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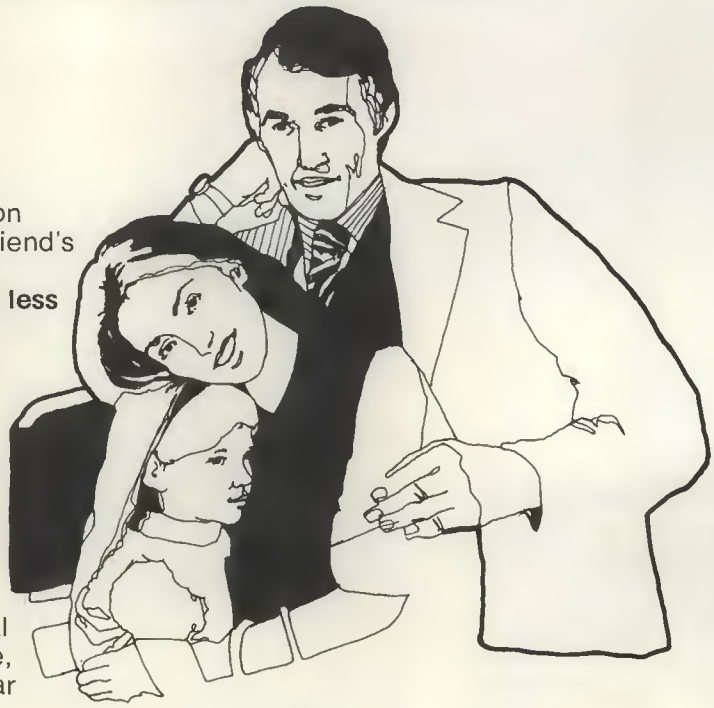

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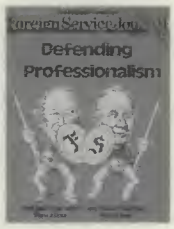

COVER: *Ambassador Malcolm Toon and Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R.-Md.) rush to the defense of a professional Foreign Service with the aid of artist Tom Reed. In this issue, Mathias discusses his proposal for a legal limit to the percentage of non-career ambassadors. Toon, in an interview with the* Journal, *calls for strong action on the part of senior Foreign Service officers to preserve the professionalism of the Service and the interest of the nation.*

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LETTERS

AFSA and Appointments

I was greatly interested in Charles Foster's thoughtful article "Appointing Ambassadors" in the November *Journal*. His idea for a permanent presidential advisory board with a secretariat to pass all candidates for ambassadorial appointments is excellent, but it displays a slight naiveté in assuming any administration will willingly give up power. The article touches on this, mentioning the steps taken by the last administration in establishment of such a board, and goes on to note it was largely ineffective, as the White House ignored it.

Any such organism created by the chief executive and beholden to him can only have limited value and success, as it is his creation and serves at his will. To have true value, the presidential advisory board must be independent and institutionalized outside the White House structure.

Foster also touches on this solution with passing reference to the American Bar Association Committee on Judicial Appointments. The power of this group has grown over the years to such an extent that presidents are loath to make appointments without ABA approval. This seems a function which AFSA can and should provide.

The establishment of a permanent secretariat by AFSA for such duties should not be too difficult or costly. It could be done within the existing AFSA organizational framework. A board could then be named by AFSA according to rules which AFSA would expound. Supervision of the board would be AFSA's, although both the department and the White House might be invited to name observers/members. Other organizations could be asked to make nominations to the board's membership. These might include the American Council on Foreign Relations, the Society of History of American Foreign Relations, and other foreign policy–related groups. A few members should come from the private sector, but they should be chosen carefully from those areas which have experience in foreign affairs — companies with overseas interests, universities, foundations, etc. The board should not be controlled by those with little knowledge of or experience in foreign affairs.

A prestigious board could be of great support to both the president and the nation by offering unbiased and unintimidated opinion on ambassadorial nominations. In the beginning the board might send suggested nominations to the White House for appropriate ambassadorial vacancies. If these suggestions are bypassed for nominees of lesser quality, the board should take public issue on each case with the White House.

While it probably would not be easy for the board to force its views on the White House, after experience in working with it, the White House would probably come to realize its value and be willing either to submit nominations to its judgment or accept nominations emanating from it.

I urge AFSA's consideration of this suggestion. Certainly Mr. Foster has touched on an important subject, and one on which our organization should take action.

JULIUS W. WALKER JR.
Ambassador
Ouagadougou, Upper Volta

Uncle Sam's 'Cousins'

The *Journal* and author Marjorie Smith deserve the thanks of all Foreign Service members — active and retired — for the February article "Working for Cousin Sam." I think it was time someone spoke out for the 10,000 local nationals who make up the "other half of the work force." They are indeed indispensable to U.S. government operations at posts abroad, and their dedication, skill, and continuity cannot be replaced by any other group, including Americans who live abroad. I have two further comments:

First, when the Foreign Service Act of 1980 was being drafted, re-drafted, and negotiated, the American Foreign Service Association made some effort to get local nationals recognized and protected in the new law. The effort was largely unsuccessful because the Association and the department were concentrating so deeply on Americans that they failed to put enough emphasis on local nationals. This temporary situation can now be corrected by an amendment to the Act. I hope the Association will recommend this action. The status, roles, rights, and duties of local nationals should be written into law, leaving room for the range of local conditions.

Second, the situation of contract local employees should be the subject of a study by the inspector general. There are horror stories of legendary force filling the cloudy chapters on personal-service contracts and the exploitation of local nationals who, de facto, fall outside the personnel ceilings.

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The department doesn't even know how many there are, to say nothing of having policies and procedures for their employment.

If the department and the Association recognize their value, local nationals have earned our attention to them as colleagues, friends, and human beings.

James R. Ruchti
Foreign Services officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

Marjorie Smith's *Working For Cousin Sam* [February] struck a responsive chord. The lip service paid to the importance and loyalty of our Foreign Service national employees is clearly not enough, especially in this period of Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action, etc., back home. Aren't we enjoined to reflect overseas our domestic policy and the changing American society?

Greater centralized management of personnel is unfortunately necessary. The constant flip-flops in post personnel policies that result from frequent officer turnovers and the autonomy that permits constant rewrites of post regulations have destroyed confidence in what most of our Foreign Service national employees perceive as an exceedingly fickle management. Even the most dedicated and beloved personnel officers will admit, I believe, that their staffs have told them horror stories about what happened before their arrival or, even worse, what happened after the officer departed.

Another disappointment for me has been the neglect of these employees in time of disaster. I know that Americans on the scene try to help those hit by earthquakes and wars, but it seems to me we should do a lot more. I well remember approaching the desk officer in the department during a civil war to ask if anything could be done to help the employees who had done so much for me and my family a few years earlier. I was simply rebuffed. When I went to his superior, I was assured that the embassy had reported no particular problem, thank you, and good day!

I wonder how my hard-working Polish staff is faring?

Finally, I think we have to admit that we have not always applied to our Foreign Service national employees the most elementary standards of American fair play. I suspect many of us have seen incidents such as the time one of my employees (for whom I did not have any great regard) failed a lie detector test and was to be dismissed. Appealing to a panel within the embassy, I pointed out that there had to be some question about the cross-cultural problems involved in such testing and that furthermore, there was a total absence of any corroborating evidence. The employee was eventually transferred instead of being dismissed, but I was astounded to hear from the senior member of the Appeals Panel that "By God, when I was a section chief, if I suspected somebody, the guy was fired on the spot. After all, there isn't any law against it and in these foreign countries you can never prove anything against your employees."

We have a long way to go.

Richard H. Milton
Deputy Assistant Director, ACDA/MA
Arlington, Virginia

Culture Shock

To answer Ms. Connell's letter in the November *Journal,* sorry, but she is barking up the wrong tree. My grandmother was not given a crash course in survival at Ellis Island when she arrived in the United States in 1905. Neither did she have a knowledge of English, a university education, nor even the ability to read and write. But she did have the courage and spirit our immigrant forefathers had and she found her way without crying.

Being a nation of immigrants and the melting pot we are, one wonders what country Ms. Connell is from that she could not find anyone who spoke her language,

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understood her customs, and who could answer her questions and give advice. Did she even look?

I too have heard from some foreign-born spouses of Foreign Service employees but it's mostly (but not all) about how they "had to" give up their countries and were forced to become American citizens. This conjures up images of the State Department conducting shotgun weddings around the world.

I don't know if my grandmother ever did learn how to cook a turkey — she cooked such excellent Polish food we always clamored for more. She never did learn how to read and write either, so when they passed a special law in 1961 to waive this requirement for senior immigrants (over 50 years in America) she proudly framed and hung her naturalization certificate in a place of honor.

Our country was built by these hearty folk who didn't understand inches.

FRANCINE L. BOWMAN
Luxembourg

Flawed Premises

Can sound analysis flow from flawed premises? John D. Stempel's particular perceptions of the Iranian revolution ["Inside Iran's Revolution," November] may or may not be valid, but his general sense of history could raise some questions — if not eyebrows. Three examples:

". . . Standard Marxist and Western theories [are] that to control the rural populace is to hold the key that can unleash violent upheaval." Actually, of course, from the bread and circuses bestowed upon the restive Romans through the Paris Commune to the Marx-Lenin urban proletariat, it has been almost universally accepted that the masses of the capital city are the only common people who can overthrow a government. The fact that Mao was acclaimed as an original thinker for his rural strategy is the exception that proves the rule.

"Historically, the most important consequence of the [Iranian] revolution may prove to be the *rise* of religion as a significant political force." [Emphasis added.] How did the Israelites come to knock down the walls of Jericho? What brought the Crusaders to the gates of Acre? Why is the IRA in the streets of Belfast? There may, indeed, be new things under the sun, but the admixture of politics and religion is surely not one of them.

"Successful revolutions naturally tend to evolve toward the most fanatical positions advocated." In the American revolution, the nobility of Yorkshire and Kent was replaced by that of Virginia and Massachusetts with a minimum of Paine (Tom, that is) in the transition. The French saw Danton and Robespierre turn up their toes while Napoleon caused the Sun (King) to rise again. And, in Russia, Trotsky's perpetual world revolution ended up on the sharp end of an ice pick as the long-term Kremlin lease went to a cabal hardly less nationalistic and autocratic than the Tsars. Maybe Stempel's "new Reza Shah" thesis is meant as a recognition of this reality, but one could get there in a more scholarly way.

Perhaps all of this proves nothing more than the riskiness of sweeping generalizations . . . But it would be nice to see an analysis of the Iranian situation based on less questionable foundations.

PAUL WENGER
AID/Dakar
Dakar, Senegal

John Stempel replies:
Be careful about trying to overload the stagecoach! The general remarks that Mr. Wenger takes exception to, or wishes to elaborate on, should not be read as either "a" or "my" definitive views on revolution, nor an exhaustive analysis, but merely comments on some of the contemporary concerns in the study of revolution. They were exerpted from a longer discussion of the problem which itself was merely a general study. Mr. Wenger offers some useful insights and I hope he and others will look at my full treatment of Iran in my book *Inside the Iranian Revolution.*

Kudos for Pay Conversion

As a Senior Foreign Service officer who has been in an adversarial relationship with AFSA recently, I want to congratulate the Association for its magnificent performance in winning the lawsuit against the State Department on the conversion of our payscales from the 1947 to the 1980 Act. AFSA's victory just before the raising of the pay cap will mean thousands of dollars in higher pay for many senior officers.

HERMAN J. COHEN
Washington, D.C.

