)	(\$11,000)	\$12,000	\$20,000

—MICHAEL SPEERS

State Standing Committee

The Committee has probably had the busiest year in its history—monitoring the progress of the Foreign Service Act, pressing for proposals on implementing regulations and negotiating them, continuing and building on our contacts in Congress, and adjusting both to a new management team, and to the very different labor-management provisions of the Act. Since the new regulations—single agency and joint—tend to overlap, there has been more interchange between the AID and State Standing Committees to ensure our objectives and methods work to the advantage of both.

The incorporation of the Members' Interests Committee into State Standing has proved beneficial to both parties, keeping all concerned abreast of both the day-to-day problems of posts and individuals and of the broader policy issues. An AID member also joined State Standing to provide essential coordination on interagency questions.

Since the last annual report our work with Congress and management concerning provisions of the Foreign Service Act has continued. The Foreign Service Act has become law and the job of negotiating the implementing regulations has begun. It's proving to be a long, drawn-out, frustrating process, partly because of the difficulty in extracting final, cleared proposals from management, especially on allowances, and partly because of the fact that many of the proposed regulations are joint, interagency regulations, necessitating five-agency, two-union negotiations. The budget crunch hasn't helped, but the new allowances have been funded as of July 1, and we are pushing to get benefits to employees as soon as possible, consistent with achieving good, workable, and equitable regulations. The present funding of allowances may prove inadequate in practice and, if so, we will push for a supplement.

Among our major achievements this year we have successfully worked to construct a Foreign Service Act we believe will strengthen the Foreign Service and materially benefit and protect its members, and seeing it through the Congressional process. We have at last achieved substantial pay equity, largely through the efforts of Bill Veale's Compensation Committee, volunteers in the department, and an unprecedented blitz on Congress by members overseas and here at home, and retirees who pitched in to help when they were needed. The job isn't finished, and while we prevented the massive downgrading of the mid-ranks of the Staff Corps, thanks to the help of our friends in Congress, we have yet to counter the devastating effect of the Hay Study on Staff Corps grades. Much work remains to be done here. We have negotiated an Open Assignments agreement; an agreement governing conversion of Foreign Service domestic employees to Civil Service or the new Foreign Service system; agreements on the structure of and conversion to the Senior Foreign Service; agreement on promotion into the Senior Foreign Service; agreement on Mid-level Entry Program; Language Incentive Program; 1981 Precepts and Training materials for Board Members; Thomas Morrison Communicator Award; Domestic Relocation regulations and special per diem rates for SY Agents on special detail; and disciplinary measures for delinquent submission of EERs.

Among the issues we are currently working on are: management's proposal to revise the skill code system reducing skill codes from 600 to about 70; AFSA's proposal to improve the PAR card system, which is currently a disgrace; Senior Foreign Service Performance Pay Precepts; an all-out effort to broaden and improve premium pay for standby; management's proposal on guidelines for Senior Foreign Service Limited Appointments; what, if any, prior employment information should be placed in mid-level entrant files; reciprocity with regard to diplomatic privileges and immunities and reimbursement for expenses where reciprocity cannot be achieved; and training, upward mobility, and career ladders.

On allowances, we are currently negotiating on management's proposal for danger pay, have just received Representation for Family Members, and have been promised proposals on three months advance of pay and the Separate Maintenance and, hopefully, Travel for Children of Divorced Spouses allowances.

We are pressing for management's proposal on Incentive Pay, which we consider to be inextricably linked with danger pay, but management has not as yet been forthcoming.

As with AID, one of our most urgent goals is to lift the \$100 Ambassadorial Pay Cap, which we feel should be done immediately. The funds are available, management is hesitating.

We had several sessions with management regarding Senior Threshold Criteria. While there was an interesting exchange of views, the only concrete result was a general accord that any criteria would have to be phased in gradually and that every member of the Service who wished to cross the threshold must be given the opportunity to meet any agreed criteria.

—ANTHEA DE ROUVILLE

AID Standing Committee

The major activities of the AID Standing Committee during this past year centered on activities related to the Foreign Service Act of 1980, both to assure its passage with elements favorable to AID and to assure its full and prompt implementation. The Committee also continued to focus much time and energy on implementation of the Obey Amendment and on reducing the flow of outside hires at middle and senior levels. The following are the specific areas which demanded the attention of the Standing Committee during the past year.

While unable to have commissioning of AID officers mandated in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the committee made signal progress toward this goal. Report language for the Foreign Service Act encouraged the commissioning of AID officers and, on his last day in office, Mr. Bennet informed the Standing Committee that the Agency believed that commissioning would be a viable option for those in the new FS-1 and 2 classes.

AFSA tabled an Open Assignments proposal with management this spring and has been negotiating on this. Communications from our overseas chapters indicate that this is of extremely high interest to AID employees.

Promotion numbers received attention earlier in the year with the result, *inter alia*, that the potential for staff promotions was the highest in Agency history—30%. We remained dissatisfied with the number of promotions at the higher staff levels.

Implementation of the Foreign Service Act has been a critical activity for the last eight months. Precepts for conversion as well as admission to the Senior Foreign Service were negotiated, with the Standing Committee achieving numerous changes to the advantage of employees. Implementing regulations for the language incentive program were negotiated a few days before this writing and the remainder of these regulations are expected to be negotiated in the near future.

AFSA pressed management hard to institute a wide-ranging training program which would allow increased promotion from within. Management's response has not been heartening and although several small victories have been won, such as a continuation of FSI area studies during the second quarter and the elimination of the requirement to take leave-without-pay for preparation for long term training, much remains to be done in this area.

Much attention was focused on the use of converttees to fill 03 backstop positions when A/MED graduates were available. While at least one conversion was stopped, this remains a sore point for our backstop 03 members and continued vigilance will be necessary.

The Committee fielded numerous mission-specific complaints, e.g., unfair housing policies and the lack of air-conditioning at one of our steamer posts. Working to resolve numerous individual complaints engaged a great deal of the committee's time.

At this writing the ambassador's cap has not been lifted despite great efforts by both AFSA/AID and senior AID management. All agencies have the necessary funding. All that is needed is a signature by the State Department under secretary for management to remove this unfair and archaic practice.

Over the past year membership has increased by over 300 to

a record high of over 55% of all AID Foreign Service employees. The work of keypersons and chapter reps has been instrumental in achieving this increase and is acknowledged and appreciated by the Standing Committee.

—JONATHAN SPERLING

ICA Standing Committee

The fact that AFSA is not the bargaining agent with ICA imposes constraints on the nature of the Standing Committee's activities. In the past year we attempted to expand and improve our organizational structure so that we are better informed about those matters under consideration by the managements of all foreign affairs agencies which will have a direct impact on ICA personnel. At the same time we increased suggestions and recommendations to our AFSA colleagues on the strengths and weaknesses of contemplated courses of action. It is significant that despite the fact that we are not the ICA bargaining unit and that our number in AFSA's total membership is relatively small, the past Governing Board always consulted with ICA's membership in determining an AFSA-wide position.

In the past few months we have created subcommittees to work more closely with larger AFSA units and to identify those concerns which might be unique or particularly significant to ICA's personnel. To this end, the Standing Committee met with both presidential candidates to determine their interest in ICA's mission and concerns.

In recent months greater attention has been devoted to drawing up a list of our major priorities, in thinking of ways to expand membership, and in increasing communication with our overseas colleagues. The planning stage is almost finished and soon we will be engaged in activities designed to increase ICA's visibility, to systematically seek new members, and to encourage greater ICA members' participation in the full panoply of AFSA activities.

—STEVE CHAPLIN

Retired Interests

As part of the Reagan administration's program to drastically reduce government expenditures, important legislative changes are being enacted or contemplated in the federal retirement field. For the past two years, AFSA has been a charter member of the Directorate of the Fund to Assure an Independent Retirement (FAIR), a coalition of 25 public employee and retiree organizations representing several million individuals. Originally established to oppose the mandatory extension of Social Security to cover federal employees, FAIR has mobilized to resist any further inroads on the structure of benefits available to federal retirees.

Due largely to FAIR's efforts, the crucial House vote on the rules June 24 which would have required a separate vote on certain provisions in the reconciliation bill (including the elimination of the semi-annual COLA) almost carried. It was defeated by a handful of votes only after heavy lobbying by the White House, so it appears that henceforth Foreign Service retirees will get only one COLA annually.

Other changes that may affect those retirees eligible for Social Security benefits are the elimination of the minimum benefit of \$122 per month and the possible application of a complicated and technical formula to eliminate "windfall" Social Security benefits for "persons with pensions from non-covered (or federal) employment."

Consequently, there seems little question that pressures are steadily building to gradually erode the level of Foreign Service retirement income. AFSA, through its active participation in the FAIR coalition and through its own individual efforts, is unremitting in its efforts to preserve the present level of Foreign Service retirement benefits from any further inroads.

—ROBERT BEERS

Grievances and Counseling

A large amount of the limited time of our professional staff is spent representing individual grievants. As the Association finds its services in increasing demand, we are looking for an additional staff member to assist. We are currently representing employees in 72 cases at both agency and Grievance Board levels and have closed 55 cases during the past year. About 90% of the cases were successful. Many employees do not have cause for a formal grievance and are counseled on ways to resolve their disputes informally, and to reach a clear understanding of prevailing policies, regulations, precepts, and procedures.

