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International Representatives.

COVER: *Some of the thousands of civilians imprisoned in the aftermath of the takeover by a military junta in Chile in 1973. In this issue we survey the recent literature on human rights in foreign policy (Book Essay, page 10) and take a look at the fall and rise of rights as a component of policy in the Reagan administration ("Rights and Reagan," page 20). Photo courtesy Amnesty International.*

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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 does not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of State, the International Communication Agency, the Agency for International Development, the United States Government as a whole, or AFSA. 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

Moving Experiences

I write to support Michael Michaud's "modest proposal" ["Caveat Transferee," December] that the foreign affairs agencies be required to make the transfer process easier, rather than more difficult.

In my own recent case, the department would not write my travel orders to permit immediate consultations at the embassy on my way to a constituent post, thereby transferring the cost of those consultations to the post rather than Washington. For a variety of reasons, including a landslide which blocked the highway between the airport and Caracas for a couple of days (a fact of which I was unaware until I landed at the airport), I was not able to get to the embassy for several weeks, so my applications for allowances, etc., were delayed even longer than is normal. I arrived at post on July 9; it was not until I received my paycheck dated October 1 that I began to receive my post allowance and post differential.

We should be able to design a better system for the transfer of payroll records. Again, in my own recent case, I had been on detail to ACDA, which so complicated the transfer of records (other agency, department, Washington Finance Center) that I was not paid at all for one pay period and I had to wait about six weeks for that check. All this at a time when we were buying a new car, clothes, etc., just prior to leaving the country.

As Michaud points out there have been some small gains on allowances in recent years. We have a long way to go, however, to ease the financial burden of transfers.

LOWELL R. FLEISCHER
Principal Officer
Maracaibo, Venezuela

Having also been through the trauma in the summer of 1981 of moving a family halfway around the world after a long stay in Washington, I must take issue with Michael Michaud's article "Caveat Transferee." I found almost everyone in the department involved in moving people both well informed and helpful. As far as I know, I was told about all allowances and received a more than adequate travel advance prior to departure. At post, all remaining per diem and allowances due were paid promptly.

I could not help contrasting the well-organized and prompt service received in the course of this move to our experience going to our first post 20 years ago. We have come a long way. In those days, for example, there was no temporary lodging allowance to ease the pain of packing and getting a house ready for tenants. Personnel officers and others involved were almost uniformly disagreeable, ill-informed, or simply not available.

Perhaps my recent experience was not typical. I was leaving the East Asia bureau for an EA post, and EA these days has the reputation of taking better care of its people than other bureaus. However, my experience outside the bureau also for the most part was pleasant.

No system will ever be devised to make up for all of the inconveniences and hidden expenses of moving, but I believe it is worth emphasizing that considerable progress has been made.

WALTER A. LUNDY
Economic Counselor
Seoul, Korea

Miscellaneous Worker

William M. Owen's letter on defining diplomacy [September] brings to mind a definition of Foreign Service officers which I do not recall previously mentioned in the *Journal*.

I entered the Army in spring 1944 as the first FSO to be drafted. This was the outcome of a long-running dispute conducted directly between the Selective Service system and the department on whether all FSOs should be exempt as a group.

The personnel technician before whom I appeared at the Army's reception center was puzzled, however, over how to classify an FSO; the job title did not then appear in the Department of Labor's *Dictionary of Occupation Titles*. In the circumstances, he explained to me, he would list first a primary title, to be refined by a narrower, secondary title. Result, this FSO was classified as "a miscellaneous government worker; skilled travel guide."

MICHAEL R. GANNETT
West Cornwall, Connecticut

(For more diplomatic definitions, see page 18. ED.*)*

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BOOK REVIEWS

Mideast Checkerboard

CONFLICT IN THE PERSIAN GULF, *edited by Murray Gordon. Facts-On-File, 1981. $17.50.*

Prepared by the Facts-On-File staff, this extremely well-edited, 167-page book is an exceptional and pithy review of the strategic checkerboard in the Persian Gulf. For both general reader and area specialist, this volume highlights regional developments from 1977 to early 1981. It gives a surprisingly comprehensive picture of the impact of the Islamic revolution in Iran and the Iran-Iraq war, and includes capsule chapters on both Soviet and U.S. interests in the region.

While *Conflict in the Persian Gulf* offers little new information to serious students of the region, it can be useful to specialists because it ties major events and principal dates into the broader stream of political-economic developments, including the post-1978 evolution of OPEC. A sprightly effort.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

Adviser to Presidents

THE SPECULATOR: *Bernard M. Baruch in Washington, by Jordan A. Schwarz. The University of North Carolina Press, 1981.*

Rarely is a book published which can properly be termed the definitive work in its field. *The Speculator* is such a book. Although it is not a complete biography of Baruch, giving primary attention to his service in Washington from 1917 to 1965, it does provide an enlightening look at the highlights of his career. Schwarz, a professor of history at Northern Illinois University, has done painstaking research in archival collections and has obtained personal recollections from a great many of Baruch's friends and colleagues. While lengthy (over 500 pages), the result is fascinating reading.

During his lifetime, Baruch was popularly known as the unofficial adviser to presidents. The author, however, first describes at length Baruch's official government service, beginning with his appointment by President Wilson as chairman of

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the War Industries Board during World War I. Baruch, a substantial contributor to Democratic presidential candidates beginning with Wilson in 1912, apparently sought an official appointment. Named by Wilson as one of the economic advisers to the U.S. delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, Baruch was described by future president Herbert Hoover as having substantial personal influence with Wilson during the course of the negotiations. Subsequently, Baruch met with newly elected President Franklin Roosevelt in February 1933 to discuss cabinet appointments but was not offered the position of secretary of state or treasury that he apparently expected. Instead, he was appointed coordinator of preparations for the World Economic Conference to be held in London. Roosevelt's treatment of Baruch is representative of the idea, found throughout the book, that no U.S. president after Wilson could afford to ignore Baruch's advice, but neither would one be willing to appoint him to a post of real power.

The author also illuminates the many facets of Baruch's personality. The "most famous American Jew of his time," his mother was a Daughter of the Confederacy and his father had served as a surgeon with the Confederate army during the Civil War. Opinions of Baruch varied greatly—one either respected or despised him. His reputation as a brilliant speculator on Wall Street caused many to regard him as somehow immoral. The author notes that "even his friends conceded that he was opinionated, egotistical, and obsessed with the appearance of power more than the assertion of principle." To others he was a warm and generous person, a courtly gentleman described by one acquaintance as "the kind of man people like to work with."

In sum, *The Speculator* is an excellent book. It is highly recommended not only for those interested in Baruch but to anyone who enjoys American history. Because of its easy style and fascinating material, it could well be included among books to be taken along for vacation reading.

—Benson L. Grayson

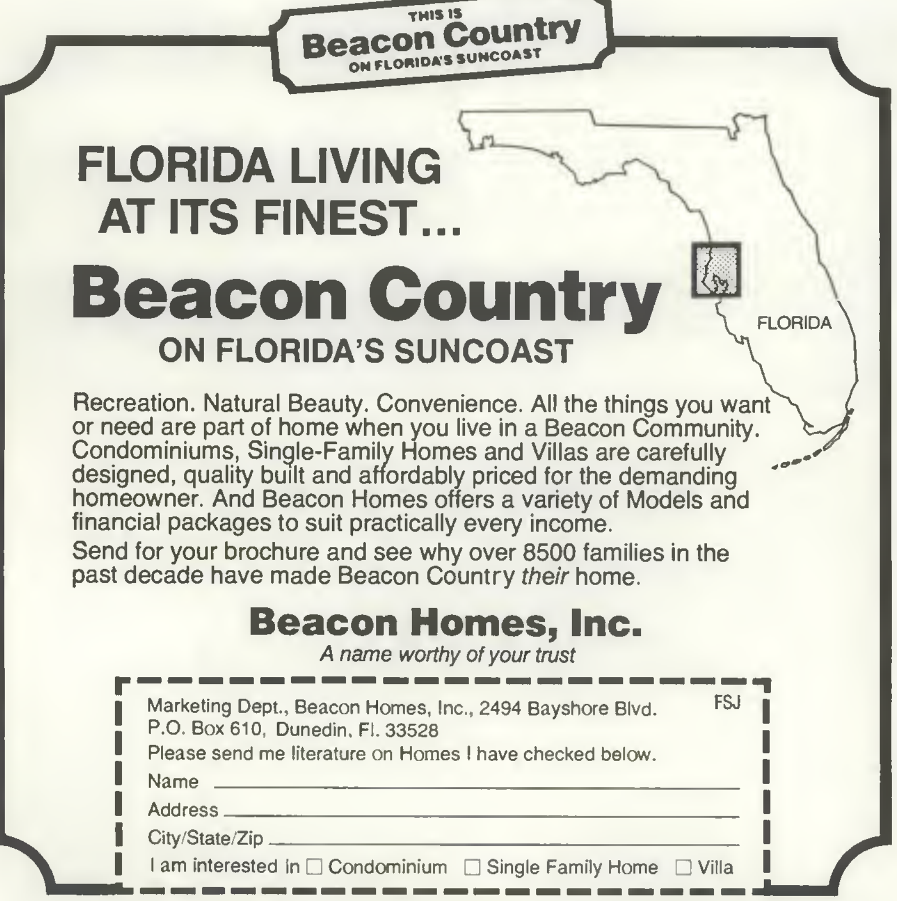
Diplomatic Memoirs

The Forces of Freedom in Spain 1974–1979: *A Personal Account, by Samuel D. Eaton. Hoover Institution Press, 1981. $4.95.*

Diplomats ought not to write memoirs unless they are entertaining and can serve as suitable reading material for the beach or plane, or unless they provide important new material for diplomatic historians. Unfortunately, Samuel D. Eaton, deputy chief of mission in Madrid during the transition to democracy, meets neither of these criteria in this 150-page paperback. On the contrary, the book illustrates some of the weaknesses of careerists in the Foreign Service.

The first shortcoming is the tendency to embrace uncritically governments in power and accept their version of any event. When, in 1975 during Franco's regime, a military court condemned five alleged terrorists to death on hearsay evidence that no civilian court would have accepted, all of the NATO ambassadors boycotted Franco's annual October 1 reception in protest over the executions. The only exception was Eaton—the ambassador was on home leave—who, without asking the department for instructions, attended the reception as just about the only representative from a democratic country.

A second weakness of career diplomats is to analyse the politics of the host country largely through conversations with official and private leaders. For instance, in Eaton's book the important question of Basque decentralization versus independence is considered strictly on the basis of a dinner with some Basque nationalist party leaders. There is little in this book about



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changes in Spanish society, yet industrialization, social ferment, political democratization, urbanization—all affect the attitudes and actions of the ordinary Spaniard. The endless parade of politicians and functionaries in this book does not provide the reader with an understanding of the underlying changes in Spanish society.

There is hardly any mention of Ambassador Wells Stabler, a career FSO under whom Eaton served. However, Eaton does criticize the quality and number of President Carter's political ambassadors (27 percent). Perhaps the solution to the much larger number of President Reagan's political appointees (50 percent) is to keep these non-career ambassadors in Washington as an over-complement reserve. Chargés could run our missions abroad, as evidenced by Eaton's account of his tour in Madrid.

—Charles R. Foster

A Minor Mahatma

The Forgotten Ambassador: *The Reports of John Leighton Stuart, 1946–1949. edited by Kenneth W. Rea and John C. Brewer. Westview Press, 1981. $26.25.*

If John Leighton Stuart is truly a "forgotten ambassador," this compilation of his reports from Nanking amply demonstrates that he should not be. Appointed ambassador to China in July 1946 on the recommendation of General George C. Marshall, and later sent on a special mission to mediate the civil war wracking that country, Stuart brought unique qualifications to his job. Few Americans knew China as well as he, and none had a wider circle of acquaintances among Chinese political leaders. As president of Yenching University for more than twenty-five years, Stuart, who spoke Chinese with great fluency, had been the teacher of many people on both sides of the conflict between the Communists and the national government.

A man without previous diplomatic experience, Stuart brought to his ambassadorship a deep reservoir of compassion for the travail of the Chinese people, matched by a passion for their betterment. His impulses were generous if not always realistic. His Indian colleague in Nanking, K. M. Panikkar, described him as a man "of great moral rectitude and unusual simplicity, a minor Mahatma, who was perpetually surprised by the villainy of the world."

An acquaintance with Stuart's reporting is essential to anyone who is interested in gaining an understanding of Sino-American relations at one of the great turning points in Chinese history. By making this selection of Ambassador Stuart's telegrams and despatches to the Department of State available in a well-organized and convenient form, the editors of this work have performed an important service.

On the other hand, reading only the reports Stuart wrote without seeing any of the feedback he received from the State Department is a little like being able to hear only one side of a long telephone conversation. It would have been helpful if Rea and Brewer had included at least a few excerpts from the department's instructions to Stuart. The editors' brief comments at the beginning of each of the six chapters, while generally useful, do not provide a complete picture.

In fact, closer examination of State Department documents would have saved them from making a curious error in their introduction to chapter 5, in which they say that the Truman administration denied Stuart permission to discuss issues with Communist leaders. An excerpt from the State Department's airgram of April 6, 1949, replying to Stuart's recommendation that talks be held with the Chinese tells Stuart: "You are hereby authorized to discuss with the top Chinese Communist leaders the points described in urdesp [*sic*] except as set forth hereunder." The point the department did not want Stuart to make to the Communist leaders was that under certain circumstances the United States would (in Stuart's words) "use every available resource we possessed to restore real liberation to the Chinese people."

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Thus, Washington not only approved Stuart's holding discussions with the Communists but instructed him to take a softer line than he had recommended.