Bloody Errors

I am afraid that my friend Adrienne Huey in her story "February 28: Bloody Friday" [December] got her late husband George's notes mixed up. It was Mrs. Egan who was frantic and hysterical, for good reason,

when she telephoned me from Cordoba that her husband, the consular agent there, had just been kidnapped, and not I when I relayed the distressing news and described her call to the security officer and then to Consul General Huey.

There are several other inaccuracies in the piece too, of which the following are examples. The Egans didn't stay with us when they visited Buenos Aires, although we would have been glad to have them. And it happened in 1975, not 1974.

What depresses me about the story, however, is that the *Journal* cares so little about the Foreign Service's image that it publishes without question what should have been suspected as being in error, that a U.S. consul reacted to a crisis so childishly. Maybe a political or economic officer would be frantic or hysterical, but never a consular officer!

WILBUR W. HITCHCOCK
Consul
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Exhumed Exequaturs

The Durban office of the Red Cross Society of South Africa, in cleaning out its attic recently, came across the collected consular commissions and exequaturs of former Foreign Service officer John Corrigan. Corrigan served in Durban in the mid-1930s as well as a number of other posts going back at least to the early 1920s.

The documents are signed by a number of American presidents, including Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, various secretaries of state, and foreign heads of state, including British King Edward and South African President Hertzog.

The Red Cross Society has no idea how the documents came into its possession but feels they might be of value for historical reasons to the descendants of John Corrigan.

If the *Journal* feels that these old documents and signatures might be of interest, possibly it would like to bring their existence to the attention of its readers in the hope that someone might know whether John Corrigan left any descendants and how they might be reached in order to make these papers available to them.

ALAN LOGAN
Consul General
Durban, South Africa

Officer's Query

I am a retired Foreign Service officer and would like to get in touch with any Foreign Service employees or retirees who have been, or fear they might be, disadvantaged by the provisions of Chapter 8 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. This chapter includes the provision which awards part of the annuity of a Foreign Service employee to a divorced spouse.

JOHN E. WILLIAMS
P.O. Drawer I
Carrboro, North Carolina 27510

BOOK REVIEWS

Barnett Speaks

CHINA'S ECONOMY IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE, *by A. Doak Barnett. The Brookings Institution, 1981. $30.*

Every field has a few scholars whose reputations make us take special note of their work. The E.F. Hutton in the field of contemporary Chinese studies is Doak Barnett: When he speaks, we listen, and when he writes, we read. This, his 17th book, reconfirms his position.

Although Barnett's primary focus over the years has been on China's politics and foreign relations, this book reflects his much more wide-ranging interests and expertise. It is essentially a book about China's economy, but one that could not have been written by an economist. It is also about China's seemingly contradictory concerns about national survival on one hand and global influence on the other, but it could not have been written by a specialist in foreign affairs. The book consists of five interrelated parts, and each could have been published as an independent monograph: China's modernization program; trade and technology imports; China and the world food system; China and the world energy system; and the economic dimension of U.S.-Chinese relations.

Although the primary focus is on the post-Mao period, when modernization replaced idealism as China's priority, Barnett meticulously establishes the environment of the preceding 25 years in each of the five parts, making the present more understandable to the reader lacking that background. The non-specialist may be intimidated by the mass of statistics, but as the author himself suggests, they are easily skipped over or skimmed. What remains is what makes the book valuable. Characteristically for Barnett, the 573 pages of text are followed by 147 pages of notes, references, suggested readings, and personal insights—the kind of research and documentation that all too often disappears when a scholar becomes an authority.

The book covers so much ground so well, it would be picayune to select some points that could be disputed—especially in a short review. Barnett shows balance in his judgments and caution in looking to the future. But as he ponders the difficult problems with which the leaders in Beijing are struggling, what comes through is his belief that their new pragmatic approach is a reasonable one, and that the more involved China becomes with the international community, the better off China and the world will be.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

Realpolitik in Iran

INSIDE THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION, *by John D. Stempel. Indiana University Press, 1981.*

John Stempel has produced an exhaustive yet lucid account of the Iranian revolution, an account that is more annalistic than analytic since it does not really delve into the revolution's causes. Now director of the State Department Operations Center, Stempel arrived in Teheran in July 1975 as the embassy's political officer and left exactly four years later as acting chief of the political section. His angle of approach is naturally that of an American diplomat seeking to assess our role in the Iranian debacle, trying to understand which policies were self-defeating, and asking what might have been done to prevent the loss of a vital, strategic ally. He realizes that answers to such questions require some background information on Iranian economic, social, and religious life, but he lacks the profound understanding of Iran as a culture that would enable him to place the revolution in the context of the country's history. Stempel knows, for example, what the competing political parties are and how each behaved in the limited period he covers. He does not provide a thorough analysis of their socio-economic composition and he fails to explain why some Iranians gravitated to one or the other. Nevertheless, he has produced an excellent *histoire d'événement*. His intelligence and integrity are apparent on every page, and he never mars his account with the grinding of ideological axes, for he has none to grind.

Stempel is concerned with realpolitik. Politely contemptuous of the advocates of one-track solutions to complex problems, he is as unimpressed by the neophyte members of Carter's National Security Council, who advised the president in 1977 "to rough the Shah up a bit" on civil and political rights issues, as he is by Brezinski, who continued to advocate unleasing the Iranian armed forces well after they had disintegrated.

The Shah who emerges from Stempel's

book is a half-hearted autocrat whose energy and judgment has been sapped by the cancer that may have been diagnosed as early as 1974. Accordingly, he is an inconstant authoritarian. He is too inflexible to make those concessions to the National Resurgence party that might have saved him, yet not ruthless enough to do to his countrymen what Jaruzelski so efficiently did to his. He rejected the advice of three intelligence services to assassinate Khomeini (the CIA was not one of them), and consistently balked at arresting dissident leaders or declaring martial law. This reluctance eventually deprived him of the option of using military force. After the shooting deaths of some 400 demonstrators in Jaleh Square on September 8, 1978, the Shah ordered his forces, against the advice of Carter and Brezinski, henceforth to shoot into air above the dissidents. When, on November 4, a dozen students were shot and killed toppling a fifteen foot statue of the Shah, it became known that then Prime Minister Sharif-Emami intended to punish the soldiers responsible. Afterwards, ranking military officers directed their forces not to intervene in any further demonstrations.

For all Stempel's impressively thorough efforts, questions remain. To what extent did the previous policies of Nixon and Kissinger limit the Shah's and the administration's room for maneuver? Why, since the embassy had already been attacked in February 1979, and since there was good reason to suppose it would be attacked again if we allowed the Shah to enter the United States, was no evacuation plan prepared? Did no one in the State Department or on the National Security Council ask, "What do we do if and when . . . ?" Did not even the CIA proffer a scheme? And if it did, why was it never effected?

—Alvin H. Bernstein

Law and Population

Population Law and Policy: *Sources, Materials and Issues, by Stephen L. Isaacs. Human Sciences Press, 1981.*

In 1974, UNESCO sponsored a meeting of some thirty deans and professors from law schools around the world to explore whether the time had come to involve future lawyers and law-makers in such pressing socio-economic issues as population and, if so, whether a textbook could be prepared for their use. The answer to the first question was a definitive "yes." Because of their training and practice in approaching a problem from all possible angles and their pre-eminence around the world in policymaking positions, it was felt that lawyers can and should contribute effectively to the resolution of the population problem.

In this connection, the UNESCO group accepted a broad definition of population law as that "body of the law which relates directly or indirectly to . . . population growth [and] distribution and those aspects of well-being affecting, as well as affected by, population size and distribution." The term "well-being" refers, of course, to such indexes on the quality of life as health, education, job opportunities, food and nutrition, housing, the status of women, children, and the elderly — in sum, the social and economic welfare of every individual.

As for the question of a textbook, the UNESCO group had serious doubts as to whether all the legal issues posed by the many-faceted population problem could be compressed into a single volume and serve the needs of all countries. After all, each country has its own social, economic, political, and legal systems. Would it not be more appropriate, asked the group, to put together some reading materials on population law which would highlight the relations between population and a few major socio-economic issues, leaving the textbook to be developed by each country according to its own conditions and needs? UNESCO in fact published such materials in 1977 (*Readings in Population for Law Students*, in English, French and Spanish editions). Now Stephen L. Isaacs has ably accepted the challenge in preparing a textbook on U.S. law and population.

This book is intended for "family planning program administrators, public health specialists, physicians, legislators, attorneys, students, international development experts, and clinic counselors, as well as members of the public interested in population concerns." As such, it places heavy emphasis on birth control laws relating to abortion, sterilization, contraception, and the access of minors to these services. These are preceded by a chapter on police power and the right of privacy, which lays the legal foundations for such laws. The remaining substantive chapters also accent birth control: incentives and disincentives; socio-economic laws and policies; population policy from an international perspective; and national population laws and policies. Unfortunately, the book has left out some important areas of population law not directly connected with birth control, particularly those relating to population distribution and mi-

gration, both internal and external, and legal and illegal.

Such minor criticism aside, Isaacs is to be congratulated for putting together this first textbook on U.S. population law and policy. Hopefully, it can also serve to inspire the preparation of similar textbooks in other countries.

—Luke T. Lee

Journalistic Crisis

The Money Lenders, *by Anthony Sampson. Viking, 1981. $16.95.*

Anthony Sampson's latest, *The Money Lenders,* falls squarely within a great journalistic tradition. The central premise of this tradition is that the world just may be on the verge of a Crisis of Unparalleled Proportions. The journalist must, of course, tell us what kind of crisis this is to be, and he must tell us with such a barrage of facts, rumors, anecdotes, and gossip that we are led to believe he knows something. By these standards, Sampson's book is a superior piece of work.

The crisis this time is to be a failure of the international financial system. Sampson envisions a replay of the Great Depression of the 1930s, with overextended banks collapsing as unstable borrowers such as Zaire, Poland, or Iran default on their enormous loans. As during the 1930s, the domino-like collapse of banks will coincide with the collapse of the world economy. Responsibility for this worldwide disaster will, in Sampson's view, rest with those greedy international bankers who, in their restless pursuit of profit, foolishly risk their assets in huge loans to the developing world.

This scenario is not entirely implausible. It is true that bank failures contributed to the progressive contraction of the money supply during the 1930s. And Western banks probably are overextended in loans to the rest of the world, and have been cutting back. Still, Sampson's breathless journalistic insistence on viewing the world financial system as a "people business," in which a few powerful incompetents can collapse the whole house of cards, is misleading.

Bankers, of course, prefer not to lose money. The ambitious banker has every incentive to assess the risks involved in lending as accurately as possible. It is Sampson's view that bankers are sometimes led by faulty incentives to misread those risks, and even with the correct incentives they still sometimes err.

Incentives fail, in Sampson's view, for two reasons. First, to prevent all their creditors from cashing in their chips at once, bankers must maintain the illusion of optimism about the bank's health, even when that optimism is unwarranted. Sampson seems to feel that this congenital optimism somehow dazes the bankers themselves into making irrational loans.

A second, perhaps more plausible, failure of incentives arises when government and the IMF step in to prevent bank failure or loan defaults. Sampson is concerned that bailouts remove the risk from the shoulders of the bankers. Thus insulated from real losses, they can afford to be irrationally optimistic.

However, Sampson's case that the banks have been effectively safeguarded from risk is an extremely weak one. Bailouts do occur, but by making lines of credit available to cover temporary crises. The risk remains with the bank, subject to the limitations of the corporate structure and the bankruptcy law. Banks really do lose money sometimes.