We are also finding a growing number of employees in Washington and abroad who do not wish to file grievances but seek counsel in a variety of other fields. The new Foreign Service Act, the complexity of the transition period, the restructuring of the Service, and the many new regulations obviously have contributed to this need. Many also seek career counseling.

In addition, however, more and more members of the Service are seeking help simply to find their way through the maze of bureaucracy. It's a service we're delighted to provide, and we hope to be able to devote even more resources to this function next year.

—SABINE SISK

Legal Actions

AFSA won two lawsuits: one concerning Home-Leave Tax Deductions and another on Conversion to Senior Foreign Service (see articles in *Association News*).

AFSA has filed a third lawsuit on the matter of Pay Upon Conversion to the Senior Foreign Service, to which the department as of this date has not filed an answer. The suit seeks a declaratory judgment that employees converted to the SFS under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 be converted based on the scheduled rate of pay rather than the artificially capped salary (\$50,112.50) as the department has determined to do. The Act provides that no conversion shall cause an employee to incur a reduction in his or her basic rate of pay.

There may be additional litigation on the issue of standby pay for employees. We thought we had the basis for an eventual fair and workable system for compensating employees forced to work overtime, but such a lawsuit may be inevitable, once we have exhausted possible administrative and legislative remedies.

Under the Foreign Service Act, the collective interests of employees are represented before the Foreign Service Grievance Board. We have negotiated regulations for AFSA's participation in State and AID grievance cases to ensure that no individual grievance decision prejudices other employees or violates a duly concluded labor-management agreement. Also, AFSA participated in an important jurisdictional hearing before the Grievance Board, attempting to subject to Grievance Board review decisions made by the department's Claims Office. It is our contention that a number of the decisions of that office have been arbitrary and contrary to regulation. We have as yet had no ruling by the Grievance Board on whether they have jurisdiction over such appeals.

In other actions, AFSA presented testimony before the D.C. City Council against proposed removal of the present D.C. Income Tax exemption for Foreign Service officers resident in the District but domiciled elsewhere. This is an issue which affects a large number of department officers. The City Council has yet to act on the proposal. Also, AFSA filed a formal comment with the department in response to proposed regulations published in the Federal Register concerning the Board of Examiners. Our comments sought procedural safeguards in selecting employees for the oral exam, attempting to eliminate political pressures that may be brought to bear on the process. Finally, AFSA lobbied Metro to prevent the elimination of certain bus routes serving the State Department building. The proposal has been scrapped, we hope permanently.

—SUSAN HOLIK

BYLAWS OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION AS AMENDED 7/6/81

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 the members of the Foreign Service in labor-management relations and grievances;
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. 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.
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 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, 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.
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.
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.

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. 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 Standing Committee on Elections 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. Officers and Retired Representatives shall be elected in even-numbered years, beginning in 1982. Other constituency representatives shall be elected in odd-numbered years.

2. Candidates may make known their candidacies or Members may nominate candidates in writing to the Standing Committee on Elections 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 Standing Committee on Elections shall verify the eligibility of candidates for each position, and announce publicly the names of the candidates on or about April 1.

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.

5. The official ballot bearing 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 a preferential 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 Standing Committee on Elections 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 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.

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.



Iranian women on a Teheran street walk past a graffiti-covered wall that says, "Carter can do nothing." Had there been an understanding in place among our allies on how to respond to Iran's kind of state-sponsored terrorism, argues Laingen, the crisis might have been much shorter. Watercolor by the author, 1980.

tion both to apprehend those at fault and to provide indemnification for losses.

The Positive Side

There are still differences among our people and within our government as to the policy used to achieve our release. That is natural and understandable. With the benefit of hindsight we presumably are all wiser. But let us not ignore what was positive about the outcome of what began as a tragedy:

- Seventy-two American men and women cruelly held prisoner are alive and restored to freedom. Given the circumstances in Teheran, that is nearly miraculous. And it says something about the importance we as a people attach to human rights;

- Our country was unified as rarely before in its disapproval of Iran's action, its determination to see the wrong set right, and in its celebration of our return to freedom;

- It is Iran, as a consequence of

its act, that stands condemned and isolated on the world scene, tragically hurt economically and socially;

- By contrast, the United States, in my opinion, has won wide respect for the emphasis it put on human life, on a determined but patient pursuit of a peaceful settlement, and on orderly international law and practice;

- Finally, let us not ignore that the record of law now includes those judgments of the World Court so strongly supportive of the position we took. Those judgments did not themselves secure our release, but it was vital that the legal legacy of this crisis include that kind of international reaffirmation of the fundamental principles that were at stake—just as it was important that the legacy include the recognition by the American public that the Iranian-American community has the same rights as any other resident alien community to the protection of our Constitution.

In citing these positive aspects, I do not mean necessarily to endorse all the twists and turns of our policy as it developed during the 444 days. Nor do I mean to rationalize or to whitewash mistakes or shortcomings, including those on the part of us in Teheran. Rather, as we examine the lessons and learn from them, let us remember what was good along with the bad.

Fabric of Law

Where has all this taken us, and where do we go from here? Clearly the practice of diplomacy is not what it once was. Terrorism against diplomats has shown the fragility of the fabric of law and custom on which the international community must rely—important above all to the smaller countries, Iran among them. What happened has also reminded all of us, especially those in the Foreign Service, of diplomacy's strains on family life—witness the incidents in Islamabad, Tripoli, and

El Salvador, to mention only a few of our "high-threat posts."

We have learned and are still learning from all of this. Perhaps what we have learned most is how *difficult* it is to deal with political terrorism against us abroad, not least because of the fact that terrorism, certainly from the vantage point of the victim, is often irrational and its practitioners especially so. Such people are notoriously unresponsive to world opinion and the dictates of law and, more often than not, are undeterred by warnings of reprisal.

State-Sponsored Terrorism

Nonetheless it is important, in the light of Teheran, that our position on state-sponsored terrorism be clear. President Reagan has done so, by warning that should there be repetition of attacks of the kind that occurred in Teheran, there will be swift retribution. That is necessary and welcome. Understandably, the nature of that retribution has not been spelled out. It *cannot* be—it must reflect the circumstances of any future attacks. Nor *should* it be—some uncertainty as to the nature of our retribution is appropriate and perhaps of some use as a deterrent. We have also reaffirmed our view that all who fall victim to terrorism have a common interest in not giving in to terrorist demands, since to do so may only encourage further attacks and put additional people at risk.

One would like to believe that what happened in Teheran was an aberration, that terrorism endorsed by governments will not recur. Certainly, Iran stands today as an object lesson of the costs of such action. Few governments in the short term, one would assume, would care to emulate Iran's example. But it is not enough to rely on that expectation.

Clearly, we can and should take further steps to enhance the physical security of our missions abroad. But fundamental to any such security measures is the most perceptive understanding possible of the political and psychological atmosphere of the country in which a mission is located. By that I mean a capacity to understand and to measure political currents and directions, in areas of the Third World in particular, soon enough so that we are in a position to *act* rather than *react* to events

—both in defense of our larger interests in a given country and, with respect to protecting the practitioners of diplomacy, in strengthening the physical defenses of our premises, in reducing the number of our personnel, or even in closing our mission if necessary. All of this assumes that we have available the best possible intelligence capability.

One must preface any discussion of physical security in our missions with the observation that our ultimate defense must be the readiness of the host government to come to our assistance in the event of attack. Without it any defense is futile, as we learned so painfully in Teheran. Our embassies cannot and should not be fortresses for repeats of Custer's last stand. Where that is a likely prospect, we should obviously not be there—a lesson we learned in Teheran and one we have now applied, for example, in Tripoli.

That said, in light of our experience in places like Teheran and Islamabad, we are—with strong Congressional support—moving in a variety of ways to enhance the physical security arrangements in many of our posts abroad, both to deal with mob violence as well as with isolated attacks. These include such things as improved public-access controls in our chanceries, centralized electronic storage systems to replace decentralized paper files and to reduce the volume of document holdings, and improved safehaven areas within our chanceries. Such programs are designed to enable our missions to delay terrorists for enough time to permit us to destroy national security information and protect our personnel in safe areas until security assistance from the host government arrives.

Such measures are being incorporated in our existing embassy structures. They will be reflected in new construction for the future. And in that respect I would add my personal observation that some of our embassies regrettably are the product of another age. Teheran is a prime example. There our chancery is but one of many buildings in a sprawling 27-acre compound, located in the heart of the city. Diplomatic premises of that kind are hard if not impossible to defend in the best of circumstances. And, in politically sensitive places such as Teheran, their size and location can be a red flag to our adversaries in

the local body politic. Just as professionally lean but adequate ought to be our guideline in staffing in areas where security risks are high, dignity but discretion ought to be the guide for future construction of embassies.

There have been lessons learned, too, in the way the Washington bureaucracy deals with terrorism affecting diplomats. The State Department, as the lead agency for managing such situations, is refining its crisis-management capabilities through training and exercises. Ex-hostages from Teheran should, and I hope will, be used to support this effort. In addition, the newly established Interdepartmental Group on Terrorism is actively reviewing the basic elements of the interagency crisis-management system, as well as our response capabilities. As that group identifies issues, they will be referred to the Senior Interdepartmental Group, chaired by the deputy secretary of state, or through the secretary to the National Security Council.