Anyone wishing to get the whole story of Stuart's reports and Washington's instructions should feel free to sift through five or six thousand pages of *Foreign Relations of the United States* for the years 1946–49.

—Edwin W. Martin

A Dedicated President

Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Test Ban, *by Glenn T. Seaborg with the assistance of Benjamin S. Loeb. University of California Press, 1981. $16.95.*

One central conclusion emerges from Glenn T. Seaborg's excellent account of the negotiations of the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963: The world owes this first significant step in the control of nuclear weapons to the skill and dedication of President John F. Kennedy. Seaborg, then chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, was helpful to the president in overcoming the resistance of the more militant elements within the AEC. Secretary of State Dean Rusk was a tower of strength on this issue, countering eleventh-hour objections from the Joint Chiefs of Staff voiced by their chairman, General Maxwell Taylor. Seaborg's account, drawing heavily on his daily journal, also reveals the deep involvement of President Kennedy—many meetings at the White House, his mastery of technical issues, tight control over the negotiations, and sensitivity to Congressional concerns.

Averell Harriman makes it clear in a foreword that Kennedy took advantage of our changed political relationship with the Soviet Union as a result of the Cuban missile crisis and the deepening antagonism between the U.S.S.R. and China, and extended an olive branch to Khrushchev in a famous speech at American University on June 10, 1963. Khrushchev responded, and the result was the Limited Test Ban Treaty, banning tests in outer space, underwater, and in the atmosphere. By banning tests in the atmosphere, the treaty did stop radioactive fallout, but it did not slow down the nuclear arms race because both superpowers simply accelerated underground tests. The on-site inspection issue stood in the way of a comprehensive test ban in 1963. The failure of these negotiations was, according to Seaborg, a "world tragedy."

In an epilogue, Seaborg notes that as a result of negotiations in 1977 and 1978 during the Carter presidency, the "negotiating positions of the two sides on a comprehensive test ban seem quite close together." President Reagan has not resumed these negotiations, even though what stands in the way today of a CTB are not technical issues but a "mountain of political ill-will."

The story of the test ban negotiations has been told in other books. But Seaborg's extensive use of excerpts from his daily journal provides an unusual picture of the inner workings of the Kennedy administration from a well-qualified and objective observer.

—David Linebaugh

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BOOK ESSAY

Human Rights and United States Policy Toward Latin America, *by Lars Schoultz. Princeton University Press, 1981. $12.95 (paper).* The Philosophy of Human Rights, *edited by Alan Rosenbaum. Greenwood Press, 1980.* Global Human Rights: *Public Policies, Comparative Measures, and NGO Strategies, edited by Ved P. Nanda, James R. Scarritt, and George W. Sheperd Jr. Westview Press, 1981.* 1981 Human Rights and State Sovereignty, *by Richard Falk. Holmes and Meier, 1981. $30 ($15.75 paper).* Amnesty International: *The Human Rights Story, by Jonathan Power. McGraw-Hill, 1981. $9.95.* The Dynamics of Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy, *edited by Natalie Hevener. Transaction Books, 1981.* Human Rights Directory: *Latin America, Africa, Asia, compiled by Human Rights International, Washington, D.C. 1981.*

Human rights has always presented U.S. policymakers with a dilemma, and in recent years involved them in controversy. From Bangladesh in 1971 to El Salvador in 1981, human rights issues have cut across the full sweep of U.S. policy interests and now lie embedded in U.S. law pertaining to foreign aid. At a minimum, U.S. policymakers are no longer free to ignore massacres and internal oppression even in the case of client states and friends. Beyond this, broader definitions of human rights increasingly complicate U.S. diplomacy in the Third World.

Historically, human rights as a foreign policy factor was slow to emerge. It still does not figure overtly in the diplomacy of most foreign countries, even that of the more civilized states of Western Europe. The primary reason is that the introduction of human rights into foreign relations implies, *ipso facto,* acceptance of intervention into a state's internal affairs and thus runs counter to the concept of the nation-state as it has evolved over the last three centuries.

To say that until recently human rights has never been a factor in international relations would, however, be misleading. In countries with some degree of popular expression it has entered the policy process through the channel of parliamentary government, especially since the development of mass circulation newspapers. The Reign of Terror and Jacobinism during the French Revolution strongly influenced early U.S. policy toward France. Human rights violations in Cuba by a heavy-handed Spanish governor-general, nicknamed "Butcher" Weyler by the U.S. press, laid the groundwork for the 1898 war with Spain. Pogroms against the Jews in imperial Russia contributed to U.S. isolationism prior to our entry into World War I. Racial persecution and internal oppression in Nazi Germany lent powerful support to Roosevelt's pro-Allied stance before Pearl Harbor.

Today, whenever the level of domestic repression reaches a certain level, modern communications ensure that it will appear on the front pages of newspapers all over the world. In 1932, when El Salvador was a tropical backwater unknown to the mass of the American people, the massacre of

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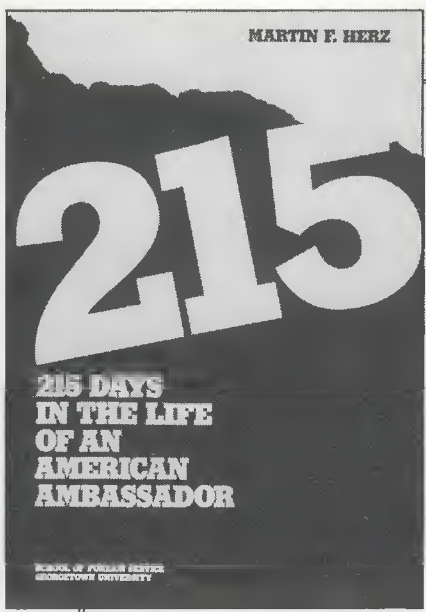
the rural population after a peasant uprising went uncovered and unnoticed. In 1981, with reporters and television news teams from all over the world on the spot, there is no way for the U.S. government to ignore the atrocities of the local security forces. The very fact that the human rights factor affects the foreign policy process via Congress and the media makes it even more difficult to ignore. Every recent attempt to downgrade human rights—from Nixon's tilt toward Pakistan to the horrors of El Salvador—has led to a dangerous public backlash, particularly when it concerns the western hemisphere.

Human rights is an inseparable element of U.S. foreign policy because it mirrors the American view of the individual and the rights of man as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the earliest traditions of the country. Yet despite the significance of human rights as a determining factor in U.S. attitudes, most policymakers remain remarkably ignorant about its philosophical origins and the reasons behind other nations' very different views. Whereas all civilized people experience revulsion over the cruder sort of governmental abuses, especially torture, murder, and arbitrary imprisonment, there is less agreement when it comes to violation of lesser political and civil rights, and virtually none in the relatively new area of social and economic rights. Yet it is precisely this kind of comprehensive package that finds expression in the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights and in other international instruments with which U.S. policymakers have to contend.

Of the seven books listed above, two are especially valuable; one for its detailed and comprehensive coverage of the impact of human rights on U.S. policy toward Latin America, and the other for sharpening one's thinking about human rights as a philosophical and political concept.

Human Rights and United States Policy Toward Latin America starts with chapters covering the postwar rise of social and political turbulence in Latin America, the response of U.S. administrations from Truman to Reagan, and the shifting of U.S. opinion with respect to human rights violations. Succeeding chapters cover the reaction of public and private interest groups to the more blatant forms of atrocity indulged in by military dictatorships, the checkered history of the Carter administration's human rights policy, and the impact of human rights concerns on U.S. military assistance and economic aid. A separate chapter covers linkages to the private sector and the activities of U.S. labor organizations in Latin America. The de-



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tailed treatment throughout the book of U.S. legislation on the subject is particularly useful.

The book's most significant message is that prohibitions on the more obvious forms of military assistance to dictatorships—particularly sales of ships and high performance aircraft—have only a symbolic effect on implementing a human rights policy. The local apparatus of repression is strengthened far more by apparently innocuous aid programs aimed at strengthening infrastructure, such as instruction in automated record-keeping, than by sales of heavy equipment geared to conventional warfare. In fact, much of the restrictive legislation of the 1970s had little direct bearing on human rights, though it did manage to disassociate the United States from some thoroughly vicious regimes. The book is a valuable addition to the literature, devoid of polemics and crammed with up-to-date information and statistics.

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The collection contained in *The Philosophy of Human Rights* sets the subject in a historical and philosophical matrix. In particular, the essays on the natural law origins of the rights of man explain the overriding importance of the individual in the U.S. Constitution and in political traditions rooted in the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Other essays illuminate how positivism, scientism, and social Darwinism in the nineteenth century eroded this emphasis on the rights of the individual and prepared the way for the Hegelian view of the state as organism and for the subsequent rise of Marxism and fascism. Even today, the Hegelian outlook and positivist legal thinking unconsciously dominate the authoritarian outlook in Latin America.

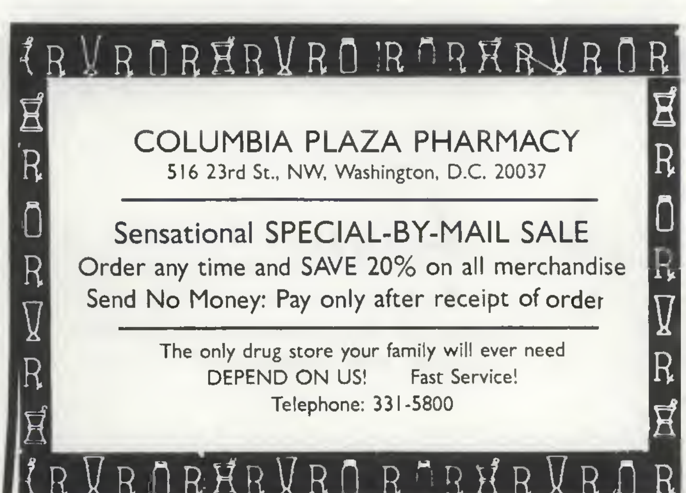
Richard Falk's latest work, *Human Rights and State Sovereignty*, is primarily useful for its unabashed elaboration of the humanitarian socialist approach to human rights. Falk is the foremost academic exponent of the view that even the most elemental political rights are inseparably dependent on social and economic justice—not economic freedom as defined by Milton Friedman, but progress toward social justice and economic equality through the medium of state intervention. Falk's views are influential because they mirror the approach of the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights and the outlook of much of the Third World.

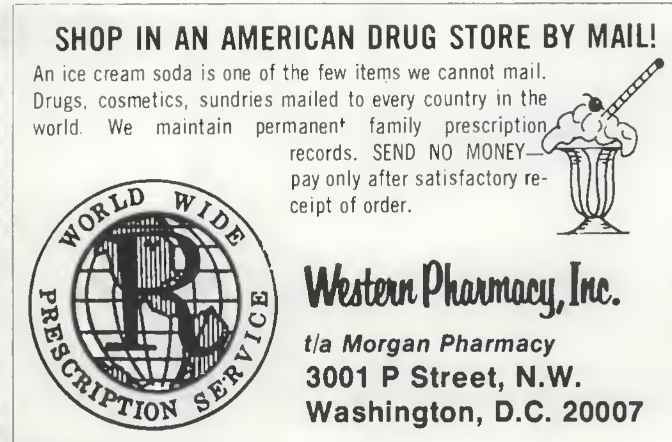
The compendium *Global Human Rights* is of a more technical and detailed character, consisting of 17 essays on such subjects as human rights and economic development, problems of comparative research, the role of non-governmental organizations, and cross-national definitions of constitutional rights. This book is more the province of the academic specialist than of the policymaker. *Amnesty International* by Jonathan Power is a history of the prominent human rights organization, based in London, which for 30 years has dedicated itself to carefully documented exposure of governmental repression. Profusely illustrated, this volume is both a tragic testimonial to man's inhumanity to man and a tribute to a humanitarian body whose factual reports and statistics on arbitrary torture, imprisonment, and disappearances have repeatedly withstood challenges by the authoritarian regimes subjected to its scrutiny. (The only valid charge ever leveled against Amnesty International is that it documents only the victims of governmental oppression, without balancing the account with reports on the crimes of terrorists. Amnesty's response—an unanswerable one in the light of modern history—is that the great atrocities of our time are committed by governments.)

The Dynamics of Human Rights is another collection of essays by leading authorities in the field, principally notable for an extremely useful summary of the international codification of human rights (Bitker), and essays on the international protection of minorities (Wirsing) and influence of interest groups (Weissbrodt). The *Human Rights Directory* lists organizations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia concerned with political oppression. The multiplicity is astonishing.

None of these volumes can possibly answer the crucial questions of how much weight to accord human rights in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy and whether a uniform human rights standard is either feasible or desirable. But selective reading in these books will certainly clarify the thought processes of policymakers.

—Charles Maechling Jr.





Open Assignments: An AID Perspective

State Department Foreign Service personnel have had an Open Assignments system for some time now. It has been in place long enough to have become the subject of complaints by more than a few members of the Service. The complaints usually focus on the need for numerous offers and counteroffers for positions after bids have been made. There are some who believe the system doesn't work. As we criticize the functioning of the system and seek ways to improve it, we might find it instructive to think about how assignments worked before the present system was developed. But, we don't even have to remember how it used to be — we can look at AID today. AID has no Open Assignments system; indeed cynics might argue AID has no assignments system at all. The Foreign Service personnel of AID very much want an Open Assignments system, one rather similar to that of State.