Yet, the issue here is not the financial health of a group of bankers. Rather, it is the threat bad debt may pose to the banking system and indirectly to the world economy. The analogy is with the 1930s:

Economists still argue about the basic causes of the economic collapse . . . but the power and prestige of the American bankers were never to be the same again; for the Great Crash had revealed not only their greed but their incompetence. . . . 'No one who went through those times,' one veteran banker reminded me, 'can feel altogether confident when people today say the world's banking system is fundamentally sound.'

Sampson gives short shrift to the most plausible current explanation for the 1930s: the rapid contraction of the money supply by the Federal Reserve Board at the first sign of an otherwise comparatively mild business downturn. Because he neglects the underlying causes of the Depression, preferring instead to focus on the "incompetence" of bankers, he does not feel compelled to discuss the level of reserves in the current world economy. The repetition of such an episode today seems unlikely since the IMF or any country whose currency is widely held as reserves can — and undoubtedly will — offset any contraction of the money supply which arises in the banking sector with the creation of additional reserves. Indeed, many argue that our major problem is excessive monetary growth, not the opposite.

Despite its shortcomings as economics, *The Money Lenders* succeeds beautifully at social description. Sampson has an eye for the working of power, and for the failings and temptations of the people who exercise it. One is struck by the role which the international capital markets have played in creating the West's new, much discussed interdependence with the developing world. Most striking, however, is that despite the failings of individual bankers and the system as a whole, the system survives its crises with a comforting robustness.

—Peter L. Kahn

A Diplomat in India

Envoy to Nehru, *by Escott Reid, Oxford University Press, 1981. $24.*

Escott Reid was Canadian High Commissioner in India from 1951 to 1957. This book, based upon his despatches, telegrams, and letters during this interval, relates the story of the special relationship which existed between the two countries and its disintegration, mainly because of V. K. Krishna Menon, one of Nehru's principal advisers.

The special relationship between Canada and India germinated in the efforts of the two countries to bring peace to Korea and to reduce the dangers of a clash between the United States and the People's Republic of China. Reid provides a fascinating account of these efforts along with insights into the diplomacy of Canada, India, the United States, and Britain. He also gives glimpses into the characters of the leading Indian political personalities of the time — Nehru, Krishna Menon, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Sardar Pannikar, Radhakrishnan, and Chakravarti Rajagopalachari among others. In an epilogue written in 1979, the author assesses developments in India since 1957 in the light of his impressions 22 years earlier.

Reid's memoir does not present a flattering view of U.S. foreign policy during John Foster Dulles's management of our diplomatic establishment. What emerges from Reid's memoir is an obtuse secretary of state more interested in military security than in an adroit diplomacy based upon the intelligence and advice of the diplomatic and consular officers stationed in the area. By contrast, Reid had a very close relationship with his minister of foreign affairs, Lester Pearson, who had the sense to pick a good man for New Delhi and keep in close touch with him, exchanging letters, paying attention to his advice, and providing his own views. This is how diplomacy must be conducted.

Reid's memoir is favorable to the enigmatic Nehru, who indeed had his good points, or rather one might say more accurately, his good moods. But even Reid cannot explain why Nehru was so blind that he could not see the wrong done by the Soviet Union to Hungary by the 1956 invasion. True enough, this occurred during the same period as the Anglo-French invasion of the Suez. That, Nehru promptly perceived to be wrong. Why did he have to be urged and manipulated to denounce the Soviet Union's aggression against Hungary? Why the slippery evasion? This permitted the Soviet Union to drive a wedge between India and the West, including Canada, and also between India and Pakistan, thus allowing the Kremlin to pursue its familiar tactic of divide and rule in the subcontinent.

Reid suggests that Nehru felt the urgings of the West to condemn the Soviet Union were attempts "to divert his attention from what he considered to be the dangerous, arrogant, imperialistic aggression of Britain and France against Egypt." He then adds: "If the United States had had an ambassador in New Delhi of the stature of ambassadors it had had, or was about to have — Chester Bowles, Sherman

Cooper, Ellsworth Bunker, or Kenneth Galbraith — he would have been the advocate of the Western World in talking to Nehru about Hungary and he would have had the weight of a great power behind him." But the United States had had no ambassador in New Delhi for seven months and Canada was not a great power. The account of what Reid did to move Nehru is one of the fascinating revelations of his memoir and provides a good case study of diplomatic maneuver.

—SMITH SIMPSON

Diplomatic Logic

THE LOGIC OF DIPLOMACY, *by Alan S. Alexandroff. Sage Library of Social Research, vol. 120, Sage Publications.*

The conclusions of this compact volume, if not its social science jargon, give diplomacy an impressive boost. Alexandroff has deliberately tried to use quantitative international relations to link analysis to decision-making behavior. Drawing on a quantitative review of diplomatic interactions between key states in the 1870-1890 European system, he produces some interesting findings regarding the relationship between cooperation and conflict: Great powers find mixed conflict/cooperative relationships are best for avoiding conflict, and a hard line in bargaining, as recommended by some strategists, depends upon the appropriate circumstances.

Alexandroff concludes that the dynamics of the diplomatic process influence situations and events more than does the structure of international relations — power, status, and alliance. For those familiar with the twists and turns in U.S. foreign policy over the past decade, he provides some insightful evidence that things are never quite what they seem, and that scholars (and diplomats, too) should look more seriously at diplomacy and the ways in which states interact.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

A Public Paradox

JAVITS: *The Autobiography of a Public Man, by Jacob K. Javits with Rafael Steinberg. Houghton Mifflin, 1981. $16.95.*

What a paradox was the career of Jacob Javits. He was a socialist turned Republican, a lawyer who defended the little investor against those darlings of Republicans, the giant corporations, and a Republican who supported Franklin Roosevelt. He was an idealist who considered working for General Electric in order to found a new business journal designed to promote his remarkable belief that "business managers can become trustees of the public interest through the widespread ownership of U.S. business." However, he soon abandoned the idea, if not the ideal, of a journal that would lead business to its soul and embarked on the career in politics that would, he felt, allow him to realize his potential and contribute something to the world. And so it did.

He went into the Republican party because he objected to the Tammany corruption in the New York Democratic party, and ran for Congress at the first opportu-

nity. A public man he always was. Of 47 photographs in the book, all but seven show Javits in the company of the famous and the powerful. The rest, almost as an afterthought, show family and anonymous friends.

The book is filled with the nitty gritty details of campaigns, legislative battles, and issues, some now fifty years old. And the book is a little uneven in tone. Had his life not been an uphill struggle, it almost seems as if Javits would have needed to create one. With due respect for his enormous energy and his accomplishments, he has a certain ambivalence about the obstacles he faced. Wise enough to refuse to attribute snubs or animosity to anti-Semitism, he is then capable of taking time to ponder whether his failure as a golfer might have impaired his success. Other hostilities he attributes to his penchant for working while others played, or to his sponsorship of such unpopular causes as desegregation. He does make an effort to downplay his own importance, but the effect is still of a thousand trumpets and drums. But then, no small ego ever ran for the Senate, and brilliant people are full of contradictions.

It was a brilliant career. It is a book worth reading for the history of one man's efforts to achieve social justice (sometimes in a style unique to himself) all over the world. The Republican party today misses his leadership in the Senate. None can deny his personal courage or integrity. Anyone familiar with the agonizing balancing of goals and values that is intrinsic to international decision making must respect the Javits contribution to four decades of foreign policy.

—Marianne Karydes

McNamara's Bank

The McNamara Years at the World Bank: *Major Policy Addresses of Robert S. McNamara, 1968–1981. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981. $30.*

Economic growth and the eradication of absolute poverty in the Third World were Robert McNamara's, and consequently the World Bank's, principal concerns throughout his tenure as president of the bank. The relative usefulness of this commemorative volume depends upon the reader's ability to trace the economic thought and lending philosophy of McNamara as he considers the problems obstructing the achievement of these goals.

Robert McNamara's affinity for statistical analysis combined with the chronological manner in which the speeches were selected (two major policy addresses, on the average, out of every year between 1968 and 1980) seemingly regulates the reader to a barrage of data describing a hopelessly static situation. McNamara depicts the causes of poverty throughout the developing world in a manner calculated to impress his respective audiences (usually the World Bank's Board of Governors) with the seriousness of the situation. The population explosion, as the "greatest single obstacle to growth," became the prime target of McNamara's development strategy.

McNamara's intimidating statistics concerning overpopulation, illiteracy, malnutrition, etc., as well as his pleas for action—"our most irrecoverable resource is time . . ."—are present in nearly every chapter. His criticism of Western governments (particularly the United States) for failing to contribute an appreciable percentage of their GNP to the World Bank and for adopting protectionist trade policies grows with each succeeding chapter.

However, McNamara's approach to economic growth in the Third World shifts in emphasis from a government-oriented development program to one that concentrates on the needs of the absolute poor. Programs involving high technology and capital intensive aid in industry are replaced by cottage industry proposals with a more labor intensive approach; import substituting industries, "which perpetuate loss," are tolerated less and less as McNamara urges Third World countries to increase their export earnings. A project-by-project investment plan gives way to an overall development philosophy intended to provide the basic health and educational requirements required for more than 800 million poor to become increasingly productive citizens in their respective countries.

—Michael St. Clair Bailey

Postwar Arrangements

Ambiguous Partnership, *by Robert M. Hathaway. Columbia University Press, 1981. $25.*

Ambiguous Partnership is a well-written account of the evolution of the wartime Anglo-American alliance into the still close but distinctly less intimate relationship of the postwar period. Hathaway begins his discussion with events in 1944,

when the United States and Great Britain began shifting the emphasis of their planning away from winning the war to working out arrangements for the postwar world. The author ends his account in 1947, with Britain's realization that although on the victorious side in the war, economic weakness left it with no alternative but to accept a secondary position behind that of the United States and the Soviet Union.

It is a poignant story, and Hathaway expertly utilizes the available British and American sources. We see Winston Churchill disillusioned by the substantial weakening of the apparent U.S. commitment for massive postwar economic assistance obtained from President Roosevelt at the Quebec Conference in September 1944. Subsequently, Churchill inadvertently jeopardized the relatively generous U.S. aid package negotiated in 1945 by his Fulton, Missouri, "Iron Curtain" speech in March 1946, which caused many in the United States to shy away from the Anglo-American military alliance they feared he was pushing on the United States. The theme of the book is best illustrated by a speech by Lord Keynes in December 1945 urging acceptance of the U.S. loan. "How difficult it is for nations to understand one another even when they have the advantage of a common language. How differently things appear in Washington than in London, and how easy it is to misunderstand one another's difficulties."

In addition to its value as a work on Anglo-American relations, *Ambiguous Partnership* throws an interesting light on U.S.-Soviet ties and the way the interests of the three great powers intertwined between 1944 and 1947. To look back on the events more than thirty years later, it is hard to imagine the United States refused to coordinate its policies with the British prior to the Yalta Conference of February 1945 out of concern that this would justly alarm the Soviets, or that President Roosevelt could half-seriously remark in March 1945 that Britain was perfectly willing to have the United States go to war with the Soviet Union and that following Churchill's advice would lead to that end.

The only flaw in the book is the author's references to the "common racial origin" of the American and British peoples when their linguistic and cultural values might more accurately be designated as of key importance. In sum, this is an excellent work, recommended both for the expert and for the general reader interested in foreign affairs.