Multilateral Accords

Aside from the lessons we have learned on measures to enhance the security of our diplomats, there are also the lessons learned about the reliance that we or any other aggrieved country can place on multilateral conventions on the protection of diplomats. Without at least some reasons for looking to that kind of help, the aggrieved party—such as we in Teheran—has no alternative but to turn to unilateral action. The Iranian crisis regrettably demonstrated the difficulty of mobilizing effective multilateral action. Resolutions by the Security Council did indeed demonstrate the international community's virtually unanimous disapproval of Iran's action, based on the record of centuries of such disapproval as documented in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and numerous other such undertakings. But that disapproval produced no results. Rhetoric is abundant, but enforcement provisions—teeth—are lacking. Resolutions and accords *assume* cooperation from the governments concerned. Where it is missing, the rhetoric can be meaningless.

We need action in the international community to make progress in this area. We need understanding, at least among our closest allies and



Hostages being paraded by Iranian captors on first day of captivity. According to Laingen, the cost to Iran of political isolation helped resolve the crisis. Photo by UPI.

friends, that should an incident of the kind we experienced in Teheran occur again, we will have reason to expect immediate consultation and coordinated action. In this respect, had there been an understanding in place on November 4, 1979, among at least our European allies, Japan, and the United States that would have seen us act immediately to isolate Iran, economically and politically, that crisis might have been much shorter—because it was the hurt of sanctions (however imperfect), the cost of political isolation, and the prospect of further pain and cost with the coming of the new administration in Washington that eventually caused Iran to move.

Meanwhile, there is perhaps some progress on the international scene—albeit still lacking in enforcement provisions. In its 34th session the U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted a “Convention Against the Taking of Hostages” and supplemented this in its 35th session with the adoption by consensus of a resolution on the “Consideration of Effective Measures to Enhance the Protection, Security, and Safety of Diplomatic and Consular Missions and Representatives.” Both had obvious reference to the tragedy of Teheran.

With its entry into force, the convention would for the first time provide an international framework for

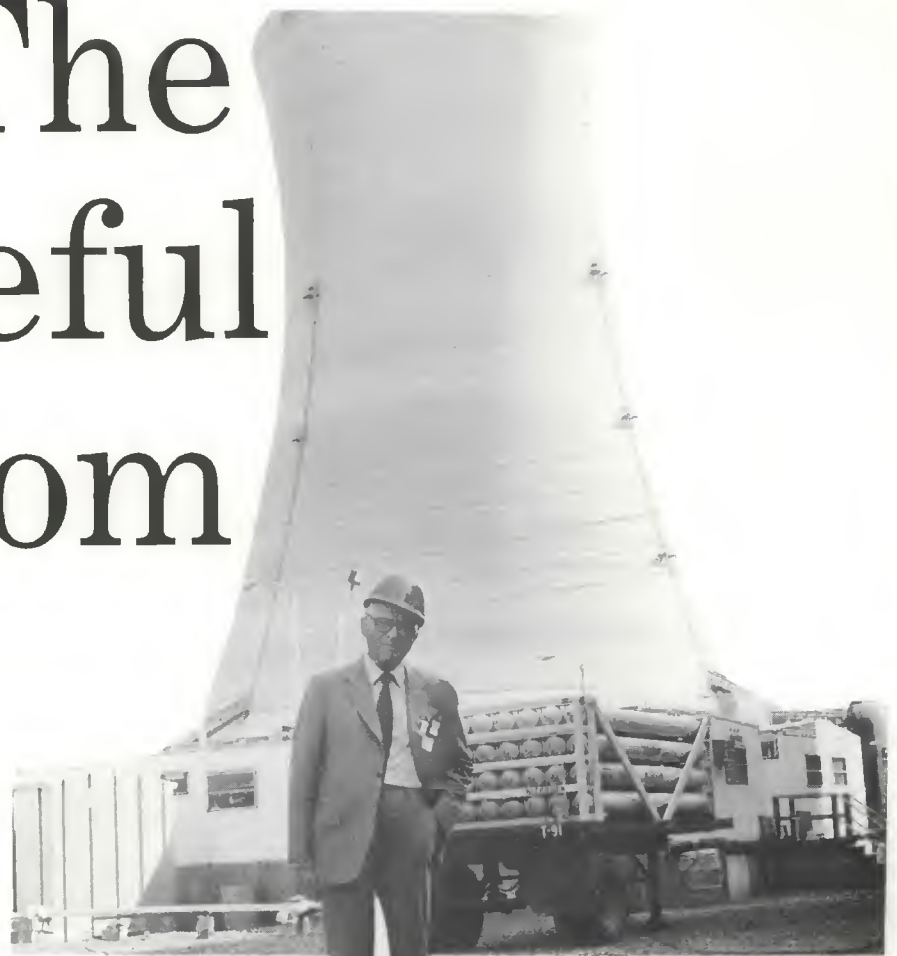
cooperation among states directed toward the prevention of hostage-taking and the punishment of offenders. It would impose binding legal obligations upon states that are parties either to submit for prosecution or to extradite any person within their jurisdiction who commits an act of hostage-taking, attempts to commit such an act, or participates as an accomplice.

The resolution by the 35th session calls on all states to prohibit illegal acts against diplomatic and consular missions and to report to the Secretary General any serious violations and the action taken to bring offenders to justice.

More rhetoric, yes. But these statements at least demonstrate an enhanced awareness that what happened in Teheran was of consequence to *all* states, not simply to us. And it shows an awareness that more needs to be done to deter the scourge of political terrorism that threatens to undermine and weaken the very machinery that makes international cooperation possible. That kind of heightened awareness is a plus. I know from my own conversations with U.N. Secretary General Waldheim the importance he attaches to further efforts to strengthen the international community's capacity to act. There is assuredly a new commitment in Washington and a readiness on the part of the Congress to cooperate in every feasible way.

One must nonetheless conclude—regrettably confirming an old cliché—that we live in an imperfect world. We live at a time when terrorism has become commonplace, to achieve political purposes or to accomplish some other purpose, however senseless. Our own role on the world scene—our interests as a country and as a people—leaves us no alternative but to live with high risks in some of our diplomatic posts and with the possibility of irrational acts of violence in many others. That makes the Foreign Service as a career even more of a challenge than before. It makes especially important the deeper understanding and support that the tragedy of Teheran has won for us as a Service, as a profession, among the American people. Learning from that experience, we can yet prove that travel agent wrong: In case of trouble, think first of the American embassy. □

The Peaceful Atom



Eklund at Three Mile Island

*An Interview
With IAEA Director General
Sigvard Eklund*

The international debate sparked by Israel's lightning strike on the French-built Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq lasted far longer than the two-minute raid. Verbal charges exploded with as much impact as the tons of TNT dropped by the F-16 fighters which screamed out of the setting desert sun that day in early June. At issue was the possible connection between the spreading of technology for nuclear power and the mushrooming club of states that have developed atomic weapons. The furor partly revolved around the role of the United Nations International Atomic Energy Agency, created in 1957 to bring "Atoms for Peace" to the world, and its ability to ensure that technical assistance to its member states for the development of nuclear power does not lead to a weapons capability.

Near the center of the debate was a quiet and relatively unknown Swedish nuclear physicist who has been director general of the IAEA since 1961, Arne Sigvard Eklund. The dean of U.N.-agency heads, the 70-year-old Eklund has confronted many controversies involving nuclear diplomacy during the last two decades. Nonetheless, Eklund declared: "I do not think we have been faced with a more serious question than the implications of the Israeli raid."

Most analysts concurred with Eklund's statement that IAEA inspection and safeguarding procedures, along with the required presence of French technicians at the site, would make it "practically impossible" for Iraq at present to divert nuclear fuel or byproducts to weapons production, as Israel claimed Iraq intended to do. But experts questioned whether in the future—particularly once the 150 French

The interview with Dr. Eklund was conducted in March by Foreign Service Officers John P. Trevithick and Francis X. Cunningham with the editor. John Trevithick retired earlier this year as office director of the science and technology directorate in the International Organizations bureau of the State Department. He is now a part-time consultant to the bureau on IAEA matters. Francis Cunningham is also in IO, with primary responsibility as action officer for the U.N. Environment Program.

"Stopping the spread of nuclear weapons rests on the political will of states to accept the Nonproliferation Treaty"

technicians leave (as they were scheduled to do in 1989)—Iraq might not lawfully renounce its inspection obligations and proceed to develop a bomb. And most observers wondered why an oil-rich nation such as Iraq sought to develop a costly alternative energy source.

Attacks on the IAEA came from many sources throughout the world, including from within the agency itself. An American IAEA inspector named Roger Richter was charged by the agency with having leaked confidential IAEA documents to Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) that at first seemed to support Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's claim that Iraq was on the threshold of achieving a weapons capability. However, an examination of the documents later revealed that three out of the four did not specifically mention the Osirak reactor. Richter then charged in a widely challenged article that "the IAEA does not look for clandestine operations. The IAEA in effect conducts an accounting operation" of certain nuclear fuels declared by supplier nations. Richter pointed out that Iraq permits inspections only by Eastern-bloc nationals, that inspections must be announced in advance, and that some facilities and fuels at the Osirak reactor were not subject to agency safeguards. However, the presence of the French technicians would make clandestine operations difficult, and scientific opinion is divided on whether the unsafeguarded fuels and facilities could be used for weapons.

Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio) condemned the Israeli raid but noted that Iraq, under the terms of the 1968 Nonproliferation Treaty, can withdraw from its treaty obligations—including IAEA inspections—with 90 days' notice. Furthermore, the agency is not charged with detecting the diversion of nuclear equipment to weapons production but

only to warn the world if nuclear materials could be misused. According to Glenn, any discrepancy discovered by the IAEA materials accounting is not a violation until a weapon is actually constructed. If the treaty should be violated, there is no existing agreement on sanctions or penalties. "Even with the NPT in effect, it would be possible for a country to obtain all the technology and materials needed for the construction of nuclear weapons and to receive technical assistance in obtaining and using such technology without violating the NPT rules," said Glenn. "Under the guise of being an NPT signatory, a country can simultaneously pursue a civilian nuclear program and a military option until it is time to actually construct weapons, and then simply withdraw from the treaty." At that point, however, it would be unlikely that responsible nations would continue to supply fuel, leaving such a country with a few small bombs and no ability to produce more. The truth of Israel's charges concerning the Iraqi nuclear program may never be known, but the raid on Osirak at least brought into clear perspective the difficult political and scientific questions involved in safeguarding the peaceful atom.

A Controversial Figure

Until Osirak, the most prominent symbol of the problems attendant with nuclear power was the cooling tower adjacent to the disabled reactor unit at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania. On the second anniversary of the 1979 accident, Eklund stood before the tower and urged a rapid cleanup of the site. Two days before, the director general granted an interview to the *Foreign Service Journal* to discuss his agency's role in promoting nuclear energy.

Eklund is a small, bespectacled man who dresses in neat gray suits and speaks in measured tones overlaid with a Swedish accent. He was born in 1911 in Keruna and received a master's and doctorate in nuclear physics from the University of Uppsala. He held senior research positions at the Nobel Institute for Physics, the Research Institute for National Defense, the Royal Institute for Physics, the Research Institute for National Defense, the Royal Institute of Technology, and AB Atomenergi, all in Stockholm, before becoming the IAEA's second direc-



Eklund on nonproliferation: *"The IAEA has an important role in exercising a safeguards system. That role will always be maintained."*

tor general in 1961. He has been reappointed to four more four-year terms, the last of which will expire in November.

We first asked Eklund whether there had been progress during his 20 years with the agency. While noting the difficulty of observing progress from within, he did see some improvements. "The first is with regard to East-West relations. I came to the IAEA as a controversial figure. There was heavy resistance against my appointment. It has been a matter of great satisfaction that during these years the understanding between East and West has improved so much. There is now very good cooperation between these two groups of countries to make the best possible use of the agency. Another

thing that has given great satisfaction is the progress made in safeguards. Safeguards have reached a degree of accomplishment one would not have thought possible at the beginning of the 1960s. I think the fact that we now have an international safeguards system is an accomplishment which is not fully understood or appreciated. It is a very remarkable fact that sovereign countries have, to the extent which is reflected in the NPT, given up a certain degree of their sovereignty to fulfill the requirements of the treaty and the agency's safeguards system. But there have been disappointments too, the fundamental one being that the NPT has not become universal. There are still countries outside the treaty—not more than half a dozen

—which have not accepted full-scope safeguards. I hope they will understand that it is in their own interests, as well as in the interest of the world, that they join the NPT. Thus, I was quite gratified when Egypt ratified the treaty this year."

When the IAEA was created by U.N. statute in 1957 at the behest of President Eisenhower, it was charged with bringing "Atoms for Peace" to the world, to use Eisenhower's words. The statute calls on the agency "to seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health, and prosperity throughout the world" while ensuring that such assistance "is not used to further any military purpose." The latter part has been the more difficult.

Pushing for Safeguards

Over the last 24 years, a system of safeguards has gradually been developed, for which Eklund can take a large share of the credit. In fact, Eklund's belief in safeguards was largely responsible for the controversy surrounding his nomination as director general. The Soviet Union opposed his nomination because he advocated safeguards, and even went so far as to accuse Eklund of atomic espionage, threatening to quit the agency if he were elected. The physicist was undeterred. His countryman Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld offered him support: "Don't run away. Those who believe in peace must stand up for it."

Eklund stood firm and was elected. The chief Soviet delegate to the IAEA, Vasily S. Emelyanov, did walk out in protest, but the Asian and African delegates he expected to follow him remained fast in their seats. At the next session, Emelyanov was back in his chair to stay. Ever since, the once-controversial proponent of safeguards has been re-elected by acclamation.

Eklund soon won a reputation throughout the agency "for scrupulous honesty, fairness in deciding conflicts, mildness in approaching problems, and firmness on principles," wrote John Lear in a 1965 *Saturday Review*. "The northern Swedish countryside around Keruna is famous as a source of high-grade iron. A sizable vein of the hard, tough metal somehow got into the backbone of Dr. Eklund." Today, Eklund told the *Journal*, at the age of 70 he still takes long hiking trips

into the woods near his home town, where his father once drove the locomotives hauling iron to the sea.

After the Soviet walkout failed, Eklund was able to get his first safeguards system into force, though it applied only to small reactors. An inspection system was devised and the first inspector general appointed in 1965. It was not until the NPT was passed in 1968—with many countries only signing when promised assistance in developing nuclear power—that a formal system of international accounting and inspections took effect for all member states of the agency.

Supplying technical assistance was the original goal of the agency and the IAEA remains the principal source of atomic aid in the developing world. But the size of the technical-assistance program—some \$17 million in 1979, for example—when compared to the cost of a billion-dollar nuclear power plant, makes one wonder about the usefulness of such a program.

“First of all,” Eklund responded, “recall that the agency has 110 member states. Of these, only 45 have a research reactor and only 22 have a power reactor. So, the agency’s activities cannot be concentrated on power-reactor support. According to its statute, the agency has to support the use of all forms of atomic or nuclear energy in member states. Our assistance program promotes the use of radiation and isotopes in agriculture, in medical diagnosis or therapy, in finding underground water resources, and so on. This assistance is considered very important by a number of developing member states and, as a matter of fact, the agency’s means at present do not suffice to meet all the requests. The agency’s assistance serves mainly as a seed for further development. Comparing the size of the agency’s funds to the cost of a power plant does not give a correct picture of the importance of assistance.”

Eklund quickly added a caveat about the usefulness of atomic energy in developing countries. “Another thing is—and I think it should be emphasized—that the development of nuclear power has gone in a direction which may not make it the most helpful immediate solution to developing countries with regard to their energy problems. It is an old rule of thumb that a single power-

generating station should not be more than 10 percent of the total generating capacity of a country. Nuclear power reactors are most economical when they are of the size perhaps of 1000 megawatts. This means that only developing countries which already have a considerable generating capacity could make full use of a modern nuclear power plant. I therefore think that for the next decade or so, the growth of nuclear power will occur primarily in developed countries. This will have the benefit of lessening their demand for oil. Consequently, capacity will be available for developing countries to expand their electric systems so that they can later accept nuclear power reactors.”

The *Journal* noted that the IAEA also has an important role in promoting reactor safety. At least in this country, opponents of nuclear power frequently point to the problem of waste storage as being an argument that negates any possibility of using nuclear power safely. We asked Eklund to comment on where likely solutions could lie.

Promoting Safety

“The agency has been following this aspect of nuclear power development and I think it is not a technical problem in itself. Different methods have been worked out which make it possible to store the waste from nuclear plants in such a way that the radiation from the waste will not affect the environment.” Eklund saw the problem more as one of public attitude. “The general public is so concerned about this matter that they sometimes will not even allow authorities to drill holes in the ground to find if an area could be used for underground storage of wastes. I think a much more positive attitude is needed to reduce the size of this question to its true proportions.”

How can this problem of public acceptance be resolved? “I must say that is an extremely difficult question and I don’t have a straight answer. I think the essential thing is to present to the public a balanced comparison between different energy sources, so that they see that every energy source has its environmental consequences, and that these consequences have to be compared in order to assess the advantages and disadvantages of the different sources. If this is done, one

finds that nuclear energy has many advantages that other energy sources may not have. However, ultimately, I think that so much sentiment is involved here that people may not be able to appreciate these advantages until they observe their electricity bills going up because of the increase in price of the conventional fuel source, or find that they don’t have electricity available to provide heating or cooling or light. When this occurs, they may start re-evaluating the situation.” Eklund then cited an in-progress U.N. evaluation of the environmental effects of different energy sources. “A comparison will be made between the consequences of different energy sources. So far, everything points to the many advantages which are associated with nuclear energy.”

But doesn’t Three Mile Island show that environmental hazards could be severe? The United States has the technology and expertise to react to such an emergency, but a developing country may not.

“What happened at Three Mile Island shows that it is very essential to have an infrastructure in a country operating a power reactor. This is another factor, in addition to those I have advanced before, when considering nuclear power in a developing country. Only when they have a sufficient infrastructure should developing countries build nuclear power plants. When I say ‘developing countries,’ please keep in mind that there are different degrees of development, and that there are some developing countries that have a considerable technical infrastructure.” Noting the possibility of international cooperation in case of an accident, Eklund stated that “certain preliminary actions have been taken for facilitating international assistance.”

The mention of Three Mile Island just before the anniversary of the accident caused the physicist to digress. “I very much hope that there will be a cleanup of the site as soon as possible. As a spokesman for nuclear energy, I believe that when a plant has been affected by an accident, one should clean it up as soon as possible and not let it stand like a monument over a failure, which is now the case.”