Why would AID's personnel be interested in the type of system State people are currently criticizing? It is because almost anything is viewed as better than nothing, which is what exists now in AID. Whereas State has a system for publicizing position vacancies, AID does not. Whereas State has career counseling available to those who desire it, AID does not. With the new Foreign Service Act's requirements related to career development, AID must now put into effect a rational assignment and career counseling system. Although State's system may be flawed or not met with unanimous enthusiasm on the part of those it is intended to serve, it is far better than the chaos currently reigning in AID.

The present AID assignment system works something like this. A Foreign Service member due for reassignment submits a "Completion of Assignment Report" (COAR), in which he or she states preferences for the next assignment. This COAR is prepared without benefit of the knowledge of what vacancies are available. The member can look at world-wide staffing patterns (issued monthly), which show the expected end of tour date for incumbents. However, the member does not know whether the incumbent is expected to return to post for a second tour or whether the current tour has been extended. If the member has access to international telephone service (an access usually denied by mission management for such a routine matter), he or she can call the personnel backstop officer or bureau management officer. These officers have many duties besides playing a role in the assignments process and, moreover, may not be aware of all potential vacancies. These officers can, thus, be of only partial assistance and neither has responsibility for career counseling. If the member is truly fortunate, he or she may get a TDY to Washington, where he or she can meet with various people in personnel and regional bureaus, each of whom have some knowledge of position vacancies.

After the filing of a COAR, the process becomes something of a mystery. There are assignment boards for various job categories. Here, the regional bureaus have the majority, and their representatives generally strike bargains with each other on assignments of employees who are due for reassignment. This horse trading is usually accomplished without the knowledge of the affected employees or, at times, of the personnel office. Because vacancies are not published and the employees are not in contact with anyone who can keep them informed, mission directors and AID/W office heads can usually manipulate the process to get the people they want, regardless of qualifications or other factors pertaining to other applicants. Often, the first an employee hears of his or her assignment after filing a COAR is a cable announcing the assignment. Given this process, is it any wonder that AID employees look with envy on State's Open Assignments?

As for career counseling, AID employees are essentially on their own. Personnel backstop officers and bureau management officers can provide some useful assistance, but career counseling is not their primary, or even secondary, function. An AID employee interested in planning for career development is best advised to find a good mentor. Without that, there is little hope of obtaining any meaningful advice and guidance on questions like changing job categories (AOSC's for AID, analogous to cones for State), switching bureaus, rotating to Washington, and applying for long-term training. While there are, obviously, limitations to the career counseling system in State, it is still better than the vacuum extant in AID.

AFSA is well aware of the imperfections of the State system — positions which are listed as coming vacant but do not, vacancies which do not get published, the sometimes demeaning process of having to broker endlessly before an assignment is worked out. AFSA will be dealing with State management to correct the shortcomings of the system. Meanwhile, we will be negotiating with AID to establish, for the first time, an assignments system which, at a minimum, provides for publicizing vacancies, letting employees bid on vacancies, and giving employees a source of information and a channel of communication into the process (e.g., qualified career counselors). No assignments system should provide less than this. □

America

It is time for the Reagan administration to reduce U.S. conventional forces in Europe and in Japan and Korea, while building a presence in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Israel. The U.S. cannot ignore changing international conditions and must adjust its interests accordingly.

By DONALD E. NUECHTERLEIN

When the Reagan administration began its second year in office it was clear that foreign policy and national security issues wete going to tequire greater attention than they had in 1981. The Polish crisis and Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights were the most obvious examples of a world growing more dangerous. Political turmoil in the Caribbean and Central America was growing, an explosion within Iran seemed possible, and Libya's terrorist activities threatened to ignite a war with its North African neighbors. Reagan himself showed a heightened concern over foreign policy after a year of fighting domestic battles, giving a more prominent and powerful role to his new national security adviser, William P. Clark.

Forging a strong national security team, however, is no substitute for sound strategic planning. The crucial question that Reagan needs to address is whether the United States' worldwide military and economic commitments are commensurate with its capabilities to defend them, and with its *willingness* to do so. An objective look at the world in 1982 and the current disposition of U.S. forces leads many policy analysts to conclude that this country is militarily overcommitted and in danger of losing economic influence. In short, it is time for the United States to teassess its national interests and decide which commitments are vital and which are not.

When the Republican party gained control of the White House and the Senate, many of its leaders assumed that the country had put behind it the self-doubt and self-tectimination of the' 1970s. Reagan's foreign policy team thought the United States would resume its wotld leadetship role. It would confront the Soviet Union and its allies everywhere—as it had in the 1950s and 1960s. By greatly incteasing U.S. defense expenditures and exercising strong and consistent leadership, it was thought that both allies and adversaries would take the United States seriously and that a more stable world would result.

But the behavior of the United States' allies in Europe and Asia, and even in North America, casts doubt on that assumption. Reagan's difficulties in getting a consensus among our neighbors on how to deal with the threat to El Salvadot, and in Europe on how to respond to the Polish crisis, show that a return to the 1950s way of doing things is impossible. In addition, American public opinion is no longer convinced of the wisdom of using military power to deal with local insurgencies, as the reaction to sending advisers and military aid to El Salvador demonstrates.

It is now clear that the United States is overcommitted in Europe and East Asia, and it is in danger of becoming overcommitted in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. It is therefore imperative that our leaders and their policymakers in the State Department and the Pentagon look urgently at the question of U.S. vital interests and decide what the country should be prepared to defend in the coming decade and what it should not.

Defining National Interests

The ptincipal national intetests of most countries fall into four categoties: *Defense* of the homeland; *economic* well-being; maintenance of a favorable *world order;* and exporting the country's value system or *ideology*. (I elaborated these categories in the Spring 1979 issue of *Orbis*). The policymaket's task is to identify which of these basic interests are affected by a foreign trend ot event and to calculate by how much. For the putpose of assessing the stakes involved, four levels of these national intetests ate suggested: *Survival* inter-

Overcommitted

ests, when the very existence of a country is in jeopardy, either as a result of a military attack or its threat; *vital* interests, when serious harm will likely result unless strong measures, possibly military force, are used; *major* interests, when political, economic, and social well-being may be adversely affected by external events or trends, requiring political and economic action; and *peripheral* interests, when harm may come to the overseas arms of private corporations.

The task of the policymaker is to distinguish between those issues which are *vital* and those that are *major*. These judgments are the result of a political process in which decision-makers must address this question: "Is the issue at hand so important to the well-being of the United States that the president must be prepared to use force if all other efforts to resolve the problem fail?" If the policymaker believes the United States cannot tolerate a developing threat, the level of national interest for him is vital; however, if he concludes that the issues involved can and should be compromised, even though the result may be painful, the interest is major.

As all administrations have done, Reagan's has made these judgments. Last August, Secretary of State Alexander Haig stated in a major foreign policy address to the American Bar Association in New Orleans: "A working relationship with the Soviet Union depends on a balance of alternatives and our ability to communicate to Moscow that such alternatives exist. We must indicate our willingness to reach fair agreements that speak to the *legitimate interests* of both the Soviet Union and the United States. But we must also be prepared to defend our interests in the absence of such agreements." [Emphasis added.] But what are these legitimate interests of the United States?

Today the United States runs the risk—as it did in the 1960s—of defining its vital interests so broadly that it may again be unable or unwilling to defend all of them if put to the test. Just as the Kennedy and Johnson administrations concluded that all of Asia might go communist if the United States did not prevent the collapse of South Vietnam, so the Carter and Reagan administrations seem to have concluded that the whole non-communist world could be brought to its knees if the Soviet Union gains strong political influence in the Persian Gulf. In neither case are dire consequences inevitable. But the military policies flowing from the assumptions carry a real risk of a war that the United States may not be prepared to fight. It is therefore essential to review U.S. interests in the areas of traditional importance and see whether these, plus the new one in the Mideast, are truly vital in the 1980s.

North America

No one seriously questions the necessity for the United States to defend Canada, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean islands from outside aggression or threat of attack. This is the heartland of the United States' national interest, the Monroe Doctrine defense perimeter. A direct military threat to countries in this region will be viewed by Washington and the American people as a vital, possibly even a survival, interest. The Cuban missile crisis demonstrated that the United States would react with vigor to a Soviet military threat so close to the border and that it might employ nuclear weapons if U.S. territory is threatened. This area is to the United States what Eastern Europe is to the Soviet Union: a vital defense zone which it will not permit to be turned into a base of operations by a hostile power. This level of interest also applies to a surrogate for the Soviet Union, specifically Cuba: the introduction of Cuban troops into a Caribbean or Central American country would be considered a vital threat because no one doubts that Cuba would not undertake dangerous adventures without Soviet support.

To the north, Canada is by far the most important trading partner of the United States and accounts for nearly $40 billion in private U.S. investment. In addition, northern states are heavily dependent on Canadian energy resources. No other two major countries have so close economic relationships, and Canada must therefore be considered a vital economic as well as strategic interest. To the south, Mexico is the third most important trading partner of the United States, and U.S. exports have risen rapidly in the past few years. Mexican oil and gas have assumed increasing importance in reducing dependence on Persian Gulf oil. The large number of Mexican workers who cross the border each year is both a threat and a boon, helping to make Mexico a vital economic interest. Though not in North America, Venezuela has to be considered a vital economic and ideological component of U.S. interests in its neighborhood.

Besides defense and economic interests, the United States has a vital ideological interest in promoting moderate, representative government in North America. The region has two of the world's leading democracies, totaling a quarter of a billion people. To the south only Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Jamaica are truly democratic states. The remainder are one-party systems

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Donald E. Nuechterlein is professor of international affairs at the Federal Executive Institute in Charlottesville, Virginia. He is the author of several books on U.S. foreign policy. The most recent is National Interests and Presidential Leadership: The Setting of Priorities.

Western Europe is not equivalent to North America in terms of its defense or economic importance, though it remains vital to the world order and shares values with the U.S. To assert this is not to denigrate Europe's continuing importance but to put its value in perspective.

or highly authoritarian regimes backed by military forces. Because this area constitutes the United States' neighborhood, it is not enough for Washington to show only economic and political leadership: it should also promote the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The United States' world order interest is the most ambiguous to define for North America, and Cuba is the most important problem. Seven presidents have grappled with the dilemma. Dwight Eisenhower decided that it was vital to remove Castro from power after his White House naively permitted the Cuban revolutionary to come to power. The U.S. interest escalated to the survival level during the Cuban missile crisis. Lyndon Johnson accorded Cuba a lower priority. When Cuba sent its troops to Angola, President Ford sought unsuccessfully to convince Congress that a vital interest was at stake. Jimmy Carter viewed Cuba as a major interest and sought to renew diplomatic relations, but he temporarily edged toward the vital level when a Soviet "brigade" was discovered in Cuba. Reagan's first year in office suggests that so long as Cuban troops are not employed to spread communist ideology in North America, no vital interest will be at stake.

Reagan reinforced the rising level of national interest in North America by several actions last year, including meetings with Prime Minister Trudeau and President López Portillo on several occasions, by attending summits with regional and other world leaders, and by his proposal for a Caribbean Basin economic development program.

Western Europe

The political, economic, and social viability of Western Europe, working in relative harmony with the United States, has been a vital interest since France fell to Nazi Germany. After the war, President Truman reaffirmed that Europe was a vital interest by proposing the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic pact. Since 1950 powerful U.S. forces have been stationed in Western Europe, equipped with nuclear weapons, to warn the Soviets that the United States will protect this vital area.

Yet Western Europe is not equivalent to North America in terms of its defense or economic importance to the United States. It does remain vital to world order because of the balance of power and probably vital ideologically because of shared values. But it is not vital to defense of the homeland or to our economy in the sense that Canada, Mexico, and Central America are. To assert this is not to denigrate Europe's continuing importance to this country but rather to put its value in perspective.

This difference becomes important when the subject is burden-sharing in NATO. Bluntly, if Western Europe is vital primarily for world-order reasons, then it follows that the European countries in the alliance must share equitably in the defense of their territory and permit the United States to deploy weapons that make deterrence credible. The refusal of some NATO governments to increase defense spending because of social programs belies their belief in collective defense. Similarly, refusal to allow the deployment of theater nuclear weapons to counter the Soviet emplacement of SS-20 missiles raises the question of how strongly they wish to resist Soviet threats.

European reluctance to defend Mideastern oil—on which most Western European countries are far more dependent than is the United States—is a further example of U.S. interests in conflict with European views. With the exception of France, Western Europeans generally believe that protecting Persian Gulf oil is an American responsibility because only the United States has sufficient power to reassure the Saudis and other insecure Arab states that they need not fear Soviet intimidation. Europeans would protest, however, if the United States decided to redeploy troops and ships from Europe to the Indian Ocean.

Western Europe—particularly Germany, Belgium, and Holland—seems to want it both ways: to keep the United States involved militarily in Europe and also to have it bear the principal burden in the Mideast. The U.S. vital interest in defending Western Europe

Association News

Association Urges 'Safety First' In 'Fly America' Law Changes

The Fly America Act mandates that all official travel to and from the United States be performed on U.S.-flag carriers when possible. This has caused much consternation and inconvenience to Association members. AFSA's files are thick with complaints about bumped flights, long delays, inconvenient and out-of-the-way stopovers, and terrible airline service.

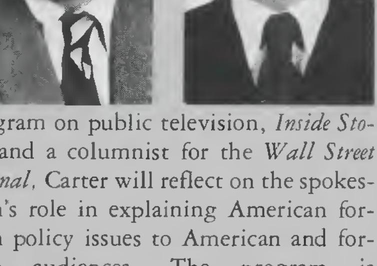
The Association has for years been in support of easing the restrictions. When AFSA recently received a management proposal in support of a legislative change to allow use of foreign airlines, the Association welcomed it.