—Benson L. Grayson

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Let's Start Again

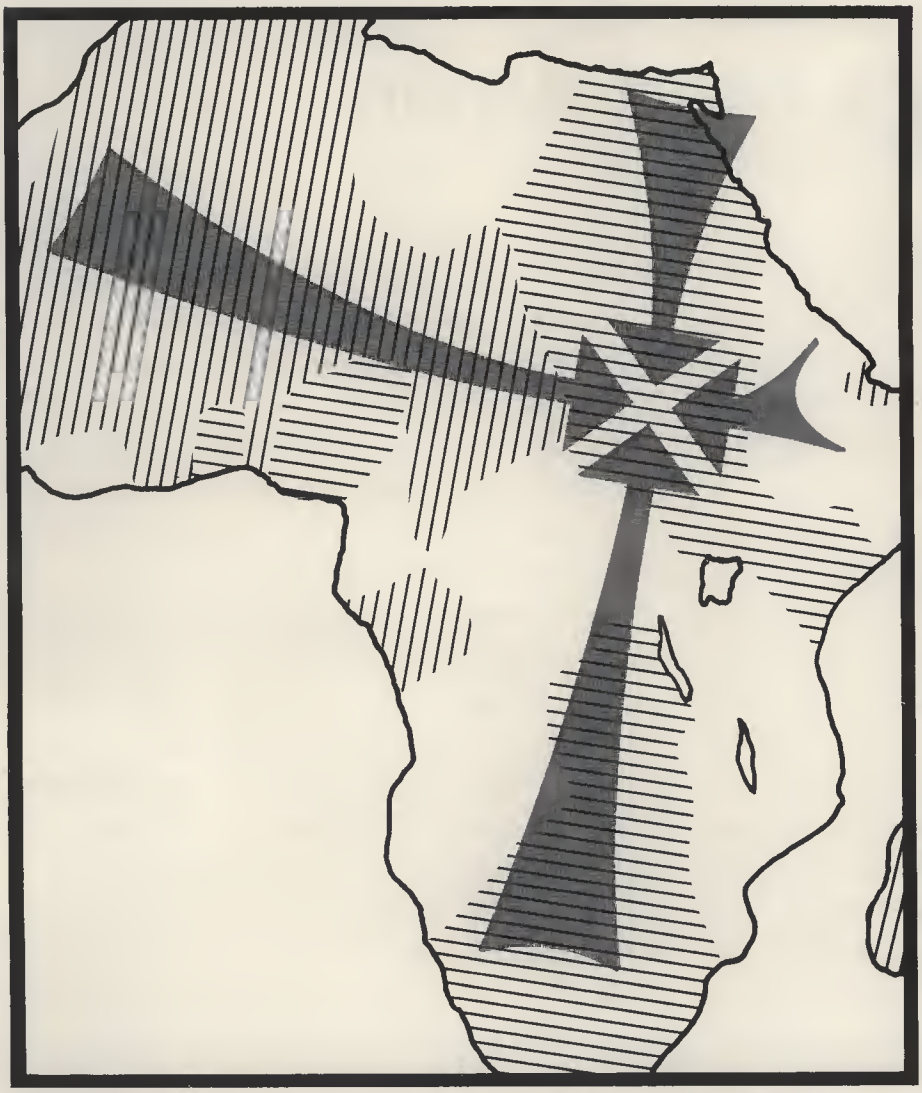
Although much has been done by the foreign affairs agencies in recent years to face up to the needs and aspirations of Foreign Service spouses, their role in the Service and the dilemma posed by their need for professional fulfillment, as well as the needs of Foreign Service families for two incomes, continue to raise serious problems.

In more than half the families in America, both parents are working, and we believe this is also true of Foreign Service families in the Washington area. Furthermore, the aspirations of American women are in a state of dynamic change. The State Department and the other agencies have reacted in a positive fashion to these phenomena, but the problems accrue. The opening of the Family Liaison Office in the department, with representatives in embassies throughout the world, was a first and much-needed step. The effort to help qualified dependents find overseas employment, the negotiating of agreements with Canada, Sweden, Norway, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, France, and hopefully with other countries, and the Skills Bank are all important steps. Now an Executive Order is being requested which would permit a spouse to acquire non-competitive Civil Service eligibility through temporary employment overseas.

The fact remains that these measures affect only a small number of families and that an ever-increasing number of employees are going abroad without their families. As we have noted in earlier editorials, the Association considers this to be an exceedingly grave and disruptive phenomenon.

Concurrently, the perennial question of the role of the Foreign Service wife remains unclear. What should families expect during careers which include many years overseas and what should the foreign affairs agencies reasonably expect of its dependents? Recognizing that the well-intentioned 1972 directive on wives was outdated, Director General Harry Barnes issued a notice in May 1978 drawing attention to the important Report on the Concerns of Foreign Service Spouses and Families, drafted by the Association of American Foreign Service Women, and promising that the 1972 directive should be reviewed. For reasons that are not entirely clear this effort was abortive. AFSA believes that it should be reinstituted and that the interests of all employees and their families would be well served by a searching re-examination of these vital issues which affect us all. □

The Fashoda



When the French and British empires crisscrossed Africa in the nineteenth century, they collided at a dreary outpost known as Fashoda. Today, the United States and its European allies are prone to similar rivalries over the Third World. Will NATO fall prey to the Fashoda syndrome?

By ROBERT K. OLSON

On a sweltering September day in 1898 one of history's famous encounters took place on the banks of the White Nile. Jean-Baptiste Marchand, captain of the French marines, had raised the French flag over an abandoned Egyptian fort at a "dreary and uninviting" spot called Fashoda. Five hundred miles to the north, British General Sir Herbert Kitchener had just given the Mahdists a good thrashing at Omdurman, avenging the death at Khartoum thirteen years before of imperial archhero General Charles Gordon. He had orders to forestall any French attempt to annex the upper Nile; when reports of the French party reached him, Kitchener immediately resumed his march upstream.

The subsequent encounter at Fashoda, however, was more than a genteel Stanley and Livingston–type meeting. Behind the two officers' exchanging civilized pleasantries on the banks of the Bahr-al-Ghazal stood the power and ambitions of two rival empires. In Paris, certain men dreamed of a French corridor across Africa from the Niger to Djibouti. The British, in their disjointed but nonetheless purposive way, were patching together, piece by piece, the dream of an imperial corridor from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo. The two purposes were bound to cross somewhere—with more or less predictable results.

When news of Fashoda reached Europe, the jingoist press in both capitals had a field day. To discover the French prowling about the upper Nile confirmed the worst suspicions of Paris watchers of the time. For Britain to

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Syndrome

challenge by naked force a perfectly legitimate claim of prior occupation confirmed the French in their prejudice against "l'Albion Perfide." Business between the two countries came to a standstill. The French fleet sailed blacked out through the Straits of Gibraltar for Cherbourg. In England there was a flurry of warlike preparations, and the British fleet sailed for Alexandria.

But cooler heads and political realities prevailed. Marooned between British power to the north and south, the French position could not be sustained. After five months, as the British garrison band played the *Marseillaise,* Marchand and party abandoned Fashoda and set out for Djibouti. But even more portentous consequences were in store. Fashoda was the last dangerous clash between the French and British empires. Instead of war, the conflict began that series of diplomatic adjustments that led in 1904 to the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale and, eventually, to the line-up of forces that went to war in 1914.

The Fashoda incident, better than any contemporary event, illustrates a vital syndrome of international life still operating at the heart of relations between the Western powers but to which we now seem to be blind or indifferent. For centuries, conflicts between rival imperialisms were a fact of life. They produced a history of far-flung naval and colonial wars. For Americans, clashes between imperialist powers provided over a century of backwoods wars with the French and Indians, became the *raison d'être* of the Monroe Doctrine, created the context within which independence was gained, and led to one war with Spain and another with Japan. But we seem to think that the world has graduated from all that since the mid-century dissolution of the great maritime empires of Europe. We are, however, beginning to realize that something horribly similar has been going on for thirty years between the United States and the Soviet Union, even if under different names. But, by concentrating our focus on NATO and the European Community, we are failing to recognize that rivalries in the Third World can divide Western countries as readily today as they did in the nineteenth century — and with equally disastrous results.

Poisoned Relations

This power to disrupt and divide has been demonstrated many times during the postwar years. Indeed, relations between the United States and Western Europe have been at their worst over conflicts of interest in the Third World. Wartime cooperation gave way to conflict and bitterness over postwar decolonization. Relations with France were poisoned over conditions attached to U.S. aid against the Vietminh. The United States was angered when, prior to the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, Jawaharlal Nehru of India dissuaded British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden from agreeing to participate in a "united action" to ensure the security of Southeast Asia. The Suez crisis probably did more to damage French relations with the Anglo-Saxon powers than any other episode since Fashoda. It started France on the path to independence leading to the Treaty of Rome in 1957, the development of the French nuclear force, and to French withdrawal from the military structure of NATO.

The United States and France clashed again over the 1973 OPEC oil embargo. Henry Kissinger tried to weld a united front with the Western Europeans, but when the embargo threw them into a squalid *sauve qui peut* panic and his efforts failed, he called them "craven" and "contemptible." French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing only made things worse when he proposed convening a conference of European consumers and OPEC producers without including the United States.

The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan again set U.S.-European differences into high relief. Jimmy Carter called on the allies to boycott the Moscow Olympics, break diplomatic relations, and embargo trade with Iran. When Europe backpedaled and hedged, Carter made his famous "ultimatum" of April 1980, telling the allies that if they did not fall into line, the United States would unilaterally take whatever measures seemed necessary. The use of force was not ruled out. Hard words were exchanged on both sides.

These are only the more dramatic disputes. Of possibly greater importance have been the quieter, less public conflicts. The United States has resented Western Europe's efforts to replace colonial systems with closed economic arrangements between the new countries and the former imperial powers. It has viewed with increasing temper Europe's tendency during the 1970s to line up with Third World majorities in the United Nations, thereby isolating the United States, but at the same time relying on the United States to hold the line and prevent anything too dire from happening.

Western Europe in turn has resented American pressure for rapid decolonization. It has been wary of a global economy dominated by the United States and producing powerful and virtually independent multinational corporations. Europe's sense of vulnerability toward increasing Third World influence has been heightened by what many consider to be U.S. overreaction to threats in Central America and the Mideast, and by the apparent U.S. unwillingness to take

the North-South dialogue seriously. Europeans have been exceedingly distressed by what they regard as excessive U.S. consumption of scarce resources, driving up prices all over the world and threatening the pace of Third World development. Current U.S. leaders, on the other hand, are convinced that salvation will come more quickly from free enterprise and market forces than from the security-oriented European and Third World proposals for economic management.

One of the most portentous difficulties between the United States and its Western European allies is not so much a conflict of interest as confusion over the United States' world role. American leaders continue to view the U.S. role in a primarily military sense—and not without reason. Not only is the United States the only credible deterrent to the Soviet Union in Europe, but it is the only common link between NATO and the handful of non-European defense pacts. Consequently, its characteristic response to troubles and conflicts in the Third World has been the extension of U.S. power. From President Truman to Ronald Reagan, the United States has, in President Kennedy's words, viewed the Third World as "the battleground of the Cold War."

Third World Threat

However, the economic shocks of the 1970s brought about a profound change in the international system; during a period of détente when the rigors of the Cold War seemed to be receding, the central theme of the Western community became "interdependence." The implications were manifold, for the community of interdependence extends far beyond Europe and NATO. Whereas the United States is the dominant member of NATO, in the economic community it is at most a *primus inter pares* partner. If the mission of NATO is the delivery of external power, the mission of the Western economic community is productivity and economic health. If the external threat to NATO is the Soviet Union, the external threat to the economic community has been the Third World. Hence Europe's cringing posture in the North-South dialogue and distress at apparent U.S. indifference to Third World demands.

Between Western Europe and the United States has grown a profound and corrosive disenchantment. The American itch toward unilateralism and the European mood of neutralism are symptomatic. Appeals to the alliance no longer inspire.