Will it happen again? “We are living in a complicated world with complicated technical devices. As with all human creations, they are



Eklund on safety: "It is necessary to improve the relationship between machines and humans. Training of operators is essential."

not ideal from every point of view. There can be failures, and consequently there can be a failure in a nuclear power reactor. The remarkable thing is that, from the very beginning, every precaution has been taken to prevent the environment from being affected. Barriers have been established to prevent any interference between the radioactive core and the biosphere. They have proved their validity in several accidents, the last one at Three Mile Island.

"We have to remember," he continued, "that at present we have 2200 years of reactor-operating experience, and we have not had a single case of a fatal accident, in which a person has been killed by

radiation from nuclear power. At the end of the decade there will be 6000 reactor-operating years of experience. I think that these are facts which speak for themselves, and for the precautions that have been taken." However, the director general did see one area of concern. He cited a recent conference held by the IAEA at which "one could observe the necessity of trying to improve the relationship between the machines and the human element. The training of operators is very essential."

On the subject of safety, an article by Steven Fetter and Kosta Tsipis in the April *Scientific American* concluded that "a single nuclear weapon would contaminate a

much greater area with radioactive fallout than the worse conceivable accident to a nuclear reactor." The authors observe that in the case of an accident, as opposed to a nuclear weapon explosion, though there could be loss of life, social, government, and medical services would still be intact and functioning. "In view of this," the authors wrote, "the preoccupation of the public with the risks of the generation of electricity by nuclear reactors appears to be misplaced."

Demonstrating the Bomb

Eklund concurred with this estimation of the relative dangers of weapons and power reactors. "I regret very much that the public has paid too little attention to the effects of nuclear weapons. Some think of nuclear weapons as ordinary weapons that we have to learn to live with. I think that is completely wrong. It is now almost three decades since there was a demonstration of a nuclear explosion in the Bikinis. I regret very much that the experience of these explosions has been forgotten by the public. It has therefore been suggested that the nuclear-weapons states should arrange a demonstration of the explosion of a nuclear weapon, just so people would understand the tremendous effects of these weapons."

That response led to the question of whether nuclear power technology can be used without spreading weapons technology. The *Journal* observed that as power plants spread throughout the world—to India and South Africa, for example—many of these countries seem to have developed a weapons capability. In the most general sense, we wondered whether it is inevitable that in the spread of power technology there will be a spread of nuclear weapons to states that do not currently have them.

Eklund's answer was firm and specific. "There is no direct connection between nuclear power and nuclear weapons. We have to keep in mind that in no case has a state first developed nuclear power reactors and then nuclear weapons. They have always started with a special reactor for the production of nuclear materials for weapons, and after that they have gone into the development of nuclear power. It is much easier to develop a reactor for the

production of weapons material than to develop a power reactor. On the other hand, it is clear that if you have the capacity to operate, and also perhaps to construct, a power reactor, then you are a long way on the road to getting a capacity to produce weapons. But here we have the Nonproliferation Treaty coming in, which prohibits the non-weapons states from producing them."

Are any reactor systems resistant to proliferation? The director general mentioned the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation conducted by the agency, which he called "a remarkable exercise, the first time in the history of the development of a technology that a truly international attempt has been made to evaluate the problems and possibilities." INFCE, he said, was important because it gave a definite answer to the proliferation question. "The answer was what we expected: there are no systems which are proliferation-resistant. Therefore, nonproliferation rests on the political will of member states to accept the Nonproliferation Treaty."

Since President Reagan's election, there has been renewed interest in reactivating the breeder reactor program. (The funds for construction of the breeder reactor at Clinch River, Tennessee, later did pass in the Reagan budget.) However, that program had been suspended by President Carter because, among other reasons, the plutonium fuels produced by the breeder could be more useful to terrorists. We asked, therefore, whether breeder technology should be pursued.

"I think that if nuclear energy is to play its full role in the future it is necessary that the breeder technique be developed," Eklund replied. "This has successfully been dealt with in this country, although major activity has been frozen to a certain extent. It has been pursued in the United Kingdom, it is being pursued very actively in France, which has a big breeder reactor under construction, and it is being pursued in Japan, the Soviet Union, and within the European Community. I believe very much in the development of the breeder. When the commercial breeder has been developed, mankind will have an energy source which will last a very long time, a time span comparable to that of coal's. And I don't think the proliferation problems from breeder

reactors are such that they cannot be coped with by a safeguards system."

The world is running short of petroleum, yet several technologically advanced countries have scaled down or cancelled plans for the construction of nuclear power installations. Is this paradoxical?

"I can only agree that it is paradoxical. Governments in democratic systems have to respond to public opinion. It is true that anti-nuclear forces are very strong from the vocal point of view. Weak governments which can be toppled by even small changes of votes are very careful in making decisions. Therefore, we have a situation such as in Sweden, where three governments have been toppled on the nuclear question, and where a decision has been made that no more than 12 reactors should be constructed. This task will be completed by 1985 at the latest, and nothing more is to be built thereafter. In the beginning of the 21st century, Sweden's power reactors are supposed to be dismantled as soon as other energy sources are available. Well, I think it will turn out that no other energy sources will be available and the politicians will revise this decision. The general public will understand this as soon as it is faced with an energy shortage and sees the consequences in increased prices for energy, and in personal consequences as well."

Fusion & the Future

What about fusion energy? Is there perhaps an answer to waste, proliferation, and safety problems here? We wondered what the IAEA is doing to promote fusion.

"We are involved, but one should be realistic here and understand that fusion power has not been realized yet, even in an experimental way. It will take a long time, far into the next century, until we see a fusion power reactor. Such a reactor will also have its environmental consequences, and I don't think it will be immediately accepted by people if the present situation continues."

Finally, we asked about the future of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Should its mandate perhaps be broadened to other forms of energy? How will its role evolve over the next 20 years, particularly in light of the depletion of petroleum reserves and increasing global energy needs?

"At present, about eight percent of the electricity in the world is generated by nuclear means. This will increase to about 17 percent by 1985. It will be 18 percent by 1990, to the extent that we can predict. This means that nuclear power has already made an inroad in the production of electricity in the world, in a field that has always been covered by conventional sources. Therefore, nuclear energy is here to remain for a considerable time. There's no question about that.

"In Europe, nuclear power will generate about 30 percent of the electricity by 1990. But already by 1985, in some countries, like Sweden, Switzerland, and a few others, 35 to 40 percent of the electricity will be produced by nuclear means, in France perhaps 50 percent. About 70 to 75 percent of the electricity in France will be produced by nuclear energy by 1990. I mention this to underline that nuclear energy will play an important role in the future. It will become almost like a conventional source and conventional technology.

"Now, there are certainly problems associated with nuclear energy, for example, proliferation. Therefore, the IAEA will have an important role in exercising a safeguards system. That role will always be maintained. From a cost-efficiency point of view, I think member states will fare well if the agency's statute can eventually be changed so it can also deal with other energy sources. I'm thinking of non-conventional energy, such as wind, solar, or geothermal power. An organization like the IAEA could very easily give member states appropriate advice at much lower cost than would be the case with a new organization. However, I don't think that the agency should take over any responsibilities for conventional power sources such as coal or oil. They belong to the International Energy Agency. But expanded activity by the IAEA in the direction I have indicated could be the best and cheapest way for member states to get advice on these questions."

With that, Eklund stood up to leave. He was traveling to Three Mile Island, promoting the peaceful atom. Not until three months later would Israel's raid sharply call into question the program that began under the name "Atoms for Peace."

—S.R.D.

War Comes

The German and British consular agents had been fast friends for 20 years—and then the news of war reached their Brazilian jungle village.

By FRED GODSEY

Wars and other international catastrophes present a different perspective in a Brazilian jungle village than they do in London, Berlin, or New York. Nevertheless, Amazon folk will still tell you, if you have a bit of time to spare, how, on that September morning of 1939, old Schmidt, the German, and old Scarborough, the Englishman, brought World War II to their doorsteps.

It happened in the isolated village of Naiba. Today, Naiba—or, rather, what is left of it—is typical of the many small Brazilian communities rotting away along the Amazon River, dreaming of their days of glory when they were boom towns. If you'll look at those deserted, tumbled-down wooden houses there, originally built on stilts near the river bank, you can see that Naiba isn't much any more. There are probably only ten or twelve families here now. They live further back there, in that jungle clearing—in those little huts with the rusting tin roofs. They make a sort of living by gathering Brazil nuts, manioc roots,

This story is based on what is believed to be a true event. The names of the characters, companies, and locale have been changed.

"The Journal" is a new section for historical and personal accounts.

and wild animal skins for some of the big exporting firms.

If you step around these shacks here and walk a few steps inland from the river bank, you will notice that wooden and adobe buildings and a stone church were once clustered around a small unpaved town square. As you can see, the empty church and several of the decaying houses are still standing—long unused and inhabited now only by green jungle vines and a few lizards.

Take a deep breath. Smell it? It's mold. Amid the humid heat, you can smell the musty odor of the jungle. This mold attaches itself to almost everything that remains long in the Amazon—even to the people.

It is still a two-day trip by small river boat from Naiba down to Belém, the principal port at the river's mouth. The big ocean-going freighters, which go all the way up the river to Manaus, don't stop at Naiba any more. They used to though. In fact, before World War II, two of the largest steamship lines had offices here.

Consulates in Ruins

Now look across the square. Can you see the front of an old wooden office building? That's it, the one covered with green mold. There's only a pile of rubble behind the facade, but you can still make out the faded sign: "HAMBURGO-GERMAN LINES." And underneath this part of the sign, if you'll look closely, are some words in small, dim letters: "Manfried Schmidt, Manager. Consular Agent of Germany." The signboard still hangs with a certain Prussian dignity above what was once a doorway.