We are, however, alarmed that management's only concern is a resulting "significant reduction in travel costs." In a letter to management, the AFSA State Standing Committee chairman voiced AFSA's concern:

"The Association agrees that it would be useful to conduct a worldwide survey to determine the savings that would result in a modification of the Fly America Act. However, we strongly urge that safety be the first consideration while analyzing data from this survey. To be able to take advantage of a Swissair or Lufthansa special ticket price is fine. To force employees and their families to use the Idi Amin Special Charter Flight in order to save $500 or $1000 would be counterproductive in every sense. Any modification of the Act should recognize this fact of life in the Foreign Service.

"The budget is important, but so are the lives and morale of our employees overseas."

Lehrer, Hodding Carter To Speak in Lecture Series



Jim Lehrer, co-host of the highly acclaimed *MacNeil-Lehrer Report*, will be a featured speaker at the AFSA luncheon lecture series "Public Diplomacy in the '80s." Lehrer (left) and four colleagues will speak at a March 17 session on the topic of explaining U.S. foreign policy to the American public. The talk will focus on how public television—in particular the nightly half-hour news program Lehrer co-hosts—attempts to make complex foreign policy subject matter interesting to American viewers. The program begins with a cash bar at noon and luncheon at 12:30. Lehrer will speak at approximately 1:15. Those Association members who have not yet done so should contact the Foreign Service Club concerning reservations (202/338-5730).

Later in the spring, former Department of State Spokesman Hodding Carter will participate in the luncheon series. Now the host of his own television program on public television, *Inside Story*, and a columnist for the *Wall Street Journal*, Carter will reflect on the spokesman's role in explaining American foreign policy issues to American and foreign audiences. The program is scheduled for May 28 at the Foreign Service Club.

These two programs are part of a series of lectures organized by the Association's ICA Standing Committee in an attempt to make all members of the foreign affairs community aware of the vital role "public diplomacy" plays in our country's diplomatic efforts. Earlier speakers were former USIA Director Leonard H. Marks and Representative Jim Leach.

AFSA Questions AID Joint Career Corps

A number of management proposals have been circulating in AID dealing with ways the American university community can make a larger contribution to the Agency's development work. Perhaps the most controversial is the proposed establishment of a "Joint Career Corps," also referred to as the "AID/University Development Corps" and the "Dual Path." Among other things, the JCC would provide for the use of university personnel in overseas positions normally held by direct-hire Foreign Service officers. In fact, the AID administrator even said in a cable that JCC members could possibly carry out Agency managerial and executive functions.

The Association is concerned that this will adversely affect the assignment and career development of our members. A cable on the JCC was sent to the field in early February, and AFSA will be taking the views of the membership to management.

Reimbursement For Those Forced to Move While at Post

The Association has recently completed negotiations that will enable Foreign Service employees who are forced to move while at post to be reimbursed for moving expenses. This would include instances in which a landlord terminates or refuses to renew the lease.

The new regulation may be a bit difficult to locate since it is contained in 6 FAM 121.1-4, governing "Exceptions to Foreign Service Travel Regulations." "Exceptions" imply that there are regulations which normally forbid such reimbursement. AFSA has not been able to find any existing regulations dealing with this subject. Payment of moving expenses has been denied previously on the basis of Comptroller General decisions in somewhat similar circumstances.

Open Assignments Tops List of AID Standing Issues

AFSA has been negotiating with AID management on a number of issues. The following summarizes recent and current events.

Open Assignments—This is a topic on which AFSA has been trying to work out an agreement for some time. The history of negotiations includes a proposal tabled by AFSA, AID's lack of response, and the filing of an unfair labor practice charge by AFSA. (See our cable in early January.) We should be fully into negotiations by the time this issue is circulated.

Sector Councils and S&T Cadre—AID has announced its intention to establish these two vehicles for organizing the agency's scientific and technical personnel. While AFSA has no problems with the objective of providing a greater voice for our technical personnel in the program and project processes, we are concerned that the proposed organizations, as originally described by AID, may result in bypassing AFSA, the exclusive representative of agency Foreign Service personnel. AFSA has initiated discussions with management on this subject.

Joint Negotiations—AFSA continues work at weekly interagency negotiating sessions on implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. In recent months, agreements were reached on such topics as Separate Maintenance Allowance, travel for children of separated parents, danger pay, and R&R to the United States for some hardship posts.

Some additional items now on the agenda are grievance procedures and the report to Congress on implementation of the Foreign Service Act. We have gone to impasse with management on the advance-of-pay issue.

Association Urging Medical Coverage for Obstetrical Care

In the summer of 1981, AFSA advised the State Department that it considered the exclusion of obstetrical care from medical coverage a clear violation of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

The Association never received a reply but followed up with additional letters, which finally elicited a response last January. In its response, the Department agreed that an explanation of its position on obstetrical care was overdue and promised a review and substantive response on the subject "shortly." We intend to hold management to its word.

State Responds to AFSA's Protest of Non-Career Con Gen

In the January issue, we printed a letter from AFSA to Secretary of State Alexander Haig protesting the appointment of a non-career consul general in Bermuda. The Association suggested that the appointment might be contrary to a section of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and that, in any case, it would hurt morale in the Foreign Service. Then-Acting Secretary of State William P. Clark's response is printed below:

"The Secretary has asked that I respond to your letter of December 3 conveying the views of the American Foreign Service Association on the appointment of Mr. Max Friedersdorf as consul general in Bermuda.

"I do not believe that the appointment is in any way contrary to the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Inclusion of the term 'normally' in Section 502(b) of the Act cited in your letter certainly indicates that the Congress wished to give the leadership of the department flexibility to permit the occasional appointment to positions generally filled by career members of the Foreign Service of persons who, while qualified in other respects, are not career officers. Appointments of non-career persons as consuls general, while infrequent, have been made in the past. I wish to make clear that this appointment does not constitute a precedent.

"I am satisfied that Mr. Friedersdorf, who has had distinguished careers in government and in business, will carry out his new duties with the high competence and intelligence which have characterized his past activities.

"I share your concern about the morale of the Foreign Service, and I appreciate the frankness with which you conveyed your position and that of the Association."

(December 14, 1981)

Still No Answer From Management on Emergency Visitation

Almost a year ago an unfortunate incident brought to AFSA's attention the need for clarification of the emergency visitation travel regulations.

The incident occurred when a post denied a spouse travel to accompany the body of child back to the United States for burial. The post said that only one parent—in this case the employee—was authorized to travel under the emergency visitation regulations. This ruling was later overturned, but it should never have occurred in the first place.

The regulations are vague and do not specifically forbid or authorize such travel by more than one family member. But if even one post interprets this to mean that something not specifically spelled out is to be disallowed, that is one post too many.

The Association proposed amended regulations in May 1981. At the same time the Director General also wrote the post that the Department would revise the regulations "to eliminate uncertainty in any similar case in the future."

After 10 months and an unfair labor practice charge filed by AFSA against management alleging failure to bargain in good faith, the Association still has not received an answer to its proposal nor seen any management proposal on amending the emergency visitation regulations. AFSA continues to push for amendment as soon as possible.

Journal Names Editorial Assistant

Linda J. Lavelle has been named editorial assistant of the *Foreign Service Journal* for the duration of her Washington Semester in Foreign Policy at American University. Linda is a junior majoring in international relations and communications at Canisius College in Buffalo, New York.

The "Blooming" Of State

Rumor has it that Bloomingdale's has offered to decorate State's diplomatic entrance. If so, we cannot wait to see the effects of a perhaps more frilly welcome for visiting heads of state. We can envision a red carpet with tulip motif and ruffled flags, or perhaps an art deco atmosphere? The possibilities are endless . . .

MONEY Understanding Your Insurance Needs: Foundation for Financial Planning

Any plan to build financial assets must proceed from the assumption that assets should not be vulnerable to needless loss. It is important to know what you *can* do to protect your assets: how much risk you can afford to carry (from both psychological and financial standpoints), and which risks you absolutely must transfer to an insurance company. It is helpful to have a set of guidelines as you shop for the most complete coverage at the least cost.

The **life insurance** industry is in revolution. Consumerism can be credited with the growing acceptance of the dictum "Buy Term and Invest the Difference." Federal Employee Government Life Insurance is, of course, term insurance. Analyze your pay stub to ascertain its "cost per thousand" — one way life insurance policies are compared. Perform the same exercise with the FEGLI Option amount; chances are it is much more costly. Moral: it may be wiser to forgo the options for insurance available "on the outside." As "A" rated companies continue to vie for the federal employee's insurance dollar, use this rough guide for comparison: $100,000 for a non-smoking male, aged 40, for $1.91 per $1000 per year. Term insurance costs escalate rapidly: at age 50, the same insurance costs $4.12 per $1000. For families with responsibilities such as the support and education of children, the low cost of term insurance makes it possible to create an instant estate while building a true estate through savings and investments. By the age of 55–60, term insurance coverage should be able to be substantially decreased. A desirable term policy will be non-cancellable, renewable, and convertible to another form at a later date. Add-ons, such as premium waivers and double indemnity, are generally not advisable.

Clearly, each individual and family has different insurance needs. As a rule of thumb, after the death of the principal income producer, a family requires 60–75 percent of its former after-tax income. Obvious variables: income from accumulated assets, from spouse's employment, mortgage balance, children's projected education costs, etc.

Health insurance costs are scheduled for considerable increases due to soaring medical charges. Policies which do not provide comprehensive coverage will leave you with needless and potentially enormous exposure. Features of policies should be carefully compared. Some persons habitually require medical care more frequently than others, even though ailments may be minor. If one of those is in your family, office visits should be covered. Deductibles and co-insurance are designed to eliminate small claims and curb excessive use. Do not expect to contract for first-dollar coverage. In any event, select a policy which offers major medical, or catastrophic medical, with *no* lifetime maximum. For current information when comparing the plans which are offered, be sure to obtain the most recent Enrollment Information and Plan Benefits Summaries booklet published by the Office of Personnel Management. Another very useful guide is published by *Washington Consumers' Checkbook* magazine, 1518 K. St. N.W., Suite 406, Washington, D.C. 20005, to be updated with the next "open season."

A new wrinkle in **homeowner's insurance**, born of the last few high inflation years, is "replacement cost" coverage. For a small additional premium, most companies will now insure property at its replacement cost instead of its depreciated value. The inflation in home equity poses problems in deciding on the proper amount of home-owner coverage. To collect the full value of any policy, the policy amount must be 80 percent or more of replacement cost. The burden of keeping coverage to at least 80 percent rests with the homeowner. Replacement cost, of course, is largely a function of construction cost, whereas recent market price escalations relate as much if not more to land and location value. In other words, it is quite possible to overinsure. Periodic appraisals are almost the only accurate method of cost estimation, unless you have carefully monitored current costs of comparable home construction or rehabilitation in your area. Check directly with your carrier about their terms, and do not rely only on stock diagrams provided by the carrier to estimate values.

There has been a great deal of justifiable recent attention paid to the need for adequate **liability insurance**. You can be protected from this exposure by coordinating liability coverage in your home and auto policies, along with a liability "umbrella" that extends the underlying coverage to $1 million or more for about $80 per year. Carefully consider this coverage if you drive a fancy car, have a swimming pool, enjoy any prominence whatsoever, or would feel comfortable being protected in the event of a lawsuit. Keep in mind that insurance requirements may vary when overseas, from country to country.

— Margaret M. Winkler

Margaret Winkler is an investment planner with Legg Mason Wood Walker, Inc., in Washington, D.C., who has had long experience with Foreign Service matters. She will write regularly on Foreign Service employees' financial planning issues in this space.

Management Rejects Retail Price Schedule Revisions

Management has rejected an AFSA request to add some 40 items to its newly revised Retail Price Schedule cost-of-living-survey report. The report, submitted on a regular basis by overseas missions, is used to set cost-of-living allowances. It was the Association's position that a survey incorporating the additional items would result in a more realistic calculation of overseas costs of living — particularly at hardship posts.

AFSA maintains that the items suggested (and rejected by management) are "standards," found in most American households, but which, overseas, must often be imported and are thus very costly. Included were ketchup, mustard, mayonnaise, baking powder, peanut butter, soap, shampoo, paper towels, napkins, fabric softener, bleach, all-purpose cleaner, and other food, drug, and household items.

Management's response pointed out that the new items proposed had been "among the thousands of possible survey items that were carefully reviewed" in selecting the final list. "The sampling universe . . . was as broad as possible." The objective of the sampling process, according to management, was to select items that would "fairly represent employee expenditures" and it regretted that the selection criteria "did not isolate those specific items that appear on the list prepared by the Association."

Humor in Striped Pants

The business of diplomacy is serious, but it occasionally has its lighter aspects. Amidst reports in the press of crises, negotiations, and career concerns, the following items have been gleaned to show that the relevant issues of the day sometimes have their irreverent aspects:

The Handyman Who Hung On. A custodian who was hired by the U.S. consulate in Xianmen, China, in 1926 and continued to sweep the floors there through 1980 was considered for a government pension by the State Department last year. The 75-year-old Chinese had been asked to "look after the place" when the United States closed the consulate in 1945, and he was routinely paid $53 a month through the British governmenr until U.S.-Chinese relations were restored in 1975. "He's been working very loyally for 55 years," the *New York Times* quotes a department political officer on the China desk. "The image of him sweeping the place religiously through the Korean War and the Cultural Revolution is kind of poignant." A State official stumbled across the elderly gent in 1980, and the department took up the question of whether he was part of the pension plan. The department came through later last year.

Secretary at the Keyboard. A recent issue of the *New Yorker* reports in its "Goings on About Town" section that the trendy downtown lounge One Fifth Avenue would be featuring one Al Haig at the piano. "One of rhe earliest and still one of the best bop pianists." Hope you caught the act.