As a result of these and other pressures and misunderstandings, there has grown between Western Europe and the United States a profound and corrosive disenchantment. The American itch toward unilateralism and the European mood of neutralism are symptomatic. Appeals to the alliance and the "Atlantic Community" no longer inspire. The generation that produced the alliance is passing away, and no successor generation has arisen to replace it. Europe yearns for autonomy; it is preoccupied with recreating its historical identity, not only in Europe, but in its relations with the rest of the world. In European eyes, the United States is no longer the guarantor of the international economic order—a view which still sustains U.S. policymakers—but a threat to Europe's economic security. U.S. policies toward the South are perceived as a large part of this threat. We cannot claim that conflicts of interest in the Third World have driven a wedge in the alliance—yet. But we can say that these pressures have, over the years, pushed Western Europe toward working out its own salvation independent of the United States economically and politically, if not strategically. This could, in time, amount to the same thing. One thing we cannot do is blame the U.S.S.R., even though the Soviets have done everything possible to help the process along.

The Soviets, with their curious nineteenth-century interpretation of history, have seen more clearly than we that the Third World is the Achilles heel of the West. Building on Marx, Lenin transferred the locus of revolution to the colonies and made them the shoals on which the capitalist-imperialist world would founder. Khrushchev's concept of the "Zone of Revolution" from North Africa to Southeast Asia and Brezhnev's repeated declarations of Soviet support for wars of "national liberation" preserve this theory in modern strategic terms. The Soviet navy provides another powerful dimension of support for the Soviets' role as spoiler in the Third World.

Many minimize Soviet performance in the Third World as having brought serious reverses in China and Egypt and few lasting or profitable gains elsewhere. But Soviet achievements should not be measured in such terms. Rather, they should be measured by the cost of good will and unity to the Western countries. In that perspective, Soviet policies deserve a greater respect. Thirty years of revolution have drawn one Western power after another into unpopular police-type operations. The account includes Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam, Marxist regimes in many countries, and influence on the powerful in India, Syria, Iraq, and Libya. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is discounted as a Soviet Vietnam, but it has also brought rich dividends by setting the United States and Europe at odds, baiting the United States with a threat to the Persian Gulf while enticing Europe with promises of détente. It would be ironic indeed if the Soviets finally gained their objective of splitting the alliance through the back door of Third World conflicts.

Third World countries are also experienced at the game of defending themselves by playing one power against the other, withdrawing into

AFSA ELECTIONS COMMITTEE
P. O. BOX 57121, WEST END BRANCH
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

In accordance with AFSA Bylaws, and pursuant to the terms of the 1982 AFSA Election Call, the following AFSA members have been duly nominated and have accepted their candidacies for the positions indicated below in the 1982 election of Officers and Retired Constituency Representatives of the AFSA Governing Board. The candidates were all nominated as members of the "Unity Slate"; other nominations were received for several of the positions to be filled but were declined by the nominees. There were no nominations for the third Retired Constituency Representative position.

POSITION	ORGANIZATION
PRESIDENT	
1. Dennis Hays (Unity Slate)	State
VICE PRESIDENT	
1. Anthea S. de Rouville (Unity Slate)	State
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT	
1. William McKinney (Unity Slate)	AID—ASIA/PTB
SECRETARY	
1. Irving Williamson (Unity Slate)	State—USTR
TREASURER	
1. Brooke Holmes (Unity Slate)	State—IO/CU
RETIRED REPRESENTATIVES	
1. Spencer King (Unity Slate)	
2. Charles Whitehouse (Unity Slate)	
3. _____	

It is each AFSA member's responsibility to see to it that his or her proper address and constituency are on record with AFSA. Ballots will be mailed on or about May 15, 1982, and marked Ballots must be returned by 5 P.M., June 30, 1982. If you have not received your Ballot by June 7, 1982, notify the Chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee IMMEDIATELY in writing at P.O. Box 57121, West End Branch, Washington, D.C. 20037, or by "AFSA Channel" cable marked for delivery to AFSA Elections Committee.

The campaign statements which follow are published in accordance with Article VI(4) of the AFSA Bylaws. In publishing them, AFSA and its Standing Committee on Elections are required by Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, as interpreted by the Department of Labor, to do so without making any modification of their contents. AFSA therefore disclaims any responsibility for the content of any campaign statements made by the candidates. Content is solely the responsibility of the candidates.

Campaign Statement of Unity Slate

The Unity Slate represents a coalition of different groups within AFSA which have joined together to continue working for an improved Foreign Service. The candidates who make up the Unity Slate are individuals who have contributed many hours—as members of the AFSA Governing Board, the several Standing Committes, and ad hoc AFSA committees—towards improvement of Foreign Service life.

The Unity Slate sees itself as the successor to the Slate elected in 1981. The members of the Unity Slate are pleased and grateful that Ambassador Charles Whitehouse has consented to continue his service to AFSA by joining the Unity Slate as candidate for Retired Constituency Representative. We are also pleased that Thea de Rouville has agreed to continue her role as chief negotiator for AFSA and once again will be candidate for Vice President.

The goal of the Unity Slate is to represent all groupings in AFSA equally and fairly. We believe that AFSA must focus alike on the problems of the Staff Corps, of the Senior Foreign Service, of Mid-Level Officers and of Junior Foreign Service Officers. We believe that all agency constituencies must have input into service-wide decisions and that the needs of individual cones cannot be neglected in favor of others. It has not been possible, of course, to run candidates from all groups within AFSA as part of the Unity Slate. For this reason, the Unity Slate is committed to nominating representatives from groups not now on the AFSA Governing Board to positions on the Board as soon as they become available.

In so doing, it is not our intention to nominate individuals who will only try to serve their constituency, but individuals who will try to integrate their group interests into a broader perspective for the benefit of the entire Foreign Service. With regard to the retired constituency election, the Unity Slate notes that write-in candidates will compete for one of the retired representative vacancies. It is our intention to endorse one or more of the write-in candidates who share our views and goals for the third retired constituency seat.

The Unity Slate intends to publish detailed positions on major Foreign Service problems in the Elections Section of the May edition of the *Foreign Service Journal* and in campaign statements. Implementation of the new Foreign Service Act is not yet completed; a great deal of work lies ahead. We invite all groups and individual members of AFSA to join with us to work on behalf of the entire Foreign Service community.

Brief biographical sketches of the Unity Slate candidates follow below:

DENNIS HAYS

Dennis Hays joined the Foreign Service in 1976 after a year on the staff of Congressman Charles E. Bennett. His first assignment was an extended tour in Kingston where he served in the Consular and Administrative sections. Mr. Hays returned to Washington in 1979 and worked in A/EX as a Management Analyst and as an advance man for Presidential and Vice-Presidential overseas trips. He is presently at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard studying for an MPA, concentrating on international relations and agency management. Mr. Hays obtained his undergraduate degree from the University of Florida. Mr. Hays was presented the Meritorious Honor award in 1978 and the Superior Honor award in 1981. He is past president of the Junior Foreign Service Officers' Caucus and was a member of the State Standing Committee from 1979–1981.

THEA DE ROUVILLE

Thea de Rouville, FS-4, Secretary. Graduated from the University of New Hampshire, B.A., 1954. Graduated from Katherine Gibbs Secretarial School, 1955. Two years experience in private industry as secretary to Director of Personnel in large industrial firm. Joined Foreign Service in 1957, served overseas 15 years. One of the founders of SEPTEMBER 17, Member of the Board 1976–1977, Chairman 1977–78, Co-Chairman 1978–79. Became active in AFSA on returning to Washington in 1975. Member of AFSA State Standing Committee 1976–1979, Chairman 1979–present. Elected Vice President of AFSA in 1979. Re-elected Vice President of AFSA in 1981, Ms. de Rouville has served as chief AFSA negotiator during the past year.

WILLIAM MC KINNEY

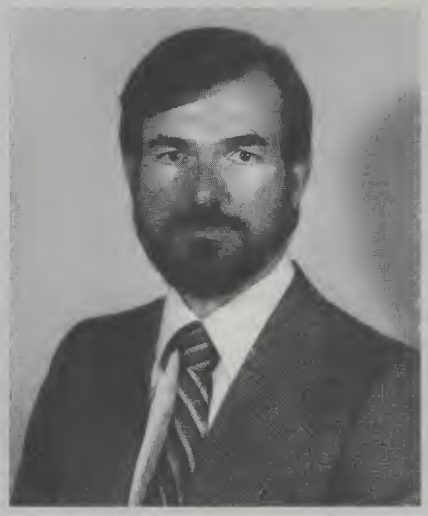
Bill McKinney is presently AID Burma Desk Officer. His first assignment with AID was as Assistant Pakistan Desk Officer. Before joining AID, Mr. McKinney served in India, Bangladesh, and Ghana with the Peace Corps and UNICEF. Mr. McKinney has a B.A. from Fisk University in history and political science. He received an M.A. in South Asian Studies from the University of California in Berkeley. He also attended Boston Uni-

versity Law School. Mr. McKinney has been an active member of AFSA since 1979 and has served on the AID Standing Committee. Since 1981, Mr. McKinney has been an AID Constituency Representative on the AFSA Governing Board. During this past year he has also served as the chief AID negotiator for AFSA as part of AFSA's negotiating team. Mr. McKinney is a member of the Thursday Luncheon Group.

IRVING WILLIAMSON

Irving A. Williamson, Jr. is an FS-2, Economic Officer. He joined the Foreign Service in 1967 and has served at the following posts: Port Louis, Mauritius, Antananarivo, Madagascar and Geneva, Switzerland. In the Department he has served in EB, Personnel and the Operations Center. He has also had a detail to the Treasury Department and is currently on detail to the office of the US Trade Representataive. Mr. Williamson has a B.A. from Brown, an M.A. from SAIS, and a J.D. from George Washington University. In 1981 he was elected to the AFSA Governing Board as a State Constituency Representative.

BROOKE C. HOLMES



Mr. Holmes is an FS-2 Consular Officer. He entered the Service in 1965 and has served in Rome, Vietnam (CORDS), Nassau, Athens, and the Department. During the academic year 1977–78 he attended the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, where he earned a Master's degree in Public Administration. He then served in the Bureau of Consular Affairs as a management analyst for three years, and is currently the Deputy Director, Agency Directorate for UNESCO, in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. A native of California, Mr. Holmes is a graduate of Pomona College and has an M.A. from Johns Hopkins' SAIS. He is President of the Consular Officers' Association and a member of the AFSA State Standing Committee.

CHARLES S. WHITEHOUSE

Charles S. Whitehouse graduated from Yale University in 1947 after service in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1942–1946. From 1948 to 1966, he served in Belgium, Turkey, and Cambodia as well as the Department. In 1966 he graduated from the National War College and served as DCM in Guinea. In 1969 he was assigned to Viet Nam as Deputy for CORDS. He served as Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian Affairs in 1971 and in 1972 returned to Viet Nam as Deputy Ambassador. In 1973 he became Ambassador to Laos and in 1975 Ambassador to Thailand. He was awarded the State Department Superior Honor Award, the AID Distinguished Honor Award and the State Department Distinguished Honor Award. Since his retirement in 1978, Ambassador Whitehouse has been actively working on behalf of AFSA's retired constituency and has served on the AFSA Governing Board as Retired Constituency Representative. In 1981 Ambassador Whitehouse was elected President of AFSA.

SPENCER M. KING

During twenty-eight years in the Foreign Service, Spencer M. King served in Bolivia and Czechoslovakia, as DCM in Ecuador and the Dominican Republic, and as Ambassador to Guyana. He also served a tour as Chief of the East Europe Branch of the Voice of America and worked in the Inspectorate as a traveling inspector and, subsequently, as Deputy Inspector General. Ambassador King has visited U.S. missions in over 100 foreign capitals, giving him a broad perspective on Foreign Service life. Ambassador King was elected an AFSA Retired Constituency Representative in 1979 and re-elected in 1981. Ambassador King graduated from Yale University in 1940. From 1941 to 1946 he served in the U.S. Army where he was a Major in the Field Artillery. He graduated from the National War College in 1958.