That pile of debris over there—on the other side of the square, directly opposite the church—used to be an office of a British steamship line serving South America and Europe. Those few rotting planks are all that is left of the front of the building, but perhaps you can read part of the sign that was painted there:

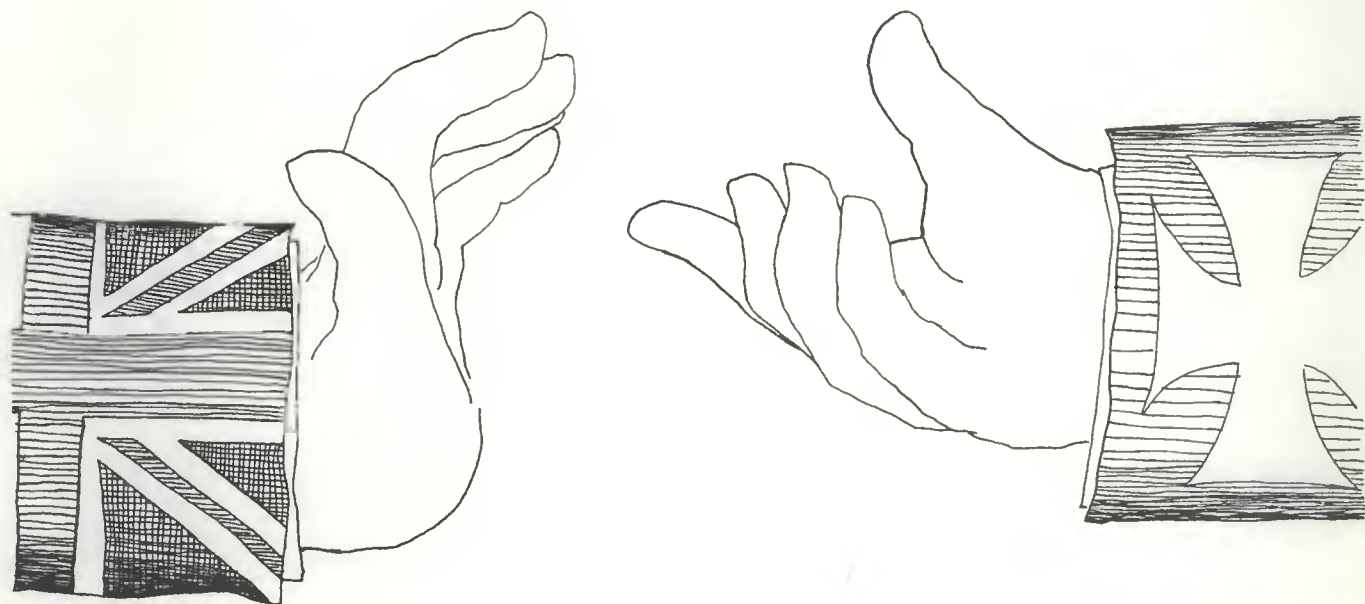
"BRITISH-SOOTHBY STEAMSHIP LINES." Time and its accomplices have almost obscured the other words. But look down at the bottom of the sign. In small, discreet lettering: "Jas. B. Scarborough, H.B.M. Consular Agent. Manager."

James B. Scarborough and Manfried Schmidt both arrived in the Amazon valley of Brazil as young men at about the same time. Both spent years at different posts along the river as employees of their respective shipping companies, advancing in rank as time went by. When the village of Naiba began to grow in importance as a port, British-Soothby Lines opened an office here and made Scarborough the manager. Three months later, Hamburgo-German Lines opened a similar office in the village, with Schmidt as manager, to get its share of the large shipments of Brazil nuts, hides, and bales of raw, smoked rubber destined for Europe. Schmidt was eventually appointed as a consular agent of Germany, and Scarborough became the British consular agent, thus making them both official commercial representatives of their respective countries.

Naiba was a larger village in those days, and Schmidt and Scarborough were the only foreigners living here. They were both bachelors, and, since the river boats stopped infrequently at the port and brought few visitors, they were inevitably drawn together after office hours to pass the time and enjoy such meager amusements as could be had in such a jungle village. Both men were fat, slightly bald, and had similar tastes. Both came from middle-class families. They had not known each other before, but in Naiba they soon became fast friends. Since Scarborough could speak no German, and Schmidt spoke no English, they adopted the Portuguese of Brazil as a common language.

Scarborough had a rather large house, built of wood, just off the square on the other side of the church. It had two upstairs bed-

To Naiba



Tom Gibson

rooms and a front porch facing the river to catch any available breeze. Schmidt lived on the opposite side of the isolated village in a similar house, except that he had no front porch.

The two friends soon developed a pattern of life to which they adhered religiously for the next twenty years. Each evening, from Monday through Friday, they would meet after dinner on the front porch of Scarborough's house for two games of checkers. Just two games—not more. Then, they would each drink four large bottles of Brazilian Brahma Chopp beer—just four each—while discussing the events of the day, including the latest news broadcast on Scarborough's battery-powered shortwave radio. They listened to the news primarily to get the results of the European soccer matches. After this, they would go to the village square and walk

around it five times. Exactly five times—no more, no less. Then they would shake hands, say goodnight, and return to their houses.

Their program differed on Saturdays and Sundays. On Saturday afternoons, they would meet at Schmidt's house at midday for a heavy lunch. Schmidt had trained his native cook to prepare several typical German dishes which Jas. B. enjoyed even more than his host. Since their offices were closed on Saturday afternoons, after lunch they would take a long siesta in their hammocks and then go for a swim in the river.

Their Saturday evenings, including dinner, were also invariably at Schmidt's house. On these evenings, they were always entertained by two or more local maidens—an arrangement taken care of by Scarborough each Monday, a week in advance. Scarborough endeavored to have

new entertainers each week but, over the years, he sometimes suspected that he was engaging in a repeat booking.

On Sundays, they always met for lunch at Scarborough's house and, after siesta, sat in the wicker chairs in front of the little bar on the square and had four gin and tonics each—exactly four—while pondering the events of the week. Punctually at seven p.m., they would leave the bar and walk around the square five times before returning to their respective houses.

For almost twenty years, until both old friends were well past sixty years of age, this routine was broken only by one or the other taking a short home-leave in Germany or in England.

Then came the third day of September 1939.

Old Jas. B. happened to turn on his shortwave set around midnight

that night and heard the BBC news bulletin from London proclaiming that a state of war existed between Britain and Nazi Germany. At first he was horrified at the news. Then he became sad, and, finally, a cold rage settled upon him. After a few hours of fitful sleep, he went to the storeroom of his house and pulled out two very old, dusty steamer trunks. Rummaging through these, he finally found the items for which he was searching: a moth-eaten black top hat, an equally moth-eaten and rumpled formal black tailcoat, and a silver-headed walking cane. He brushed a bit of the mold from the hat and the tails, briskly polished the silver head of the cane, and waited for the dawn.

As it still does in the Amazon valley, the business day in Naiba began early to take advantage of the precious hours before the tropical heat set in. The few offices and shops around the square were already open, and the residents of the little village were just beginning their chores when Scarborough left his house that morning.

The citizens of Naiba—even those who had heard the news over Brazilian radio—were going about their daily affairs as usual. After all, how many even knew where England and Germany were located? How many cared? They had much more important things to worry about in Naiba. They were startled, however, when *O Senhor* Scarborough appeared on the street and began to walk slowly across the square toward the office of the Hamburgo-German Steamship Lines. They were, in fact, so amazed that they dropped whatever they were doing and stared, for *O Senhor* Scarborough was wearing a black top hat and a formal tailcoat, and carried a silver-headed cane. True, the attire was a bit moldy, wrinkled, and contained not a few moth holes, but the hot morning sun glittered regally from the polished head of the cane. Indeed, Jas. B. presented a magnificent figure. No one could remember ever having

seen him in such fine raiment—not even on the King's birthday! Several small boys on the street in front of the grocery shop clapped their hands and grinned in appreciation as he passed.

Scarborough made his way with great military mien to the door of his old friend's office. Schmidt was just taking some invoices and other papers from his safe. Jas. B. didn't enter the office, although the door was open, but stood just outside and rapped loudly on the side of the doorway with the silver head of his cane. Schmidt looked up from his work. Seeing Jas. B. in a resplendent costume, acting strangely, he smiled broadly and came immediately to the doorway, obviously expecting to participate in some huge new joke dreamed up by his old friend. His joyful expectations were soon completely demolished.

Friendship in Ruins

"Herr Consul Schmidt!" old Jas. B. roared, "again your Goddamned country has seen fit to make war on England! I inform you herewith that you and all of your Nazi swine shall go down to your dirty graves in defeat! Do you hear? Defeat! Furthermore, in the future—or what's left of it for you—I shall not speak to you again, and I'll thank you not to speak to me! And if, by chance, I see you coming toward me on the street, I'll go around you as I would a dirty, rabid dog!"

Scarborough had finished his speech before his friend realized that there was to be no joke, and that the insult was in deadly earnest. Schmidt opened his mouth to say something, but, without waiting to hear, Scarborough turned on his heel, spat at his feet, and began marching away. A few yards into the square, however, Scarborough stopped and looked back over his shoulder.