The Hands of Time. The General Services Administration, says the *Washington Post,* found that electronic equipment was disrupting the mechanisms of several errant clocks in the State Department last December. Jamming by the Soviets? According to the department's Donald Drain, new word processors were emitting signals that interfered with the official signal from the Naval Observatory. No word on whether it is time to retire the new word processors.

Ghost-in-the-Machine Writer. An article in the science magazine *Omni* notes that a professor at Illinois State University has programmed a computer to write "flawless" foreign policy speeches "guaranteed to play in Peoria." Several issues in international relations were culled from the press and run through a random sample of genuine Peorians. One recent result from the school's IBM 1403: "The United States will continue to meet its responsibilities to its allies. However, to maintain world order, we will continue to seek and negotiate stable relations with all nations. The United States is not a crippled giant." No word yet from the department's procurement office.

When in Washington . . . Several recent pictures taken with a telephoto lens by the paparazzi of the *National Enquirer* reveal that half the Japanese diplomats at the Washington embassy drive American-made cars. In fact, says the noted tabloid, the official embassy staff car is an Oldsmobile. It seems that the diplomats got their hands off their Toyotas when they left Tokyo only to find a Ford in their future. The *Enquirer* notes that the Japanese find the American cars to be cheaper, roomier, more comfortable, and to have larger trunks.

Row on Embassy Row. A bonafide diplomatic volley rebounded across Massachusetts avenue last year when the Soviet entry in the Embassy Volleyball League—which had not lost a game in four years—drafted a few ringers following a defeat by the Brazilian team, reports the *Washington Post.* Both had played on the Soviets' national squad. One stands six feet, four inches, and the other six feet, seven inches. The latter is rated by *Volleyball Magazine* as "the most incredible volleyball body on the Sovier national team. In career kills he trails only Joseph Stalin in the Russian record books." When the clangor had subsided, the ringers were spiked from the roster.

Postal Increase Eased by a Saving (Type) Face

Despite the nearly 90-percent increase in postage charged to second-class magazines like the *Journal* as a result of a withdrawal of government subsidies to the Postal Service, the *Journal* will be able to recoup most of the increase by switching to a different, and more economic, typeface—which you are reading right now.

The typeface, called Garamond, has been described as one of the greatest designs in all typographic history. It was designed by the Frenchman Claude Garamond in the 16th century. Four hundred years later, the artistry of the first professional typefounder will help give the *Journal* a more elegant look while at the same time protecting it from the ravages of the postal system founded by one of his typographic successors, Benjamin Franklin.

AFSA Challenges Missing *'Facts'*

On February 11, AFSA issued a press release challenging the portrayal of Foreign Service officers during the 1973 Chilean coup as presented in the new Universal Pictures film *Missing.* "While understanding that such things as 'poetic license,' suspense, and profit are legitimate elements of show business," the press release said, "the American Foreign Service Association does not think that these factors should be pursued by presenting what purports to be a true story at the expense of the reputations of officers faithfully carrying out their public responsibilities."

The film, directed by Costa-Gavras, deals with the case of Charles Horman, an American killed in Chile during the overthrow of the Allende government. After Horman was reported missing, his father arrived in Chile to look for him but, in the movie version, was faced with uncooperative Foreign Service officers. The film accuses the United States of involvement in the coup and in Horman's death.

In its press release, the Association pointed out that the State Department had already denied the accusations against U.S. officials and that during a civil suit brought by the Horman family, Secretary Muskie had testified that no information regarding Horman's death and disappearance had been withheld from the family that was not available elsewhere. The judge later upheld the secretary's position.

Further, the Association stated that it is "deeply concerned that the film has chosen to portray the Embassy and its officers as having failed to take effective action to locate Charles Horman, assist his family, and investigate his disappearance and death. . . . It is especially unfortunate in this particular situation that officers who worked diligently under dangerous conditions and who made special efforts on behalf of American citizens in Chile at that time were made defendants in the Hormans' civil suit, denigrated in the Hauser book (*The Execution of Charles Horman,* by Thomas Hauser, on which the movie is based), and misrepresented in the film."

Japan has refused to increase significantly its contribution to the defense of Northeast and Southeast Asia, while its exports to the United States are booming. This imbalance has caused many Americans to question whether Japan should continue to be a vital interest to this country.

should therefore be balanced against the rising costs of doing so. If pacifist sentiment continues to grow in Western Europe, it may become necessary for President Reagan to ask NATO governments to reaffirm their 1949 pledge to participate in collective defense.

East Asia

The Far East, as it was known until the 1960s, was a major economic, but never a vital ideological or security interest of the United States until World War II. In the early post-war period, the United States again concluded that it had no vital interests on the mainland of Asia. Therefore, it acquiesced in the communist take-over of China and withdrew its occupation forces from Korea. Until 1950, American vital interests in the Far East were based, as both General Douglas MacArthur and Secretary of State Dean Acheson asserted, on the islands off the Asian mainland—Japan, the Philippines, and Australia. North Korea's attack on South Korea changed that perception, however, and within a few hours President Truman decided that the United States had a vital world order interest at stake and sent U.S. forces. The U.S. commitment to defend South Korea remains intact thirty years later, but is Korea a vital interest in the 1980s?

In 1950, China and the Soviet Union were allies, Japan was weak, and South Korea had no real defense. Today, China is an enemy of the U.S.S.R., Japan is strong, and South Korea has a large and well-equipped army. Therefore, is it necessary for the United States to continue basing forces in South Korea? Why should not Japan and China, Korea's two closest neighbors and the countries most affected by events there, take responsibility for defending both Koreas?

The Vietnam war convinced Americans that U.S. interests on the Southeast Asian mainland are not vital. Economic and military aid to Thailand may still be warranted, however.

The Philippines remains the sole U.S. vital interest in Southeast Asia. Its strategic location, its long political association with the United States, and the availability of two key U.S. navy and air force bases continue to put those islands in the vital interest category. This is also true for Australia, which is allied with the United States in the ANZUS pact. In addition to its strategic location and the military facilities Australia provides the United States, the two countries share a common language, culture, and political institutions. During the Persian Gulf crisis of 1979–80, Australia was the only Asian-Pacific country to assist the United States in the Indian Ocean naval build-up.

Japan and China, the two most important East Asian countries, present real dilemmas when defining U.S. interests. Japan was a vital interest since the end of World War II on economic, security, and ideological grounds. It is the United States' second most important trading partner, exercises great influence throughout East Asia, and is one of the few functioning democracies there. Japan spends relatively little on defense, however, and it has refused to increase significantly its contribution to the defense of Northeast and Southeast Asia. This imbalance—booming exports to the United States while refusing to expand its defense role—has caused many Americans to question whether Japan should continue to be a vital interest. If it turns out Japan is reluctant to increase its defense contribution because it believes that the United States will always provide military protection regardless of what Japan does, then it is time for a serious reassessment.

China is a different and somewhat easier country to determine U.S. interests. Historically, China never was a vital national interest, even though certain U.S. political groups tried to make it so. In the 1970s a thaw in relations occurred, based on a mutual perception that China and the United States needed each other to contain the growing power and aggressiveness of the Soviet Union. But does that make China a vital interest? China has little economic or defense value to the United States, and it continues to be ruled by a totalitarian government that has relaxed internal controls only marginally. China's value is its balance-of-power role in relation to the Soviet Union, and one can argue that China needs the United States for protection

(Continued on page 28.)

Diplomatic Roundup

ASKING Europe to disarm is like asking a man in Chicago to give up his life insurance.

BOOK is a useful word to describe our diplomacy. Our foreign dealings are an open book. Generally, a checkbook.

CONFERENCES are held for one reason only: To give everybody a chance to get sore at everybody else. Sometimes it takes two or more conferences to scare up a war, but generally one will do it. I'll bet there was never a war between two nations that had never conferred first. We are great talkers but we are mighty poor conferrers. We have a unique record—we never lost a war and we never won a conference. Without any degree of egotism we can say we can lick any nation in the world, yet we can't confer with Costa Rica and come home with our shirts on. Somebody could scare up an egg-layin' contest in Czechoslovakia and if America could find out where it was, we would send more delegates and lay less eggs than anybody.

Why, everytime there is a big conference, they always have a war to go with it. The biggest one ever held was at Versailles after the war, and all the others since then was to fix something that was done wrong at that one. So the ideal thing is don't hold the original conference, then you won't have to hold any more to fix anything. The same bunch of delegates go to all of 'em anyhow, so just put 'em on a government pension, let 'em put on their high hats, take movies, and let them play like they was at a real conference. You never gain ground at a conference. Generally, our delegates arrive at a conference with a band and leave incognito.

The celebrated American humorist Will Rogers died in a plane crash in the early years of the Depression. A recent expedition to the crash site uncovered some charred and torn remnants of what is believed to be the great comedian's magnum opus, a primer on diplomacy. Perhaps we are fortunate that the book's final chapters are forever lost to the pages of history.

DIPLOMACY was invented by a man named Webster to use up all the words in his dictionary that didn't mean anything. Now, diplomats are strong men. It takes a strong man to remember what country he is representing when the wine and the flattery start flowing. A diplomat is a man that tells you what he don't believe himself, and the man he is telling it to don't believe it any more than he does. A good diplomat is one that says something that is equally misunderstood by both sides—and never clear to either.

Diplomats are just as essential to starting a war as soldiers are for finishing it. You take diplomacy out of war, and the thing would fall flat in a week. Diplomats don't mind starting a war, because it's a custom that they are to be brought safely home before the trouble starts. There should be a new rule saying you have to stay with any war you start.

Diplomats write notes because they wouldn't have the nerve to tell the same thing to each other's face. The way we got in the last war was through notes. We send so many that nations can't tell which one we mean. Our wars ought to be labeled, "Entered on account of too much penmanship." In their notes, diplomats use what they call diplomatic language. It's just a lot of words, and when they are all added up, they don't mean anything. A diplomat has a hundred ways of saying nothing but no way of saying something—that's because a diplomat never has anything to say. A diplomat's job is to make something appear what it ain't. □

The quotes by Will Rogers adapted in this article were compiled by Phyllis A. Young, the editor of the State Department Bulletin.

Drawing by Tom Gibson

Rights and Reagan

Does the Appointment of Elliott Abrams Signal a Reversal in Human Rights Policy?

By JEFFERSON MORLEY

Last October, Under Secretary of State Richard Kennedy composed a six-page "eyes only" memo to Secretary of State Alexander Haig recommending the appointment of Elliott Abrams as head of the department's Bureau of Human Rights. Kennedy recognized, however, that the Reagan administration needed to do more than just fill a position that had been vacant for nine months; the White House also needed a new human rights policy. The disdain for human rights that the administration had brought to Washington in January had failed, if not as policy, then as politics. "Congressional belief that we have no consistent human rights policy threatens to disrupt important foreign policy initiatives," Kennedy wrote. "Human rights has become one of the main avenues for domestic attack on the administration's foreign policy."

Kennedy proposed that the administration counterattack by affirming that "human rights is at the core of our foreign policy." This idea, if stated in more spiritual vocabulary, would not have differed much from President Carter's 1976 campaign promise to make human rights the "soul" of U.S. foreign policy. Kennedy's formulation certainly contrasted with Haig's statement, made less than a week after Inauguration Day, that international terrorism would replace human rights in Washington's foreign policy concerns. Kennedy offered a new version of human rights — one more tolerant of abuses by friendly governments — but he accepted the burden of fulfilling Carter's promise; Haig himself approved the memo.

Six weeks later Abrams moved into his new office in the northwest corner of the department's seventh floor and began his job as the Reagan administration's first assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs. For Abrams the move was a short one. Previously serving as assistant secretary for international organizations, he had had an office just one floor below. But for the administration, Abrams's move completed a grudging yet important shift in its position on the human rights issue. The administration had been forced to repudiate its initial inclination to ease human rights out of the policymaking process and also forced to rethink the issue entirely.

More Than Lip Service

The change in the Reagan administration's attitude on human rights can be overestimated — and was by the national press. But it did amount to more than the cynical lip service that others suspected. A look at the administration's experience reveals how a variety of political forces combined to rescue human rights from the political exile that seemed possible, if not imminent, after Reagan's election. The record of that first year also indicates the nature of the human rights policies a reluctant State Department and White House will pursue over the next three years.

The roots of today's human rights struggle extend back to 1945. Political boilerplate often holds that human rights have been an American ideal since the Declaration of Independence. This is uninspiring rhetoric and inaccurate history. Throughout the nineteenth century, Americans believed that other nations and peoples were uninterested in and unworthy of the American system of rights. U.S. envoys long subscribed to the international tradition that considers questions concerning a government's treatment of its subjects inappropriate for diplomatic discussion.

The Holocaust changed all that. If Auschwitz was possible, a state's treatment of its subjects had to be an issue for all countries. This was not only for simple humanitarian reasons; it was accepted that the Nazis' murderous policies toward the Jews somehow sprung from the same source as their aggressive attacks on international order. The creation of the United Nations and the promulgation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948 were expressions of the belief that respect for human rights would insure the safety of ordinary people and of world peace.

For the next 25 years the U.S. commitment to human rights as an element in its foreign policy was tenuous at best. Concern over human rights was invoked almost exclusively on be-

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Jefferson Morley works on the International Human Rights Law Project at the Americans for Democratic Action. He has worked as a reporter at the Washington Post *and* Minneapolis Tribune.

half of people living under communist and anti-Western governments. The human rights situations under friendly governments in countries such as Nicaragua, South Africa, and Iran received either little attention or overly charitable praise.