Referendum on Closing The Foreign Service Club

The Elections Committee wishes to give notice that it has received from the AFSA Governing Board a resolution proposing that the Foreign Service Club be closed. At the request of the Board and in accordance with Article V and VII of the AFSA Bylaws, the Elections Committee will submit this proposal, accompanied by statements, if any, from the proponents and opponents of the proposal, to the AFSA membership in a secret ballot referendum. A majority of valid votes received will determine the Association's policy on this proposal.

The text of the proposal, which was approved by a unanimous vote of the Governing Board on March 2, 1982, together with a statement of explanation, is given below. The Elections Committee will circulate the proposal and appropriate voting instructions on or about May 15 to all persons who are AFSA members as of April 30. The Committee will include with the voting instructions the statements it has received from proponents or opponents of the resolution.

Members who wish to submit statements in favor of, or in opposition to, the resolution should send them by mail addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037, or by AFSA channel cable. These statements must be received by the committee no later than May 3.

The committee has decided that in order to be acceptable for circulation, a statement must not be longer than 500 words and must be signed by at least five current AFSA members. A member may not sign more than one statement. The Committee reserves the right to shorten statements from the end if necessary to meet space limitations.

Resolution

RESOLVED, that the Foreign Service Club be closed as soon after July 15, 1982, as practical, but not later than September 1, 1982, and that other alternatives be explored to generate income from surplus space.

Governing Board Statement of Explanation

Ever since the Foreign Service Club opened in 1969, its operating expenses have consistently exceeded club income. Despite efforts to increase the ranks of AFSA's Associate Members (most of whom join AFSA mainly to have access to the Club) as well as the introduction of a wide variety of measures over the years to increase Club patronage, the Club has regularly shown an annual operating loss. Today, caught between the twin forces of inflation and the current business recession, it appears that the net operating loss for the Club for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1982, will run between $15,000 and $20,000.

In this regard, the Board has conducted preliminary investigations of the various options open to the Association concerning the use of the AFSA building. The principal options include: (a) Leasing out the Club space with minor alterations to another tenant; (b) adding additional floors to the building to increase the space available for long-term leasing; and (c) selling the property outright. These possibilities may require some additional study, but preliminary analyses by reputable realtors indicate that adding to the building would be prohibitively expensive and selling it would lead to the leasing of costly office space elsewhere.

It is on the basis of these considerations that the AFSA Board now wishes to ascertain the views of AFSA's membership as to whether the Club should continue in operation.

Association News

Foreign Service Day Scheduled for May 7

This year's Foreign Service Day, the annual event sponsored jointly by the Department of State, DACOR, and AFSA, is scheduled for Friday, May 7. AFSA's retired members should have received their invitations and reservation forms by the time this issue arrives.

Because of budgetary restrictions, this year the traditional reception which concludes the day-long program will be a subscription affair, as is the custom with the Foreign Service Day luncheon. Both the luncheon and the reception are optional events on the program, and the ticket prices for each are fixed to reflect actual costs.

At 10 a.m. on Saturday, May 8, AFSA will host its annual post–Foreign Service Day brunch at the Foreign Service Club. AFSA's activities over the past year and plans for the future will be reviewed, and there will be an up-date on current developments affecting all present and prospective Foreign Service retirees.

Since accommodations for the brunch are limited, advance reservations are advised. If you wish to attend, send your name and address with your check for $10 to AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

AFSA Consults with Management on Foreign Service Act Report to Hill

The Association recently completed consultations with management on the Secretary of State's first report to Congress on implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Known as the "2402 report" after the section of the Act that requires its annual preparation and submission, it outlines personnel planning processes and five-year projections of attrition, promotion, and recruitment for the five foreign affairs agencies.

The report also describes the interagency consulting process and efforts to maximize compatibility of regulations and policies. Once fully implemented, the Act foresees that all the foreign affairs organizations—State, ICA, AID, the Foreign Commercial Service, and the Foreign Agricultural Service—will operate under common statutory authority and share personnel policies and operations to the extent possible.

Among other planning factors covered in the report are management's methods for allocating promotion opportunities, allowing for "stretch assignments," and determining the annual number of limited career extensions— (LCEs) —that will be available. Also discussed are conversions from one skill code to another, and to the Senior Foreign Service, as well as lateral entry into the Service.

One section of the report is reserved for the views of the employee organizations on the material presented. AFSA has submitted comments for inclusion.

AFSA Points Out Inequity in Medical Evacuation Per Diem

AFSA recently held discussions with the Medical Division concerning inequities in the number of days of *full* per diem paid for evacuations to non-U.S. medical facilities as opposed to U.S. evacuation points. Currently, regulations authorize full per diem up to 120 days at U.S. medical facilities — versus only 21 days outside the United States. No matter where medical evacuation occurs, per diem is exclusive of time hospitalized.

During our initial discussion, which dealt mainly with medical evacuation for obstetrical care, we were informed that M/Med had actually authorized up to 30 days full per diem for overseas locations for some time, but had not got around to notifying posts and revising regulations. We requested that a clarifying cable be sent to posts immediately. If you feel you are affected by the policy change, check with your Admin section or M/Med and refer to State 51598 on medical evacuation for obstetrical care. Don't let the title mislead you, the increase in the amount of days pertains to *all* medical evacuations.

Furthur discussions with MED are on the agenda to determine how to alleviate inadequate per diem rates, possibly by authorizing actual subsistence payments or extending the maximum time on full per diem at overseas evacuation points. MED is now compiling statistics to determine how many if any individuals suffered financial hardships due to insufficient payment of full per diem.

Illinois Rep. Paul Simon To Lecture at Club

Congressman Paul Simon (D.-Ill.) will speak in the AFSA "Public Diplomacy in the '80s" lecture series on April 26 in the Foreign Service Club. His topic will concern the role of cultural exchange in foreign policy. Simon has long believed that one of the United States' most effective tools in maintaining dialogue with other countries is a comprehensive, well-conceived exchange program involving both the government and the private sector.

A four-term representative from his state's 24th district, Simon is a former newspaper publisher and educator. He is the author of the book *The Tongue-Tied American,* which deals with the inability of Americans to speak and read foreign languages and with the cultural, economic, and political consequences of this deficiency. He has been a long-time supporter of USIA's and ICA's exchange programs.

The April 26 program will begin with a cash bar at noon, followed by lunch and the talk at 12:30. Reservations can be made by contacting the Foreign Service Club.

AFSA President Goes on TV To Protest Film

The opening in many cities of the Universal Pictures film *Missing* and the issuance of statements by the State Department as well as AFSA raised a flurry of publicity with regard to the accuracy of this film which purports to tell a true story about events in Chile in 1973. Producer Costa-Gavras and stars Jack Lemmon and Sissy Spacek, plus the family of Charles Horman, the missing American, all appeared on a number of talk shows.

A few days after the WTTG show *Panorama* interviewed Lemmon, Spacek, and Costa-Gavras, AFSA's president rebutted their claim that the movie is "a true story." "It portrays the Foreign Service and what took place in ways that are not entirely accurate," the president told the show's moderator. "It is based on an episode that did take place, but not all that is portrayed was exactly so." He said the film depicts the Foreign Service officers who handled the case as being "extraordinarily negligent and carefree." On the contrary, he said, "the Foreign Service does a good job" in "missing" cases and noted that these number about 6000 a year. He called the film's ending claim that the Horman family had been unsuccessful in bringing suit against the State Department because necessary documents were declared classified as "inaccurate. They received all the information the government had." To implications of possible U.S. embassy involvement in or approval of the death of Charles Horman, the president responded: "I consider that to be a contemptible accusation against the Foreign Service and the staff in Chile." He categorized the accusation as "monstrous."

Spacek and Lemmon in Missing

AFSA, State Confer on 'Senior Officer Glut'

The Association has recently begun discussions with management concerning the causes of and possible solutions to the "senior officer glut." There are currently between 45 and 55 senior officers, assigned to the Department on overcomplement status, for whom no appropriate jobs are available.

According to AFSA reps, one major reason for this situation may be the large number of mid-level officers occupying senior-level positions—so-called "stretch assignments."

It has long been an accepted practice for management to hold a certain number of senior positions in reserve to allow for stretch assignments, which give particularly capable mid-level officers an opportunity to develop valuable skills and demonstrate their capabilities in a more challenging position than would normally be open to them.

AFSA reps feel, however, that this practice should not be pursued to the point where it becomes a serious detriment to senior officers.

Other possible contributing causes for the glut include the assignment of political appointees to ambassadorial posts and appointment of non-career personnel to positions in the Department.

AFSA Submits Amicus Curiae Brief in AFGE-ICA Performance Pay Impasse

On March 5, the American Foreign Service Association submitted an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief in support of AFGE Local 1812 in its dispute with ICA over the award of performance pay. The dispute is now before the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel (FSIDP).

The dispute came to the FSIDP as a result of ICA's last-minute refusal to sign the joint agreement on Senior Foreign Service Performance Pay negotiated by AFSA, AFGE Local 1812, the Department of State, AID, and ICA. That agreement, published as FAMC 81-57, has been implemented by the Department and AID. ICA's major objection to the agreement is that it makes selection board recommendations for performance pay binding on the agency head. ICA would have selection board recommendations be advisory only, allowing the director to alter the rank-orderings and award performance pay as he chooses. Further, ICA would do away with the requirement of peer review by a board composed of career Foreign Service employees and public members. Instead, the director would have authority to appoint whomever he wished to sit on the performance pay boards.

ICA's stand is reminiscent of its 1972 attempt to manipulate selection board rank-orderings for promotion. That effort prompted Congress to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946 to expressly provide that selection board evaluations shall be submitted to the agency head in rank order, and that the agency head make recommendations for promotions in accordance with the selection board submission.

AFSA is very concerned over the outcome of this impasse dispute, as both State and AID management have notified us in writing that they intend to revise the regulations and explore "alternative approaches" for the next performance pay cycle.

Top Greek Paper Cites Journal on Papandreou Story

In an analysis of foreign press reaction to the new socialist Greek government appearing in that country's presrigious daily *To Vima* last January, a journalist based his reporting on stories from the London *Times*, the *New York Times*, *Le Monde*—and the *Foreign Service Journal*.

In his article "Papandreou's Greece" [January], *Journal* writer Leigh Bruce. "stresses that the election of Mr. Papandreou should not be viewed as disastrous for American interests," the paper said. "Mr. Bruce underscores that the Reagan administration should follow toward Greece a policy similar to the one it followed toward French President Mitterand, who now appears as the strongest U.S. ally." The paper concluded that the *Journal* article was "a very interesting analysis."

official nonalignment, or retreating into self-imposed isolation. The United States, during its first century of development, tried them all. But the position of developing countries during the twentieth century has been reinforced by a convenient historical myth that has justified an ideology centering on the victims of exploitation, burdened Europe with a guilt complex, and cast the Soviet Union in the role as natural (if usually disappointing) ally of the Third World. It would be too much to assert that this mish-mash of nationalism, Marxist ideology, and realpolitik has produced anything like a clear and effective program toward the developed world in general or the United States in particular. On the contrary, many Third World countries have victimized themselves, losing vital opportunities in futile political games. Apart from OPEC, the Third World backlash of the 1970s and the North-South dialogue have failed to produce any significant results. Nevertheless, the West—and especially Europe—is increasingly vulnerable to Third World political and economic instabilities. The Western community could be divided by the temptation to seek regional solutions to global problems.