Schmidt was standing in the street in front of the little office, holding his hands out toward him, palms up in supplication. Large tears were

rolling off his cheeks onto the dusty street. His lips were moving, apparently without sound, but they seemed to be forming a single word, over and over, "Why? Why? Why?"

True to his word, Scarborough avoided his old friend from that time on and never spoke to him again. Two months later, the German line closed the office in Naiba and Manfred Schmidt went back to Germany.

It was about two months after Schmidt left the village that Scarborough's health began to fail. His servants began to complain to the neighbors that the old man could not sleep at night, and that he spent hours speaking to himself in a strange tongue. He seemed to be all right in the office, but would lose control of himself at home in the evenings. Then, shortly before Brazil declared war on Germany, a British-Soothby official stopped in Naiba one day and brought Scarborough the news that Manfred Schmidt had committed suicide in Germany.

From that day, the villagers say, *O Senhor* Scarborough's condition grew worse, until one night he tried to hang himself on his front porch. The servants prevented him from taking his life and called the village policeman. A week later, the steamship company had the old man flown to a mental hospital in Rio de Janeiro, where he died within a few weeks.

Shortly before Scarborough died, one of the British-Soothby ship captains visited him in the Rio hospital. The captain, who had known Scarborough for many years, later said that the old man didn't recognize him and would only mumble some gibberish which was hardly understandable. The only words the captain could make out from the old man's ravings seemed completely inane. "If only I hadn't looked back," he whispered, "if only I hadn't looked. . . ."

Jas. B. was obviously crazy as a loon, the captain said. □

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1981 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards

The 1981 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards have been given to 22 Foreign Service children who graduated from high school last spring and were judged by volunteer review panels on the basis of excellence in academics and extracurricular activities. This year, the awards have been named in honor of Lesley Dorman, past president of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, for her years of service to that organization and to its Book Fair, the source of funds that AAFSW contributes to the scholarship program. Photographs and biographies of this year's winners appear on these pages. Interested applicants in the high school class of 1982 who are qualified dependents of Foreign Service personnel who have or are serving abroad are encouraged to apply this fall to AFSA Scholarship Programs Administrator, 2101 E. St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.



Michael J. Abramowitz, son of Morton Isaac and Sheppie Glass Abramowitz, State. Aside from the U.S., Michael has lived in Hong Kong, England, and Thailand. His interests include journalism, history, Asian culture, and working with Indochinese refugees. Michael graduated from St. Albans School and will attend Harvard College this fall.



Ruth Ellen Baker, daughter of John and Marilyn Baker, State. Ruth has lived in Yemen, Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Philippines. She is interested in the piano and ballet. While attending the International School in the Philippines, Ruth received several honors which include valedictorian of her graduating class, membership in the Scholia Honor Society, NMSQT finalist, Outstanding Scholar Award, first prize in biology. She plans to study at Yale University in the fall.



Dina Patricia Barbis, daughter of George M. and Patricia Q. Barbis, State. Dina has lived in France, Belgium, and Greece. She is interested in photography, scuba diving, art, skiing, and horseback riding. Dina graduated cum laude from Choate Rosemary Hall, with honors in English and science. She was on the honor roll and a member of the National Spanish Honor Society. Dina will attend Stanford University in the fall and plans to study biology.



Joan Charlotte Becker, daughter of John Philip and Priscilla Clark Becker, State. Joan has lived in Canada, Germany, and India. She is interested in basketball, tennis, trekking, and playing the clarinet. Joan received several awards from the American Embassy School in India which include membership in the National Honor Society, salutatorian, PSAT Commendation Award, Most Valuable Player in basketball, and the Deitchman Sportsmanship Award. She will attend Williams College in the fall.



Cynthia Samar Carr, daughter of David William and Kathleen Hanley Carr, AID. Cynthia has lived in Lebanon, South Yemen, Saudia Arabia, Syria, and Mauritania. She is interested in dancing and the piano. At the Masters School, Cynthia was admitted into the Cum Laude Society and received a 1979 Merit Commendation and the Bausch & Lomb Science Award. She will study history and biology at Princeton University this fall.



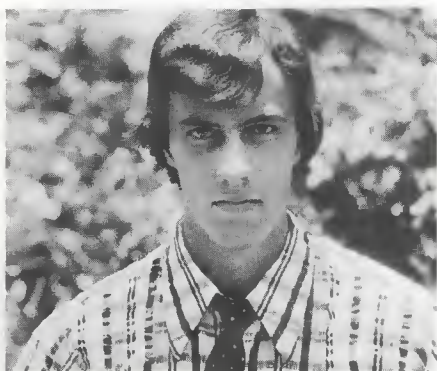
Marc Andrew Cohen, son of Herman J. and Suzanne Cohen, State. Marc was born in Uganda and has also lived in Zimbabwe, Zaire, France, and Senegal. His many interests include soccer, telecommunications, debating, and French/English interpreting. Marc graduated from Lycée Français International and received the French Baccalaureate Award. He plans to study engineering at Harvard College.



Tamara Lee Cohen, daughter of Donald D. Cohen and Bettina S. Callaway, AID. Tamara lived in Korea and Turkey. She is especially interested in computer work, the piano, acting, directing, and stage crew. Tamara received several honors from Washington-Lee School which include the Renssalaer Award for Achievement in Math and Science, 1980 Virginia's Governor School for the Gifted, National Merit Scholarship winner, Arlington winner of the United States Capitol Historical Society's Annual Award. She was chosen for the Echols Scholar program at the University of Virginia, where she will study mathematics and biology.



Carol Christian Coleman, daughter of Dr. Michael and Mildred Stewart Menard, ICA. Carol has lived in India and West Germany. She is interested in drama, art, journalism, math, and creative writing. At the Bonn American High School in Germany, Carol was a member of the National Honor Society and received the National Merit Commended Student Award, the Presidential Scholar Finalist Award, and a Tulane Dean's Honor Scholarship. Carol will attend the Newcomb College of Tulane University.



Landreth M. John Harrison, son of Landreth Matthew Harrison, State, retired. Landreth is interested in international relations, philosophy, physics, sailing, hunting, and tennis. He received several awards at the St. Andrew's School which include a National Merit Scholarship, summa cum laude in the National Latin Exam, the Joseph E. Gould Award for U.S. History, valedictorian, and First Awards in Latin, history, and mathematics. He plans to enter Yale University this fall to study political science.



David Norbert Kockler, son of Norbert and Cecilia Kockler, AID, retired. David has lived in Nicaragua and Honduras. His interests include tennis and wargaming. David was a member of the National Honor Society at T.C. Williams Senior High School and shared the first place award in botany. David plans to study chemical engineering at Northwestern University in the fall.



Christopher Thomas Landau, son of Ambassador George and Maria Landau, State. Christopher was born in Spain and has lived in Canada, Chile, and Paraguay. He is interested in history, languages, international affairs, writing, and running. Christopher received several awards at the Groton School which include National Merit Scholarship Finalist, Honor Roll, winner of the Perry History Prize and the History and Literature Prize, the George Livingston Nichols History Essay Prize, and summa cum laude. He will attend Harvard University this fall.



Leonard Lattanzi, son of Frank and Aurelia Lattanzi, ICA. Leonard has lived in England, Italy, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Mexico. He has interests which include science fiction, debating, chess, game theory, drama, and journalism. Leonard was a member of the National Honor Society and valedictorian of his graduating class at the American School Foundation of Guadalajara, Mexico. He plans to attend Stanford University in the fall to study pre-law.



Sheri G. Lyman, daughter of Princeton Nathan and Helen Carolyn Lyman, State. Sheri has lived in Korea and Ethiopia. She is interested in art, classical guitar, soccer, track, and writing. While attending Albert Einstein High School, Sheri received the National Council of Teachers of English Achievement Award in Writing and was a member of the National Honor Society. She will study psychology and English at Barnard College this fall.



Joan Midthun, daughter of Kermit S. and Leonor Midthun, State. Joan has lived in Mexico and Thailand. Her many interests include ballet, photography, drama, classical music, horticulture, and Asian languages. Joan attended Boonsboro High School, where she was nominated for the Chancellor's Scholarship at the University of Maryland and won awards in poster design, oratory, and radio presentation. Joan will attend the University of Pennsylvania.



Kathleen K. Olson, daughter of Oscar J. and Patricia W. Olson, State. Aside from living in the U.S., Kathleen resided in Spain, Mexico, and Germany. Her interests include baseball and music. Kathleen received several honors from Washington-Lee High School. These include valedictorian, a National Merit Scholarship, the Arlington Kiwanis Scholarship, and membership in the National Honor Society, Spanish Honor Society, and the Tiko Math Honor Society. She will attend Northwestern University in the fall.



Scott Mills Sippelle, son of Mr. and Mrs. Dudley G. Sippelle, State. Scott has lived in Colombia, Sweden, Turkey, Venezuela, Austria, and is now in the Dominican Republic. His interests include soccer, baseball, skiing, languages, travel, and coin and stamp collecting. He graduated cum laude from St. Andrew's School, was the winner of the St. Andrew's French Prize, a member of the Delaware All-State Soccer Team, voted Most Valuable Soccer Player. While attending Hamilton College this fall, Scott plans to study economics.



Marie J. Sullivan, daughter of Roger W. and Marguerite B. Sullivan, State. Marie was born in Taiwan and has lived in Singapore, Indonesia, and Hong Kong. She is interested in bicycling, music, math, and languages. At Walt Whitman High School, Marie was a National Merit Semifinalist, captain of the school's math team, and a member of the National Junior Honor Society. She will attend MIT in the fall to study engineering and physics.