The Vietnam war, and the opposition it raised, created a more skeptical national attitude. The discovery of the tiger cages in a South Vietnam prison camp in 1970 dramatized to many that the United States was no longer fighting on behalf of human rights. Congressional liberals, especially those whose political beliefs were forged during this period, began to use the term "human rights" and insist it have high priority in U.S. foreign policy. The Watergate scandals weakened the authority of the executive branch and stirred a popular yearning for public morality. Both developments bolstered these post-Vietnam liberals in Congress.

When Representative Donald Fraser (D.-Minn.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations, held 15 hearings on the "International Protection of Human Rights" in late 1973, the human rights movement was born. Fraser's stated intention was to strengthen the United Nations' human rights machinery. But the subcommittee's final report proposed numerous specific actions to establish human rights concerns in U.S. law, the first time that Congress had formally done so.

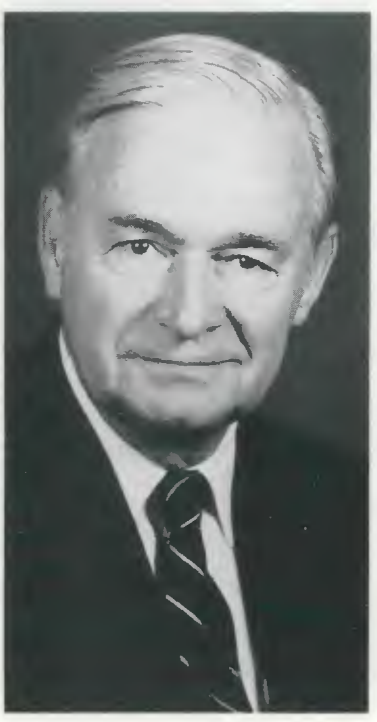
In the following five years, Congress enacted a substantial body of human rights law. These measures included:

- *Section 502b.* A Fraser bill passed in 1974 that urged the president not to provide security assistance to governments guilty of "a consistent pattern of gross violations" of human rights. In 1978 Fraser rewrote the law to require, not just recommend, the military aid cutoff;
- *Harkin Amendment.* A 1975 law named after Representative Thomas Harkin (D.-Iowa), who, as a House investigator five years earlier, had taken the first photographs of the tiger cages. The amendment prohibits bilateral economic assistance to consistent and gross violators;
- *Section 701.* A 1977 bill, also sponsored by Harkin, that requires U.S. representatives to the World Bank and regional development banks to vote against loans to human rights violators;
- *Human rights bureau.* In 1976 Congress instructed the State Department to produce a report on the human rights situation in every country receiving U.S. security assistance. The law was later expanded to include all countries. In 1977 Congress authorized the establishment of a human rights bureau in the department and the appointment of a ranking assistant secretary;
- *Other legislation.* Additional laws prohibited the sale of agricultural commodities to human rights violators, barred the provision of military education and training, prevented the Overseas Private Investment Corporation from making loan guarantees for projects in countries with poor human rights records, and required the Export-Import Bank to take human rights into consideration in its financial transactions.

By 1978 the political season had begun to change in ways that would soon make human rights less popular and would help put Ronald Reagan in the White House. Nonetheless, it is important and surprising to note exactly who supported the human rights legislation and who opposed it. By today, the memory of the positions taken has faded but the significance has not.

Although Carter had won the presidency on a human rights platform and declared in his inaugural address that "our commitment to human rights must be absolute," his administration actually opposed much of the human rights legislation. Carter officials testified in vain against Fraser's effort to make Section 502b legally binding. They futilely opposed Harkin's efforts to put human rights conditions on U.S. votes in the regional development banks. They succeeded only in preventing Harkin from inserting similar conditions on the International Monetary Fund votes. However, they did favor the creation of the human rights bureau. Carter had a pro–human rights policy, but he wanted to pursue it without Congress looking over his shoulder.

The post-Vietnam liberals obtained crucial support in overriding the objections of Carter (and before him, President Ford) from southern conservatives and from other liberals whose foreign policy views were still dominated by the experience of the cold war. The southerners went along with any restrictions on non-military foreign aid "giveaways." The cold war liberals, epitomized by Senator Patrick Moynihan (D.-N.Y.), differed markedly from the post-Vietnam liberals



To establish a new version of human rights, Under Secretary of State Richard Kennedy proposed in a memo to Secretary Haig that the administration seize the term "human rights," redefine it, and use it to advance the Reagan foreign policy.

in favoring increased defense spending and opposing détente with the Soviet Union. Yet, they generally favored human rights legislation because of their liberal temperament and because human rights provided a handy cudgel with which to whack the Russian bear.

In short, the human rights legacy of the Carter administration was not nearly so clearcut as either Carter or his fiercest critics alleged in 1980. Carter had claimed human rights as a major foreign policy priority and, later, achievement but he had not wanted to make that policy binding on himself or any other president. Also, conservatives and cold war liberals had come to criticize Carter's policy, a policy that many of them had voted to impose on Carter and his successors.

Translating to Policy

Ronald Reagan's opposition to human rights during his campaign lost little in translation to prospective policy after Reagan won the presidency. Candidate Reagan had criticized Carter's human rights policy for treating the United States' friends too harshly and its foes too kindly. President-elect Reagan chose Jeane Kirkpatrick to be ambassador to the United Nations, expressing admiration for her thesis that friendly authoritarian regimes deserve gentler human rights treatment than totalitarian adversaries.

The Heritage Foundation's right-wing bible, *Mandate for Leadership,* published during the transition, presaged the shape of the coming Reagan policy. The book's chapter on the State Department offered three long-term policy choices for the human rights bureau, presumably in order of preference: Eliminate the bureau; downgrade the bureau; or retain the bureau with an assistant secretary critical of totalitarian regimes. Administration officials never publicly aired these options, but they took them very seriously: one of the persons listed as helping write the chapter was a then obscure academician by the name of Ernest Lefever.

The new human rights approach began influencing policy as soon as the administration took office. Reagan raised military aid to the Salvadoran government by $25 million and brushed aside that government's sorry record of human rights abuses. The administration also lifted the ban on Export-Import Bank dealings with Chile. Carter had imposed that ban in response to the Chilean government's apparent complicity in the Washington assassination of one of its critics, Orlando Letelier.

The new approach had more important, and more subtle, effects. It began to influence the bureaucracy, causing alterations that could mold future actions. Conservative observers like columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak had claimed that during the Carter administration human rights activists had virtually wielded a veto over all State Department decisions. After Carter left office, the human rights bureau was undermined, or in the words of one official, "decapitated." When Haig made 28 of his top 30 appointments during his first week in office, he left the assistant secretary for human rights job conspicuously unfilled. Haig's top deputy made it known he would not convene the Inter-Agency Group on Human Rights, a Carter innovation that had coordinated human rights decisions on economic matters. The group's monthly meetings did continue, but only at the working level with no high-ranking policymakers present.

When Haig finally decided in February on a choice for the assistant secretary slot, he selected Ernest Lefever. It was both a logical choice and a terrible blunder; the emerging Reagan human rights policy would never be the same.

On paper, the Lefever pick made sense. President of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, a rightward-leaning think tank, Lefever had specialized in morally controversial political issues. He had testified against the Carter human rights policy and written on human rights, mainly berating the Soviet Union. In the search for someone who would dismantle the Carter legacy, Lefever was all that the administration could ask for.

Politically, though, Lefever had several drawbacks. His think tank had received donations from the Nestle company and then published a defense of the company's controversial practice of selling infant formula in the Third World. There were allegations, never proven, that his policy center had financial ties with South Africa. Lefever also had a polemicist's taste for the unequivocal assertion. This outspokenness did not create a political problem as much as it revealed one. In his statements and his background, Lefever summarized too well the administration's long-term intention to eliminate human rights from State Department consideration. The administration made a bad misjudgment in thinking that it could sell that proposition to the Congress and the public — in the person of Ernest Lefever or anyone else.

Yes, Carter had been trounced, and liberals such as Fraser had lost Congressional seats in 1978 and 1980. Yes, the public had grown more security conscious after Iran and Afghanistan. And yes, conservative intellectuals had offered a confident attack on human rights. But the political coalition for human rights still remained intact. At its core was the human rights community, aligned with a smaller but still effective group of young post-Vietnam liberal Democrats in the House of Representatives. Also sympathetic were the cold war liberals and moderates of both parties, who sensed that foreign policy needed a human rights component to appeal to the aspirations of a majority of the world's population. They knew that if human rights were to mean anything the force of law would be needed. The only anti–human rights constituency was composed of those few who still believed a return to the 1950s was possible, and that American power could prevail against all people demanding change. On human rights policy, the Reagan mandate was meaningless.

Liberal-Left Opposition

Opposition to the Lefever nomination initially came from the Ad Hoc Committee of the Human Rights Community, formed when rumors of Lefever's nomination first circulated. It included liberal-left groups such as the Washington Office on Latin America, the Center for International Policy, and the Americans for Democratic Action; church groups such as the Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee; and legal organizations such as the

On paper, the pick of Ernest Lefever as assistant secretary for human rights made sense. . . . In the search for someone who would dismantle the Carter legacy, Lefever was all that the administration could ask for.

International Human Rights Law Group.

The coalition convinced many nonliberals that Lefever's nomination was a referendum on human rights. When Senator Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, opened the Lefever hearings on May 18, he stated that the committee's task was to determine whether Lefever wanted to modify human rights policy or if he "wanted to abandon human rights" as a policy concern.

In the hearings, Percy and other senators complained about Lefever's testimony in 1979 in which he had said, "In my view, the United States should remove from the statute books all clauses that establish a human rights standard or condition that must be met by another sovereign government before our government transacts normal business with it." Lefever responded that he no longer held that view. "That was too flat a statement," he told the unpersuaded senators.

Senator Edward Zorinsky (D.-Neb.), no liberal on foreign policy issues, questioned Lefever closely on human rights violations outside the Soviet Union. Lefever again and again declined to name a single non-communist government that violated human rights, prompting Zorinsky and others to open exasperation. On June 5, five of the committee's Republicans joined the eight Democrats to vote against the nomination. The final vote was 13 to 4. Hours later, Lefever withdrew his name from consideration and the White House said it had no immediate plans to nominate someone else.

Some mistook Lefever as merely an overzealous advocate of Reagan's supposedly more moderate views. In explaining her "no" vote, Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R.-Kan.) said Lefever was detracting from the administration's efforts to "change the emphasis" of human rights policy. In reality, of course, Lefever and the administration did not want simply to change the emphasis; they wanted to remove the emphasis altogether. Although most of the senators had opposed Lefever for that reason, the administration continued its efforts to excise human rights from foreign policy after the nomination defeat.

To secure the sale of $3.2 million of trucks to the Guatemalan military regime in early June, the administration used bureaucratic sleight-of-hand to bypass the human rights bureau. Until a month before, trucks had appeared on the "crime control list," a roster of non-military equipment considered to be security assistance and therefore covered by Section 502b. Reagan administration policymakers redefined trucks and approved the sale, even though the Guatemalan government is considered to be one of the worst human rights violators in the western hemisphere, assassinating even its most moderate opposition leaders with impunity.

When the bureau did get the chance to make recommendations, it was repeatedly overruled. Not having a politically connected assistant secretary made this easier for top department officials to do. As a bureau spokesperson explained, "Not to have a political appointee who knows the department principals and has access to them, who will attend meetings and do battle with the bureaucracy, automatically puts you down a notch in negotiating." For example, the bureau concluded in June that under the "consistent pattern of gross violations" provision of Section 701, the U.S. representative to the Inter-American Development Bank should not vote "yes" on proposed loans to Chile and Argentina. The Bureau of Inter-American Affairs disagreed and a struggle ensued; Haig and his deputies sided with the regional bureau. In July the United States voted to approve loans to Chile and Argentina as well as to Uruguay and Paraguay. The Carter administration had consistently voted "no" or abstained on loans to all four countries because of their poor human rights records.

The reversal of policy prompted harsh criticism in Congress; the House Subcommittee on International Development Institutions called hearings on the administration's policy. Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs Stephen Bosworth contended that the loan votes did not violate Section 701. He claimed that the Carter administration had never formally designated any of the four countries — or any country — as a consistent and gross violator. That meant, he said, that the negative votes of the Carter officials were based on their judgment about how best to promote human rights and not on the law's requirements. Carter had not acted under legal obligation; neither had Reagan. The Reagan administration's votes of approval, Bosworth concluded, were based on the judgment that they were "the best way to assure that there would be continued im-

provement in the countries' human rights situations."

Human rights activists disputed that the situation in those four countries had dramatically improved. In any case, the activists continued, the law does not say that such improvements would necessarily permit positive votes. "If there has been an improvement, there has to be an improvement which is qualitatively and quantitatively so great that there is no longer a consistent pattern," explained David Carliner, chairman of the International Human Rights Law Group.

Current and former bureau officials also deny the claim that they were not previously acting under the obligation of the law. "Whenever the bureau had to make a case, its strategy and its whole argument depended on the ability to prove gross and consistent violations. Of course, there was no need to publicly announce the determination. What [the Reagan officials] are saying is that they don't have to make even an unstated determination about human rights," said one deputy assistant secretary from the Carter administration. The administration's position was consistent with its long-held purpose of ridding foreign policy of human rights considerations. But it was a slender legal reed to support the weight of a controversial policy.

The quick Congressional welcome Elliott Abrams received after his appointment in November sprung more from relief that there finally was an assistant secretary for human rights than from any widespread approval of his views.