Western Obsession

This insidious pattern of international conflict is pervasive, yet almost forgotten by a West obsessed for thirty-five years with Europe and containment. The Third World has always recognized it. Lenin did not invent it, he merely described what he saw with a doctrinaire communist gloss. Western Europe now seems to be discovering it anew, reverting to its pre–World War II historical perspective, but still insufficiently aware of the consequences. The United States appears to be the slowest learner and is becoming increasingly isolated from the Third World and, more and more, estranged from its European allies. This failure to adapt is curious since, before its foreign policy became distorted by the Cold War, the United States had a more balanced view of the world, at least of that portion—Latin America and the Far East—that was not held by some European colonial power.

Let us not take Europe for granted; another serious conflict in the Third World such as Suez, the oil crisis of 1973, or even Afghanistan would drive Europe even farther away and weaken irreparably the fabric of Atlantic cooperation.

Several attempts have been made in the past to overcome the divisiveness the Third World arouses among the major powers. For centuries there was an unwritten agreement that disputes "beyond the Line" would not be allowed to disturb the peace of Europe. Similarly, in the postwar world there have been advocates of linkage and delinkage. The Reagan administration has based its global policy on the former, Europe and the Soviets on the latter. Negotiated settlements such as the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 defined more precisely the spheres of influence in the New World granted by the pope to Portugal and Spain, and the Congress of Berlin in 1884 settled rival claims in the Congo basin. The postwar world has yet to produce a similar attempt whether between the United States and the Soviet Union or even by tacit agreement among the allies of the Atlantic or the Western economic communities.

The example of the Fashoda incident brings to mind a third option. Britain and France, brought to the brink of war in 1898 after thirty years of colonial disputes in Africa, had, by 1904, formed the Entente Cordiale, a relationship which carried them through the holocaust of World War I. After France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, it sought solace in colonial adventures abroad and in an ineradicable hankering for *revanche* in Europe. But this aroused the opposition of Britain abroad and of Germany in Europe. A Russian alliance proved weak and disappointing; Russia failed to support France on Fashoda. It was an unwinnable position and France badly needed a stout ally. Gradually during the subsequent years of diplomatic maneuvers and despite the humiliation of Fashoda, France decided that its international policy could only be sustained through an understanding with Britain, itself in the process of being forced to abandon a policy of "splendid isolation" toward European affairs. Thus the entente was created, ending thirty years of conflict whereby France finally agreed to recognize British supremacy in Egypt and Britain acknowledged French predominance in Morocco. Germany was the odd-man-out. The third option suggested by Fashoda, therefore, would require the disaggregation of interests and their explicit mutual recognition by the United States and its NATO allies.

Today Western Europe finds itself in a position roughly analogous to that of France at the turn of the century: searching for security in Europe, cherishing the dream of reunion, and seeking recognition of its interests in the Third World. Postwar Western Europe leaned on the United States, *faute de mieux,* despite a running conflict over Third World relations. After Suez, Britain, like France after Fashoda, swallowed its pride and made a basic decision never again to commit itself to a position in conflict with the United States. France decided otherwise, beginning the process of ridding itself from U.S. domination. Even West Germany, profiting from détente and with minimal global responsibilities, has increasingly favored the old continental system based, in its revived form, on détente, the European Monetary System, and a stronger European foreign policy. But European autonomy, however attractive and

(Continued on page 36.)

A Conversation with Malcolm Toon

The Foreign Service & the National Interest

When Malcolm Toon, at the time U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, retired from the Foreign Service in 1979, the press reported that he was openly angry upon learning that his replacement was to be a political appointee. During his tenure in Moscow, Toon had made known his belief that the post should be reserved for career diplomats who spoke Russian and had had previous experience with the Soviets. Only with an ambassador possessing such qualifications, he told reporters, could the Moscow embassy fulfill its critical role and the national interests of the United States be safeguarded from Soviet opportunism. When Toon informed the Carter administration of his intention to retire, he reaffirmed this position.

But at the Vienna summit of June 1979, Toon discovered—almost at the same time that the press did—that his replacement was to be Thomas J. Watson, a former chairman of the board of IBM. Watson's appointment was interpreted by some journalists as an indication that the administration hoped to improve economic ties with the Soviets. But Watson neither spoke Russian nor had experience in dealing with the Soviets. By the time Toon left his post in the fall, his displeasure was well known.

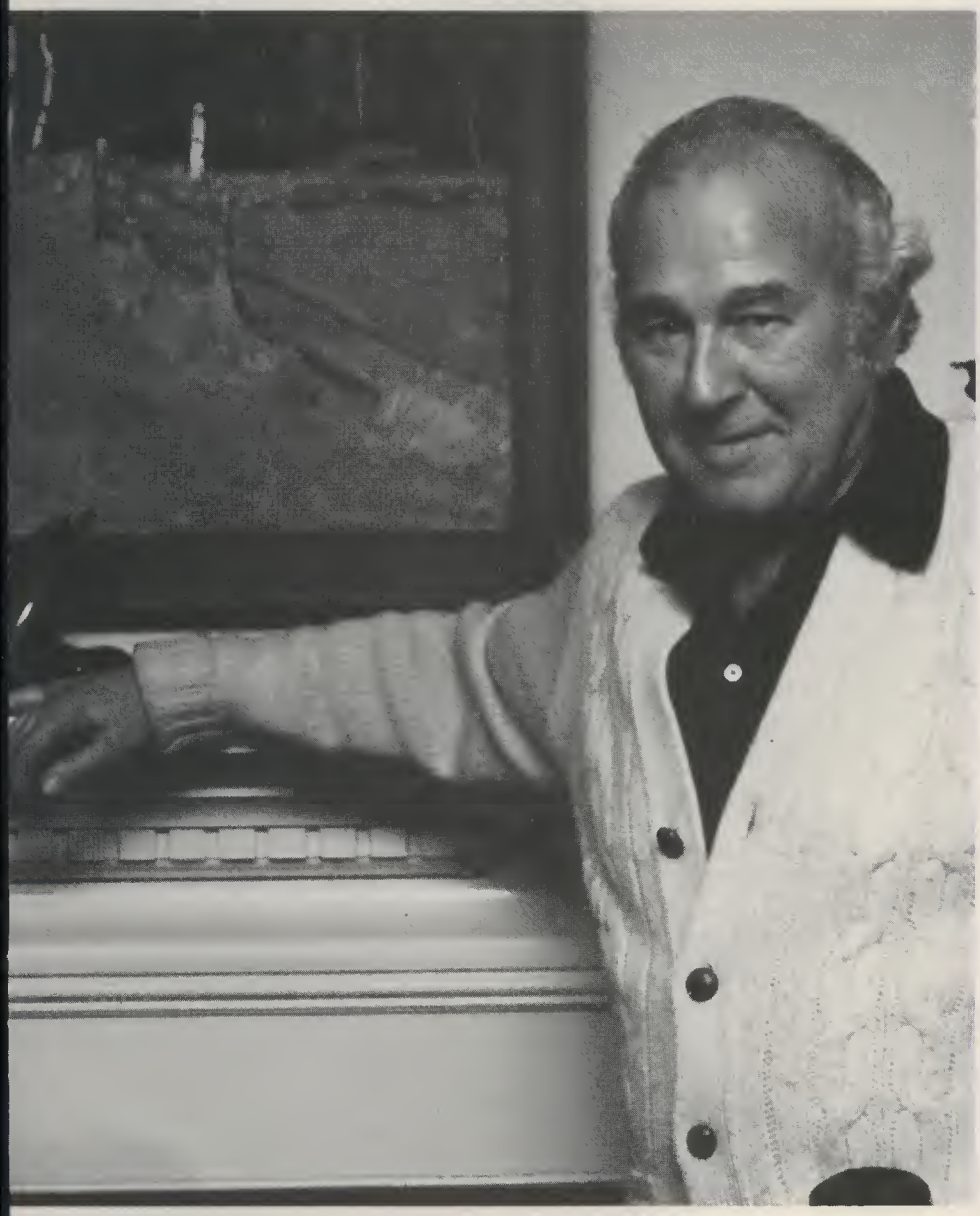
Toon retired with a distinguished record in the Foreign Service. After joining the diplomatic corps following World War II, he held a variety of posts in Europe, including two terms in Moscow. At one time he was in charge of Soviet affairs at the State Department. He rose to the rank of ambassador in 1969, when he was sent to Czechoslovakia. Later, the press reported that he was being considered for the ambassadorship in Moscow, but at the last minute another officer went to the Soviet Union and Toon instead became ambassador to Yugoslavia. He made his only tour of duty outside of Europe when in 1975 he was named ambassador to Israel. He was appointed as interim ambassador to the Soviet Union by the outgoing Ford administration. President Carter, apparently favoring the idea of a political ambassador, initially withdrew Toon's nomination, but by the end of April 1977 the new administration had reconsidered and Toon was officially retained. He remained in Moscow until his retirement.

"Frankly, I would strongly recommend that some of the professionals who are serving on the seventh floor should resign, and when they do they should go out slamming the door, as some said I did when I left Moscow."

During his career, Toon gained a reputation as one of this country's leading professional diplomats. The *New York Times,* when reporting his appointment to Moscow, stated that he was regarded as the "top Soviet specialist among the senior diplomats in the career service." Earlier, the *Times* quoted a colleague of Toon as saying that "[Toon] always put American interests first and was not affected by 'localitis.' "

Toon also gained a reputation for candor. Hardly a story appeared about him that did not include adjectives such as "outspoken," "tart-tongued," and "tough-talking." Nor was his candor limited to the subject of non-career ambassadors in Moscow. His comments on the adversarial nature of U.S.-Soviet relations and his reputation for taking a tough view of Moscow's behavior caused the Soviet leadership to be less than enthusiastic about his appointment. When his posting to Moscow was first announced by President Ford, the Kremlin held up its approval for more than two months. Moreover, during the next few years the Soviets publicly chastised Toon for statements he made on the Soviet system.

Since his retirement, Malcolm Toon has not lapsed into silence. Far from it. He has continued to speak out on issues of importance: SALT, détente, the general nature of U.S.-Soviet relations. And he has reiterated his belief in a strong career Foreign Service in



hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in speeches around the country, and in interviews for the press.

Toon says he is not concerned with the morale of the Foreign Service for narrow professional considerations but rather with the effect on the national interest of having non-career persons in key diplomatic posts. As he remarks in this interview, the United States has had an imposing task entrusted to it since 1945—a task he says demands the active use of a competent and professional diplomatic corps if it is to be successful. Without qualified, experienced people as U.S. representatives abroad, Toon believes, we not only risk the disrespect of other governments but also endanger the effectiveness of U.S. policy and the safety of our national interests.

With the Reagan administration's appointments of non-career ambassadors hovering near the fifty-percent mark, Toon is concerned that the role of a professional Foreign Service may be neglected more than ever because unqualified persons may be dealing with our allies and adversaries. Moreover, he fears a growing ideological component in the selection of ambassadors and senior officials. In Toon's view it seems that political loyalty to the administration in power is becoming more important than competence and experience. By continuing to neglect its professional diplomats, Toon believes, the United States risks threatening its own national interests.

As part of the *Journal*'s continuing presentation of a variety of views on vital professional and foreign policy issues, we bring our readers the following conversation with Malcolm Toon. —F.G.B.

Journal: There is a lot of unhappiness in the Foreign Service concerning the many senior Foreign Service officers who are without jobs and the large number of political appointments that have been made—appointments to places where they have not been made before or only rarely, such as Romania and Fiji—and to levels lower than before, levels generally reserved for career officers—such as the consul general's position in Bermuda. In the department, positions down to the level of office director have been filled with political appointments in a number of places. How do you see these developments?