Bruce Jon Swenson, son of Russell and Hallene Swenson, AID. Bruce has lived in Afghanistan and Turkey. His interests include long-distance running, playing the trumpet, school government, and photography. He attended Washington-Lee High School, where he was the American Legion Boys State Delegate, a member of the National Honor Society and the Spanish Honor Society, and received the DAR Citizenship Award and the Outstanding Band Member Award. At the University of Virginia, Bruce will study nuclear engineering this fall.



Elizabeth Baker Teare, daughter of Richard W. and Jeanie W. Teare, State. Elizabeth has lived in the Philippines, Mexico, and Laos. She is interested in writing and ballet. Elizabeth received several honors while attending Woodrow Wilson High School, which include a Century III Leader Scholarship, being named a National Merit Scholar, a Presidential Scholar Finalist and Outstanding History Student for the D.C.-U.S. Capitol History Society, and placing third nationally in the American Association of Teachers of French. She will attend Yale University in the fall.



Margo True, daughter of James and Sally True, State. Aside from the U.S., Margo has lived in South Africa, Spain, Brazil, Yugoslavia, Mexico, and Niger. She is interested in painting, drawing, calligraphy, tennis, indoor gardening, reading, and jogging. While attending Hilltop High School, Margo received many honors which include membership in the California Scholarship Federation (she is currently president), Best Supporting Actress of the One-Acts Festival, Sweepstakes Trophy, DAR Representative, National Merit Commended Student, Bank of America Liberal Arts Plaque Award, and the Seymour Memorial Award. Margo will study English at Scripps College in the fall.



Katherine Elizabeth Watkins, daughter of Stephen and Susan Watkins, State. She has lived in the Dominican Republic, Canada, Hong Kong, Uruguay, and Portugal. Katherine's many interests include alternative technologies, cycling, music, cooking, writing, and the Third World. She attended the American International School and received the 1981 Presidential Scholar Award. Katherine will attend Swarthmore College this fall to study biology.



John Sisk Willems, son of Leonard Field and Jane Sisk Willems, State. John has lived in Jamaica, Liberia, and the USSR. His interests include politics, the classics, skiing, sailing, and frisbee playing. He attended W.T. Woodson High School and was a member of the national and state champion Latin Bowl team. He received the gold medal for a perfect paper on the 1980 and 1981 National Latin Exams. John plans to study at Princeton University this fall.

Deaths

PAMELA DIANNE BIRD, daughter of H. Reid Bird, a retired Foreign Service officer, and Pamela G. Bird, was killed in an automobile accident in Coral Gables, Fla., on June 20. She was 36. She is survived by her parents and sister, Carol Jesslen Bird.

GEORGE O. GRAY, a member of the American Foreign Service Association, died in Las Vegas, Nev., on May 21. He is survived by a sister, Sue Ella Lewis, who lives at 2025 Thomas Dr., Las Cruces, N.M. 88001.

FREDERICK A. HILL, a retired Foreign Service officer, died May 25 in Santa Barbara, Calif. As an American businessman in Hong Kong, he was made a prisoner of war by the Japanese and was interned from 1941 to 1945. When the war ended he took charge of the looted Consulate General in Hong Kong until a consular officer arrived. He was made a Foreign Service clerk and eventually became an officer, working in Geneva, Athens, and Turin. He retired in 1962. He is survived by his wife, who lives at 1708 Overlook Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103, by a son, and by four grandchildren.

HAROLD F. LINDER, a former assistant secretary of state and ambassador to Canada, died June 22 in New York City of a heart attack. He was 80 years old.

Linder had four separate careers. His first was as an investment banker in New York. He then served with the federal government, joining the Navy and heading the Export-Import Bank in addition to his two posts with the State Department. He helped in the resettlement of Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Germany before and after the war. Last, he was chairman of the board of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J.

Following posts with Loeb, Rhoades & Company and General American Investors, Linder was appointed deputy assistant secretary of state in 1951. He soon became assistant secretary of state for economic affairs. He left the department in 1953 to re-enter the investment business, serving on numerous corporate boards. He was appointed president

and chairman of the Ex-Im Bank by President Kennedy in 1961, remaining there until 1968, when he was named ambassador to Canada. He resigned in 1969 to head the Institute for Advanced Study until 1972. A professorship in his name was recently established at the institute. He was also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Survivors include two children, Prudence Steiner of Cambridge, Mass., and Susan Linder of New York City, his mother, May Linder of New York City, and two grandchildren. His wife, Bertha Linder, died in 1975.

JENNIFER RAQUEL MILLER, daughter of Foreign Service Officer David N. Miller and Graca Des. Miller, died of a seizure from toxoplasmosis, the disease from which she had suffered since birth, in New Haven, Conn., on May 17. She was seven years old and recently moved with her family to New Haven, where her father had been assigned for university training.

ROBERT PFEIFFER, a Foreign Service specialist in Asian affairs in the State Department, died July 6 in Arlington, Va., of a heart attack. He was 51. Pfeiffer joined the department in 1958 and was assigned to Tokyo and Fukuoka in Japan, where he served through the 1960s. In the '70s he was a labor attaché in Paris and Geneva. Coming back to the department in the late '70s, he became the regional labor adviser in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs until his death.

Pfeiffer was born in Brooklyn, graduated from Harvard College in 1951, and served an Army tour in the Far East as an intelligence officer. He received the State Department's Superior Achievement award in 1977. He is survived by his wife, Setsuko, his son, Francis, and a daughter, Maria, all of whom live in Falls Church, Va., and by his mother, Frances, of New York City.

WILLIAM P. RICHMOND, a retired Foreign Service officer, died May 18 of a massive heart attack while playing golf with his wife, Jaqueline, near their house in Scotland. He was buried in Tyler, Tex. In addition to his wife, who lives at 70 Celestial Way, June Beach, Fla. 33480, he is survived by a daughter, Kay, and a son, John.

RAYMOND L. THURSTON, former ambassador to both Haiti and Somalia, died of cancer May 12 in Sarasota, Fla. He was 68.

One newspaper noted that Ambassador Thurston "gained a reputation as the model of the unruffled diplomat during his tenure as ambassador to Haiti, 1961-63." He won that assignment from President Kennedy because of his work as a field evaluator of U.S. aid programs

in Iran and India. While he was in Haiti, he recommended aid be suspended, and Kennedy also temporarily ended diplomatic relations, both because Haitian President Duvalier continued in office after his term expired. In Haiti he won the respect of the press because of his candor and careful explanations of U.S. policy.

After a brief stint as a teacher, he was named ambassador to Somalia in 1965, from which he retired four years later. Other diplomatic posts included Canada, Italy, India, Moscow, and Paris. He held a doctorate in political science from University of Wisconsin.

He is survived by his wife, the former Gabriella Mariani, and a stepdaughter, both of Siesta Key, Fla., by a daughter from a previous marriage, and by two sisters.

JOHN WHEELOCK, a Foreign Service officer who had retired in 1980 after 30 years' service, died July 13 when his car was hit by another vehicle in Bethesda, Md. He was 56.

Wheelock joined the Service in 1950 and was assigned to France, Switzerland, New Caledonia, and Washington. He became an economic officer in Syria in 1958 and the department's principal officer for Aden and Muscat and Oman in 1962. He served as a consular and political officer in Jerusalem and was a public information officer at the department during the Six Days War. He was named chargé d'affaires and principal officer of the new embassy in Doha, Qatar, in 1973. Returning to the United States, he became a member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N.

He was a native of Peoria, Ill., and a 1948 graduate of Princeton University. He served with the Navy in World War II. Survivors include his wife, formerly Anne Hendy-Pooley, and three sons, John, Robert, and Christopher, all of Potomac, Md.

Married

ELEANOR MCGROARTY RAVEN has married the Rev. Michael P. Hamilton, Senior Canon of the Washington Cathedral. The ceremony took place on June 13 at the Cathedral. The bride, who is currently serving in EUR/SE, now uses the name Raven-Hamilton.

Retired

CLINT E. SMITH, a former member of the AFSA Board of Governors and chairman of the Editorial Board of the *Foreign Service Journal* in 1967-68, retired from the Foreign Service in August to accept a senior staff position at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif.

Smith, who entered the Foreign Ser-

vice in 1957, served on the Argentine desk; in Buenos Aires; as special assistant in ARA; in Madrid; on the Mexican desk, and for four years as economic officer in Mexico City. Following this tour, he served as economic/commercial counselor in Lima, as a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, and last as economic counselor in Bucharest.

Smith's new career at Stanford will include program direction responsibilities for the U.S.-Mexico Study Group and the direction of a Stanford North American Technology Transfer project involving public and private sector participation from Canada, the United States, and Mexico. He will also serve as associate director of the Monticello West Foundation, which is dedicated to encourage the achievement of economic

development in the world community within a democratic framework.

The Smiths can be reached at their new home address: 837 Timlott Ln., Palo Alto, Calif. 94306.

Achievements

ROBERT A. BAUER was decorated with the Honor Medal of Merit for the Liberation of Austria, presented by Austrian Ambassador Karl Herbert Schober at a ceremony at the Austrian Embassy in Washington, D.C. He praised Dr. Bauer's important contribution to the anti-Nazi movement. A retired FSIO. Dr. Bauer received the State Department Tribute of Appreciation in 1978. He is a consultant on foreign affairs.

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