Political Costs

As Congress studied the Reagan human rights policy more closely, the political costs of the policy grew. Representative Michael Barnes (D.-Md.), chairman of the House Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee, and Representative Don Bonker (D.-Wash.), chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights, held hearings on Guatemala in late July. Even conservative Republicans, such as Representative Robert K. Dornan (R.-Calif.), expressed strong reservations about the Guatemalan regime.

Early in 1981 the Guatemalans had renewed their request for the United States to sell them spare parts for their U.S.-made helicopters and air-to-ground attack planes. Given the Guatemalans' fierce anti-communism and their access to high administration circles (several of Guatemala's leading right-wing politicians attended the Inaugural Ball), it was a hard request to deny. However, late in August, Haig told the *Christian Science Monitor* that the administration wanted to sell the spare parts, but the Guatemalans' miserable human rights record was making it impossible to complete a deal. Four months later the request was still pending.

While bending to political pressure in the Guatemalan case, the administration continued its search for a way to emasculate the human rights bureaucracy. Top officials examined plans to reorganize the human rights bureau out of existence by dispersing its functions to other bureaus. Another plan reportedly suggested the bureau be renamed the Bureau of Individual and Personal Rights. All the plans had the same weakness as the Lefever nomination: They required Congressional approval, and consultations at the Capitol revealed that Congress would not go along with a mere name change. The reorganization idea did not even appeal to Freedom House, the right-wing answer to Amnesty International and a group otherwise enthusiastic about Reagan's foreign policy.

By October, State Department officials realized their stubborness had reached the point of diminishing returns. The human rights community was proving successful in converting distrust of the Reagan rights policy into opposition to Reagan's foreign policy in general. Despite an administration lobbying blitz, the Republican-controlled Senate voted 51-47 to place human rights conditions on U.S. aid to El Salvador. Similar conditions had been approved by the liberal-dominated House Foreign Affairs Committee in the spring. The vote doubly embarrassed the administration because Salvadoran President José Napoleon Duarte was visiting Washington at the time. Exactly four weeks later, Under Secretary Kennedy sent off his memo.

To establish a new version of human rights, Kennedy proposed the administration seize the term "human rights," redefine it, and use it to advance the Reagan foreign policy. " 'Human rights' — meaning political rights and civil liberties — conveys what is ultimately at issue in our contest with the Soviet bloc. . . . Our ability to resist the Soviets around the world depends in part on our ability to draw this distinction and to persuade others of it," Kennedy said.

As for day-to-day human rights decisions, Kennedy suggested only modest changes from the established practice of the Reagan administration. The United States ought to "reconsider our relations in light of serious abuses," he

said, with the caveat that human rights had to be balanced against other interests. He proposed that the United States abstain or vote "no" on loans to friendly governments "if their conduct merits it," and vote "yes" when there had been "substantial progress." In granting export licenses for crime control equipment, Kennedy suggested the administration avoid controversial decisions. He noted that "this equipment is readily available from other sources. Thus, our decision will not damage another nation's security. . . . Failure to make such a decision would undercut our human rights policy."

Under the section of the memo concerned with reinvigorating the bureau, Kennedy outlined the effort to redefine human rights. He hinted that a new public affairs office in the Bureau of Human Rights would help the administration wage the "battle of ideas." He recommended substituting the term "political rights" for "human rights" as often as possible. He acknowledged the political price of renaming the bureau and said, "We can move on a name change at another time." He proposed that the State Department's human rights country reports take into account administration policy goals and describe not only individual human rights violations but also the nature of a government's opponents and of non-communist dictatorships. Kennedy's implication was that human rights violations by non-communist dictators must be seen in a different light, especially if their opposition is said to be communist-controlled.

Assistant Secretary Abrams's ability to extricate the Reagan human rights policy from the political bog depends on his skill in executing Kennedy's long-term strategy. In the short run, Abrams will probably face the same criticisms as those leveled against the administration in 1981. Concessions on minor issues such as loan votes may mollify some, but his early honeymoon with Congress will not last.

Human rights activists point out that in his former job Abrams was regarded as a pushover for his bureaucratic competitor, Jeane Kirkpatrick. As assistant secretary for international organizations, Abrams was responsible for recommending the U.S. position on the proposed U.N. infant formula marketing code. The United States cast the sole objecting vote in the world. Abrams also had responsibility for the United States' defense of Argentina in a U.N. Human Rights Working Group hearing on the disappearance of political prisoners. It appears that Abrams either championed these anti–human rights positions or was too ineffectual to block them. Neither possibility encourages the human rights community.

"Darth Vader"

The quick Congressional welcome Abrams received in November sprung more from relief that there finally was an assistant secretary than from any approval of his views. "Everyone's saying Elliott Abrams is so great just because he's not Darth Vader," complained a House Human Rights Subcommittee staff member in December. "Well he's not so great."

Most observers in the human rights community predicted Abrams's conduct would differ little from the administration's 1981 policy. They expected continued non-compliance with the human rights laws, especially on security assistance; "502b is dead," a former Carter State Department official said. All agreed the administration held the upper hand in acting on human rights.

"What if the administration continues to disobey the law? I don't know. It's a very good question. In human rights the only thing that really works is country-specific legislation. And that undermines the principle of the general legislation," the House subcommittee staffer said.

The human rights community's advantage is, nevertheless, in the laws and their implications. Even if not strictly enforceable, the legislation is a powerful lens for focusing public discontent with Reagan policy. For that reason Kennedy concentrated very little in his memo on day-to-day human rights decisions and much more on the need to change the connotations of human rights. The administration hopes it can bluster through Congressional criticism until the public sees the human rights issue in a new way. The administration's undisputed ability to shape the political debate makes the Kennedy plan plausible.

The country human rights reports, released in February, illustrate the formal effort to redefine the term "human rights." In the 1142-page annual report, the State Department emphasized human rights abuses in communist countries. The report also criticized alleged "discrimination against Latin American countries" in the current human rights debate. However, the unfavorable response by Congress and the press to Reagan's certification that human rights conditions in El Salvador had sufficiently improved to allow U.S. military aid to that country demonstrated that the public remained skeptical of the new definition of human rights.

The idea that human rights, however defined, belongs at the heart of U.S. foreign policy has been accepted; the human rights debate now emerges at the heart of the foreign policy debate. In any such debate the human rights community will have to refute the most effective attack leveled thus far: that U.S. human rights interests often conflict with U.S. security interests and that those security interests must take precedence. The original post-Vietnam liberals skirted talk of national security to escape the ruts of cold war thinking, but human rights advocates today cannot afford to do so. Instead they will have to show how human rights improves U.S. security. Proving to the public and lawmakers that security need not include supporting dictators, albeit friendly ones, in the face of leftist challenges may well be the liberals' biggest task.

The Reagan administration's policymakers will have to convince a skeptical public of the need for a human rights standard that reaches different conclusions about the same kinds of suffering. It will have to justify the apparent anomaly of condoning murder and torture in one country while attacking another for not having a free press. They will, above all, have to convince the American people that other peoples around the world will accept political rights as more important than human rights and so will align themselves with the U.S. position before all others. □

THE JOURNAL

A Parable

In which a poor young man is healed and gives away his most precious possession

By ADRIENNE HUEY

Word had come to the consulate in New Delhi that an American man was sick in a local hospital. The consulate was usually the first to be notified of such cases, so, as wife of the senior consul, I was the logical one to form a committee of wives to make sick calls.

This particular case promised to be especially interesting. The report stated that the man involved had been in India for a number of years, and during all that time he had lived in a cave near Jaiput. His entire stock of worldly goods consisted of the few rags he wore, a couple of choti bowls in which he cooked his food, and his American passport.

He had renounced all luxuries connected with capitalistic society and was perfectly content to live in a cave with just the clothes on his back. There was only one problem. The cave that he called home was deep enough and wide enough for his simple needs, but it was not *tall* enough. In fact, it was so shallow that he could not stand up straight in it. As weeks flowed into months, and months into years, he became accustomed to scuttling around inside his cave on his hands and knees. When he did stand, his body would stay bent at a 45-degree angle. The report showed that after several years of this existence, he had become totally unable to stand up straight.

At first, he told the hospital administrators, he was not too alarmed at this state of affairs, since the occasional job he had sweeping the dirt floors of a nearby dak house with a handleless bunch of broomstraws required that he squat on his heels as he worked. However, the day had come when he could no longer move around in any kind of standing position, so friendly villagers had taken him by oxcart to the Delhi hospital.

Lifesaving Gift

In preparation for my visit with him, I loaded a bag with current editions of *Time, Newsweek,* and *Cosmopolitan,* along with some Colgate toothpaste, shaving lotion, and cherry Lifesavers from our PX. I set forth to find the hospital, which was one not normally used by the local Americans.

When I finally found it, it looked much more like a stable than a hospital. The long, low labyrinth, of cement-block construction, was painted dung yellow and came with matching odor. Windows were wide, screenless openings in the fly-specked walls. The only outside door in sight was surrounded by squatting, sprawling natives in every stage of undress, probably suffering from every exotic ailment known to man. They waited stoically to be seen by the doctors inside, while a nurse, in a cotton sari covered by a filthy doctor's smock, made notes on a clipboard.

I picked my way carefully through their midst, being mostly ignored as I stepped over and around the "emergency room" patients. Suddenly one old man reached up a bony arm and pulled at the paper bag I carried. With his other hand, he lifted the bloody bandage over an empty eyesocket, in the manner of Delhi street beggars who strive to win your sympathy and hope for a few naipi in return.

I had long since learned not to look. I scurried on past, filled with foreboding at what the afternoon might bring. Once inside the hospital, I paused to let my eyes become accustomed to the dim light after the warm Delhi sunshine outside. I could see long hallways going off seemingly at random in several directions. Though no hospital personnel were in sight, I could see that there were many charpoy string beds along the halls, some occupied by patients similar to those I had seen outside. Other rooms and halls branched off from these halls in a veritable maze of confused doors and archways.

As I began to make my way aimlessly down one of the halls, I saw that the rooms were quite small and were usually occupied by six or eight patients. I wanted desperately to find a doctor or a nurse who could direct me to the bent-double American citizen. I continued thteading my way through the maze of rooms within rooms, and the stench became more devastating by the minute.

Just as I was about to indulge myself by putting a Kleenex to my nose, I saw another saried woman with a clipboard and prayed that she spoke English. I approached her and carefully explained my mission: That I had come from the U.S. embassy to bring magazines and gifts to the American citizen from Jaipur who was hospitalized with a back problem. To my great relief, she nodded knowingly and led briskly off

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Adrienne Huey is also the author of "February 28: Bloody Friday," which appeared in the December issue of the Foreign Service Journal. *She was the wife of the late George Huey and served with him in Liverpool, New Delhi, Panama, and Buenos Aires.*

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# of Poverty

C. Delaney

down another web of dimly lit hallways which seemed to get darker and more intricate at every turn.

Finally, she indicated with her hand that I was to enter an obscure ward at the end of the corridor. The six charpoy beds were occupied by the very dregs of the streets of Delhi, and the overpowering odor of soiled sheets and rotting sores was almost unbearable.

The nurse waved her arm toward a ragged bed near a far door. In my haste to finish this mission of mercy, I dashed forward and started to put the magazines into the hands of the wreck of a man on the bed before me. He raised himself up in the bed, made the namaste with his hands, and began to chant in pure native Hindi, *"Bakshesh, Bakshesh,"* as he rocked back and forth in the classic beggars' attitude.

I was horrified to see that I had made a mistake in the dim light. Surely no American would ever cry *"Bakshesh"* to another American, no matter how long he had been in India. Then I heard the nurse say impatiently behind me, "Not him. Go through the door." I realized for the first time that she had intended for me to go through the nearby archway. The Indian beggar by now had the magazines in his hands. My thoughts raced wildly . . . be nice . . . let him keep them . . . but what possible use could he have for magazines in English? In seconds it was too late for further rationalization. I heard myself saying in a loud, stern voice, "Why, *you* aren't an American!" At the same time, my hands reached out and snatched the treasured magazines. I felt like the very embodiment of an ugly American. I turned quickly to go through the designated archway, but not quick enough to miss the look of disappointment on the man's face.

Beyond the archway was my intended blessee in what turned out to be an even smaller cubicle. It may have been a closet or a dressing room at one time, but as of that moment it was serving as a room for the strange displaced American. He was very glad to see me indeed.

Symbolic Offering

I knew from the official report that he was 30 years old. Therefore, I was shocked at the aged appearance of the man before me. His long, dark hair was streaked with gray and was tied back in a pony tail with a dirty piece of rag. His watery blue eyes were filled with misery, and the skin on his face and his large rough hands was deeply tanned from the outdoor life he led. I marveled inwardly at what suffering man will endure for the sake of living an unfettered life. The doctors had strung some exercise ropes over his charpoy, and he told me he had been assured that with a few weeks of proper exercise he would be almost straight again.

He was overjoyed at the sight of the rescued magazines and toiletries from the PX. He asked shyly if next time I would please bring a toothbrush to go with the toothpaste. I feared from his somewhat toothless smile that it was already too late!

Then suddenly he stopped chatting and began burrowing around under his torn gray sheets of simple khaki cotton. He came up with a bag made of string which, he confided, contained everything he owned. He carefully pulled out his U.S. passport and laid it tenderly aside. Next, out came a copper choti bowl. Finally, he dug all the way down to the bottom and found what he wanted. It seemed to be a scrap of blue silk. He studied it thoughtfully for a moment, then told

me it had been given to him by a passing saddhu priest several years before. The young man seemed not to notice that the fringe on either end was matted with unspeakable filth. The whole length of it was spotted with grease and mud. Bits of sticks and leaves were caught in the delicate fibers.

With shining eyes, he held it out to me and said in a soft voice: "I want you to have this. It and my U.S. passport are the dearest things I own."

I knew he was paying me a great tribute, so I took it gladly. Together we admired its faded blue color and the faint tracings of design worked in silver threads. As we talked I realized more than ever what it meant for him to part with this one luxury he possessed. Despite my protests he still refused to take it back, so I tucked the soiled bit of silk into the now empty paper sack and said good-bye. I was able to retrace my steps unassisted back through the misery-filled rooms. Breathing a sigh of relief to be out in the bright sunshine and fresh air, I headed for home.

Several weeks later, when our young friend was straight again, he called my husband at the consulate to thank him for my visit. The doctors had advised him to stop living in the cave and to find a small room where he could live more uprightly.

A year or so later, he showed up at the consulate again. It seems that while living his new life of luxury in a proper room, he had acquired enough possessions to make it difficult to take them all with him when he went out. He got into the habit of leaving the string bag, which contained his precious passport, hidden in his room. To his dismay the bag had recently been stolen.

My husband said the young man was almost in tears over the passport's loss. He was overjoyed, of course, to receive a new passport and promised to keep it in a safer place in the future. Then I remembered his generosity to me, and I knew his grief was for losing his *second* most valuable possession. With an inward smile I thought of the neatly washed and ironed blue silk scarf that was carefully tucked away in my own box of treasures. □

America Overcommitted

(Continued from page 17.)

more than the latter needs China. It clearly is not a vital U.S. interest.

Japan, the Philippines, and Australia are the only countries in East Asia that constitute vital interests for the United States in the 1980s. After two major wars on the Asian continent during the last thirty years, the United States should have come to the conclusion that its vital interests are what Secretary Acheson declared them to be in February 1950: the islands off the Asian mainland.

The Mideast

This area has never been a vital U.S. interest or scene of military involvement, even though the Eisenhower administration supported the "northern tier" alliance system with countries south of the Soviet border. A major reason why the United States avoided becoming involved in the Mideast with its own forces during the 1950s and 1960s was that Britain exercised

(Continued on page 30.)

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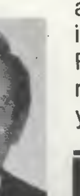
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America Overcommitted

(Continued from page 28.)

an important security role there. When London announced that it would withdraw from "east of Suez" by 1971, Washington had to choose between filling the role itself or permitting a power vacuum. President Nixon decided against a military build-up except on Diego Garcia and concluded an agreement with Iran to take over Britain's police role. With the Shah gone and the Soviets in Afghanistan, does the United States have a vital interest in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf?

Probably not. There are two possible grounds on which the United States may have vital interests in the Mideast: To ensure the flow of oil unimpeded by outside interference or regional conflicts; and to prevent the Soviet Union from increasing its influence there and challenging the balance of power.

The flow of oil is certainly an important economic interest of the United States, as well as of Western Europe and Japan, but for oil to be considered vital one must prove that a disruption of tanker traffic through the Straits of Hormuz, or a cut-off of supplies from any state in the gulf, would be an economic disaster. When Saudi oil was embargoed in 1973, it proved painful but bearable. Today, Britain is nearly self-sufficient, and Germany, France, and Japan are moving to reduce their oil vulnerability by developing other sources of energy. The world has learned to live with uncertain Persian Gulf oil, and other sources are filling the gap. At present, Persian Gulf oil is a major economic interest, not a vital one.

Preventing Soviet expansion into the Mideast is a more serious matter. In terms of maintaining world order, the United States may have a vital interest in putting sufficient military power into the Mideast to make the costs of a Soviet adventure there too high. If the Kremlin assumed that, with the Shah gone and the Saudi leadership on shaky political ground, it could risk American displeasure over installing a Marxist government in Iran, that action might trigger a military response. But the build-up of U.S. forces in the Indian Ocean and in Egypt, and perhaps also in Israel, provides the necessary demonstration of resolve. The Persian Gulf is not so vital to U.S. world-order interests that we should go to war to prevent the Soviet Union from dominating Iran.

The U.S. interest in promoting Arab-Israeli peace has undergone significant change. Since the 1973 war it is clear that Israel cannot have peace unless it is willing to give up territories occupied during the 1967 war and to live next to some kind of autonomous Palestinian entity. Israel's settlements policy on the West Bank suggests that when the final peace with Egypt is secured, Israel may annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as it did the Golan Heights last year. If the Reagan administration believes that peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors is essential to build a strategic consensus against the Soviet Union in the Mideast, it is clear that the United States must ensure that the Palestinians living on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are given the right to determine their own future status and not to be incorporated into Israel.

SALT Negotiations

United States relations with the Soviet Union is one of the few areas where national interests approach the survival level. The U.S.S.R. is the only country capable of inflicting massive damage on the United States. Therefore, policymakers have to prepare for nuclear war with the Soviet Union and at the same time negotiate arms agreements. The Reagan administration decided early that it would not engage in new strategic arms negotiations with the Soviets until it had bolstered both conventional and nuclear capability. Convinced that SALT II could be harmful to U.S. security, the Reagan foreign policy team concluded that this danger would be reduced if the United States increases its power and then enters a new round of strategic arms reductions talks.

The level of U.S. interest in arms control with the Soviet Union depends, as it has from the beginning, on Washington's assessment of Moscow's military intentions and willingness to abide by agreements. Policymakers who assume that the Soviet Union is moving inexorably toward war believe that arms negotiations are not in the U.S. interest. This view holds that U.S. capability to wage war against the Soviets in the Mideast or Europe, or both, is a vital interest of this country and must be given top priority. Other policymakers are not convinced that the Soviets want war; they believe that arms control must be pursued vigorously and a new strategic arms agreement reached soon to avoid one. At the end of last year Reagan decided to support this view, and stategic arms talks are likely to resume this year.

The conclusion to be drawn from this review of U.S. vital interests and military commitments is that the United States is an overcommitted giant. The North American region continues to be the most important and most vital. But others have changed. Since defense commitments were made to Western Europe and Japan thirty years ago, these countries have become strong politically and have prospered economically, and today they are capable of defending themselves against conventional threats. Yet the United States continues to base large conventional forces in both Central Europe and in Japan and Korea. Moreover, Europe and Japan expect the United States to protect their oil lifeline from the Persian Gulf, without providing significant forces of their own to supplement the U.S. buildup there.

It is clearly time that the Reagan administration begins to reduce U.S. conventional forces in Europe and in Japan and Korea while finding political bases for building a U.S. presence in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Israel. No great power, regardless of its wealth, can afford to ignore changing international conditions and must adjust its evaluation of its national interests accordingly. Whether the United States remains a super power into the 21st century depends in large measure on how it decides its international priorities in this decade and marshals its resources to defend them. Reducing the range and the cost of world-wide U.S. commitments is long overdue, and the Reagan administration should not flinch from making the hard decisions to do so. □

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

1982 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Panels Established

On April 1, some 24 Foreign Service volunteers from State, the Association of American Foreign Service Women, AID, ICA, and the retired Foreign Service community will become the panelists to review the 1982 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award applications. Similar to the concept of Selection Boards, the four panels will be chaired by members of the AFSA Committee on Education. All students will be judged on their academic and community activities during their high school years. The awards are limited to students who will be graduating from high school in 1982, both at home and abroad. The AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards, of $500 each, were established in 1976 to recognize the outstanding accomplishment of our Foreign Service students, who often have their schooling interrupted by moves and unusual circumstances at posts abroad. Past panelists have found experiences of the applicants both interesting and fascinating reading as they review their personal essays, extracurricular activities, references, high school transcripts, grade point averages, class rank, and SAT scores. After each applicant is ranked, a final panel coordinates the scoring, and the winners are then announced.

This year, the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards are named in honor of Betty and Norris S. Haselton, long-time supporters and workers at the annual Book Fair sponsored by AAFSW. AAFSW contributes funds from the Book Fair not only to the Merit Awards but to the financial aid scholarships as well. Although the majority of the funds from both AFSA and AAFSW are used for financial aid scholarships based solely on need, these Merit Awards help to recognize the special academic achievements of these young students, and their commitment to their communities. Announcement of the winners will be made May 1. We salute them all, and wish them good luck.

A Worldwide Canvas

Retired Foreign Service Officer Giles Kelly is more than a house painter—he's an embassy painter. Kelly, an amateur artist who retired from the Foreign Service in 1974, has begun a series of paintings of U.S. diplomatic missions. He plans to donate the pictures to the American Foreign Service Association with the hope that they might be loaned to the State Department to use in connection with its public affairs programs.

Kelly, who himself had at one time worked in public affairs, feels that the bureau would benefit from an exhibit of paintings of the various buildings in which the Foreign Service conducts the business of diplomacy abroad.

The first in the series is a watercolor of the U.S. consulate in Rome. It appeared on the cover of the *Foreign Service Journal* in September 1977. Giles has since painted the chanceries in Brussels, Paris, London, Dublin, and Vienna.

With many more U.S. missions around the world still to be represented in the series, Kelly welcomes contacts from other Foreign Service artists who would be interested in contributing to this project. Anyone interested should contact him through AFSA for details on size, medium, and subjects.

A display of Kelly's first six paintings will be on view at the Foreign Service Club soon. □

Deaths

ROB LEE BARRET, regional controller for Central America in AID, was killed in a hit-and-run accident in Guatemala City, Guatemala, in early December. He was 49 years old.

A police report said that Barret was run down by a pickup truck on December 12 while he was riding a motorcycle in the southern part of the capital city. He died after arriving at the hospital.

A native of Rivy, Idaho, Barret had worked for several years as an AID official in the capital. Survivors include his wife, Helen.

EUGENIE BOVIANOVSKY, a former officer for the Agency for International Development, died on December 16, 1981, after a long illness.

Born in Russia, raised in Manchuria and Paris, Bovianovsky became a U.S. citizen in the 1920s. She served in the Department of Agriculture and the Office of Naval Intelligence during World War II, then worked for AID for twenty years. Bovianovsky was assigned to Foreign Service posts in Conakry, Tananarive, and Saigon.

WILLIAM EARL DE COURCY, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador to Haiti, died January 11 in Winter Park, Florida. He was 87.

A native of Jackson, Tennessee, De Courcy attended the University of Texas. He entered the Foreign Service in 1921 as a clerk in the consulate in Geneva, following service as an officer in the U.S. Army during World War I. His assignments included Cairo, Marseille, Paris, Capetown, and Naples. A career minister, De Courcy also served as chief of Foreign Service personnel and Foreign Service inspector. He was named ambassador to Haiti in 1948.

He is survived by a sister, Mrs. Ralph Kenniston, two nieces, and a nephew.

DIXON DONNELLY, assistant secretary of state for public affairs in the Johnson administration and assistant to former Treasury secretary Douglas Dillon, died January 8 at his home in Bethesda. He was 66.

A native of New York City and a graduate of Columbia University, Donnelly began his career as a journalist with the *New York Daily News* in the 1930s. He joined the Foreign Service after serving as an intelligence officer in the Army Air Corps. He served as press attaché to three Latin American countries and worked in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs under Nelson Rockefeller.

A public relations aide for Senator Estes Kefauver in 1956, Donnelly was a consultant to President Eisenhower's Committee on Scientists and Engineers from 1956–58. In 1961 he was named special assistant to Secretary of the Treasury Dillon, serving in that capacity until his appointment as assistant secretary of state in 1966. In 1969 Donnelly returned to his old job at the Treasury Department and retired from government service later that year to work as a private consultant.

Donnelly wrote the book *Establishing and Operating a Small Newspaper* and received exceptional service awards from Dillon and the State Department. Survivors include his wife, the former Lucia Tarquino de Sousa, a daughter, and two grandchildren. The family suggests that gifts may be made in his memory to the Little Sisters of the Poor, PO Box 9318, Baltimore, Maryland 21228.

George W. Renchard Jr., 74, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador to Burundi, and his wife, Stellita Stapleton Renchard, 68, were killed January 15 in an automobile accident in Saudi Arabia.

Born in Detroit, George Renchard graduated from Princeton University and began his career with the Foreign Service in 1930. His assignments included Turkey, Ceylon, Canada, France, Germany, Austria, Holland, and Bermuda. He was a special assistant to Secretary of State Cordell Hull during World War II and was named ambassador to Burundi in 1968. The following year he retired from the service.

His wife, Stellita, was active in historical preservation and Latin American art. She worked with the Red Cross, served as president of the D.C. Chapter of the Colonial Dames of America, and in 1979 established the Stapleton-Renchard Foundation for Colonial Latin American Art.

The Renchards are survived by two sons, two daughters, and eight grandchildren.

Achievements

John Habberton, former Foreign Service officer and now president of the Business Council for International Understanding, which he served as founding chief executive officer and which is an independent nonprofit association launched at a White House meeting in 1958 to bring together the interests of the public and private sectors in the United States and abroad, announced the election of a new chairman to head the council, John T. Jackson, chairman of the executive committee of IU International Corp.

Christine and Piltti Heiskanen have written a book, *Die Sterne sind geblieben—Porträt einer Freundschaft mit Alice und Carl Zuckmayer,* published by Werner Classen Verlag, Zurich, 1980. It has received favorable reviews in six countries. Piltti Heiskanen served for 22 years with the Foreign Service and Voice of America in New York, Washington, Munich, Tabriz, Khorramshahr, Tel Aviv, and Helsinki. He received the State Department Scroll of Appreciation in 1968. He is retired and works as Vienna correspondent for Finnish newspapers. Christine Heiskanen also worked for VOA.

Marriage

Mrs. Leon Leroy Cowles, an associate member of the American Foreign Service Association, was married to William Chester Nanny on December 5, 1981, at Abbotsford Castle in Melrose, Scotland.

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