Toon: Once we start to go below the ambassadorial level and appoint people who are currently in the present administration or heavy contributors to the party in power to these lower-level posts, then I think we are in trouble—not we in the Foreign Service, but we as a nation. We have abolished the spoils system as far as the civil service is concerned but we have never done it for the Foreign Service. A very bad precedent has been made in the Bermuda appointment. And when defeated congressmen and heavy contributors to the party receive ambassadorial appointments, I think the result is that, in the long run and with some exceptions, we are regarded as a bit strange, especially by our European allies. After all, we are the only major country in the world that resorts to this sort of practice. Our friends must wonder about our ability to cope with the problems we face as long as we behave this way.

Journal: Are you unhappy about the way matters have been going in this administration regarding political appointments?

Toon: I have been unhappy about other administrations as well, but this time I was surprised that Mr. Reagan went this route, particularly after his very strong statements during the cam-

"I think this is a very, very bad business we are involved in — making sure that Senator Helms is satisfied by giving him the right to 'appoint' certain people to certain jobs. I frankly do not think we can survive as a major power with a major leadership role in the free world so long as we behave this way."

paign about relying on the professionals in government. He promised throughout his campaign that he would make sure that every appointee to every ambassadorial post would be entirely qualified. Now to me this meant he would rely primarily on the professional service. I do not think he has done that. I don't know what the exact percentages are now, but there have been reports in the *Journal* and in the press which indicate to me that we are worse off under this administration than we have been for years. I don't think this is a good development at all.

Journal: There are indications that the percentage of political appointees is definitely higher—currently AFSA's figures show political appointees are running at about 50 percent. Before the Carter administration the percentage used to run in the 30-percent bracket, and Carter brought it down to 27 percent. Of course the present administration has not completed its appointments, but 50 percent of the appointments they have made have been non-career ambassadors, and to places they normally have not been sent—Bucharest, the Fiji islands, and elsewhere.

Toon: I'm not terribly upset about sending a political appointee to Fiji, but to Bucharest, I think that's a mistake. Some political appointees have occasionally been credited with knowing the local language or having lived there. But I don't think this is a justification for appointing *this* man to *this* job. I see in the press this man is a close friend of Senator Jesse Helms. This is apparently a part of the political process in which we unfortunately are engaged in the State Department. I think this is a very, very bad business we are involved in—making sure that Senator Helms is satisfied by giving him the right to "appoint" certain people to certain jobs. I frankly don't think we can survive as a major power with a major leadership role in the free world so long as we behave this way. I think we have to appoint far more qualified professionals than this administration is prepared to do. I am reluctant to condemn this administration so sweepingly, but I feel very strongly about this malpractice.

Journal: You mentioned Senator Helms, a man who some people have said has been unique in practically appointing people in the executive branch himself—certainly he has pressured the White House to appoint his favorites. But others have said that appointments have been made in past administrations to satisfy particular members of Congress. Do you think Senator Helms's actions are unusual from past situations or is it just a matter of degree?

Toon: It is different in the sense that I don't think we have ever had a senator who has insisted that certain people have certain qualifications and pass certain standards if he is going to vote for them. At least in my experience, this is a departure from precedent—and I think a very dangerous one, unfortunately. I do think there ought to be people in the administration, including the secretary of state and his deputies, who have enough courage to resist this sort of thing, and to say to Senator Helms, "Look, we are not going to appoint just people who are acceptable to you. We are going to appoint people who we think are qualified for the job. And you are going to have to go along with this." Frankly, I have not seen that sort of courage and forthrightness on the part of some of the people who hold responsible jobs in this administration. That distresses me as a concerned former Foreign Service officer.

Journal: Does this trend toward political appointees stem from the idea that diplomacy somehow is not a profession? Is there a notion in this country that anybody with a little reading and maybe a little language training can become a diplomat?

Toon: It goes beyond that. I think there is a feeling now that not only can you become a diplomat, you can become an ambassador or a principal negotiator, so long as you have qualifications which are satisfactory politically to the administration. In other words, you have to demonstrate that you have political fidelity and loyalty above professional competence, and I think that is a very bad way to proceed.

Journal: Why is it that we as a country, including the Congress, the executive branch, and the public, accept this approach to international affairs?

Toon: I think this is probably part of our isolationist background. In the Twenties and the Thirties, when people couldn't have cared less about foreign policy and about our position in the world, it made very little difference to the average American and the average Congressman who was serving where abroad. I think, unfortunately, we still have part of this basic tradition within ourselves. I don't think there is sufficient concern on the part of the public and the people on Capitol Hill about this matter. It depends on us, the professionals of the Foreign Service, and on our ability to persuade the public that this is a very bad way to run our diplomatic business.

I have done some speaking around the country and I think we are beginning to overcome the stereotype that some people have of us as striped pants, cookie-pusher types. We have

tried, with some success, to get across the idea that we are reasonably intelligent, reliable people, that we understand the job we have to do, and that we have the competence to face up to that job—which I think the American public expects. I think the more we speak around the country, the more the public will have confidence in the Foreign Service. Beyond that, you've got to sell the politicians on the idea that we must have a competent professional service abroad. And we have to get across the idea that it is no longer in the national interest to use the Foreign Service as a dumping ground for people who have been defeated in elections or who have made heavy contributions to the party, because *now* these diplomatic jobs are terribly important. And if the country does not have good people in these jobs, the national interest will suffer and, in the long run, we will prove ourselves unable to cope with the job that has been foisted upon us since World War II. I think it is terribly important to have top-flight people in these jobs. And frankly—I speak subjectively, as a former career Foreign Service officer—I think the most competent people we can have for these positions come from the professional ranks.

Journal: Usually, when we use the terms "national security" and "national interest" it is done in regard to the military, not diplomacy. There seems to be a lack of regard for what a well-conducted foreign policy can do for the country. Obviously, that is understood at the level of the secretary of state, but it doesn't seem to filter down below that.

Toon: That may be. Good evidence of that is that we had to resort to the ranks of the military to find a secretary of state. Don't misunderstand me, Alexander Haig has all kinds of qualifications for the job. But at the time he was appointed, I said publicly that I found it distressing that we had to rely on the military to provide possible candidates for the top job in diplomacy. We didn't look within the career Foreign Service. There has been a tendency to rely more on the military than on the professional diplomat.

Journal: Having practiced diplomacy all of your adult life, how do you compare diplomacy with the need for military force to protect the national interest and national security?

Toon: Certainly, you have to have both—a strong military to deal with the problems of the world today, particularly the Soviet menace, but at the same time a good, professional Foreign Service establishment—which I think we have. But the point is that while the military is appreciated by this administration, I don't think the professional Foreign Service is. Evidence of that is the fact that we are apparently going the route where half of our ambassadorial posts are going to political appointees. We are not relying on the professionals to man the negotiating teams, and I think this is a big mistake. I think we've got to get this administration to understand that unless they make better use of what I think is the very good talent we have in the Foreign Service, we are going to get into deep trouble. Deep trouble not only in the sense that we will wind up with incompetent people dealing with adversaries, such as the Soviet Union, and around the negotiating table, but also dealing with the fundamental problems we face with the Third World and in Western Europe. In the process we will end up with a very serious lowering of morale in the Foreign Service, with the result that in the long run—I may be totally pessimistic about this—we won't have any Foreign Service at all. How can the United States face up to the problems of this world unless it has a competent, reliable, Foreign Service? I don't see how we can do it. To me the most distressing aspect of what has been going on for the last three of four years is that morale has dropped seriously and in the process the Foreign Service has been badly weakened.

Journal: Is there something that could encourage those who might be thinking of leaving the Service, or could turn around this emasculation of the Service?

Toon: I think each and every one of us in the Service has to do something which would shock the political leadership in Washington into seeing the dangers we face today as a result of this policy of ignoring the professional. Frankly, I would strongly recommend that some of the professionals who are serving on the seventh floor should resign, and when they resign they should go out slamming the door, as some people said I did when I left Moscow. I don't want to be terribly personal about this, but there are people on the seventh floor today who are responsible, in large part, for protecting the interests of the Foreign Service—and therefore the national interest—and they are not doing it. So long as they permit this thing to go on without making a big noise about it, then I think they are not doing their jobs properly. Probably what we have to do is to have a Foreign Service officer in a high position on the seventh floor resign with a bang in order to shake up these people and make them understand that if they don't pay attention to morale in the Foreign Service, and if they don't start using the Foreign Service talent which is there, then they are going to wind up with a very inadequate Foreign Service or perhaps none at all.

Journal: Is resignation necessary? Is it necessary to go outside the Service or is it simply the effect of resignation?

Toon: Somebody ought to be speaking out, and in a very strong voice, about this problem. I can do this, but I'm retired and people will claim I say this because I'm not active. But I spoke up when I was active as an ambassador. I think people who are still active in the Service have a responsibility to fulfill.

Journal: But did senior members of the Service speak up in the past?

Toon: I can only talk from my own experience. I have spoken up as an ambassador and after I retired. I testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1979 on the SALT treaty. But when I testified I was asked some very serious and searching questions by Senator Charles Percy about the Foreign Service and about my attitude toward political appointees as ambassadors. The senator asked me if I felt that we have had good people serving as ambassadors from outside the Foreign Service—such as David Bruce, Averell Harriman. Don't we need an infusion from time to time? I said, yes, we have had topflight ambassadors brought in from the outside. I said all of us feel there is a justification and a need for

"It is no longer in the national interest to use the Foreign Service as a dumping ground for people who have been defeated in elections or who have made heavy contributions to the party, because now these diplomatic jobs are terribly important. If the country does not have good people in these jobs, the national interest will suffer."

new blood from time to time. But, I said, for every David Bruce, you get ten Mr. Klunks. At the time I had to be careful about avoiding a libel suit against me and I couldn't name precisely and accurately those I had in mind. So I discussed the problem in general terms.

I told the senators that many years ago there was a man who was a manufactutet of ladies' dtesses who was appointed to a post in the Far East. When he came before the Foreign Relations Committee he could name neither the prime minister of the country to which he was appointed nor its capital. I told the senators it was the committee's job to be selective. Of course we need blood ftom the outside—I think it can be useful—but we do not have to accept the poor sort of talent we have seen over the last year. We have an actor in Mexico City, a political post, the most sensitive post in the hemisphere. It is terribly important fot us to have somebody thete who is sensitive to Mexican concerns, but we have a Hollywood actor—and not a vety good one at that. We have a man in London who owes his place in life to the fact that his parents founded a futniture polish dynasty. His only qualification for the job is that he speaks English. We have a man in Paris, a highly proficient banker, whose main qualification for his job is that he speaks Ftench and is a friend of Giscard d'Estaing—who is out of power and is considered the atch enemy of the man who is running the country. In Germany we have a very eminent economist in a country where our problems are not teally economic but primarily political. In Italy we have an equally eminent lawyer who speaks no Italian in a country where the ambassadot must speak the language to have an impact. There are at least ten Foreign Service officers far more qualified for each one of these jobs than the person now occupying it. I think that is a sad state of affaits.

Journal: Are you suggesting that the Foreign Relations Committee might be the mechanism for screening out the "Mr. Klunks"?

Toon: I think that Senator Petcy, the chaitman, and others on the committee, Senator Baker for example, should speak up mote vigorously than they have in the past. Ftankly, I think we in the Foreign Service should speak up too. Beyond that, people who are senior in the Foreign Service today who are serving in the State Department ought to speak up for the career people much more vigorously than they have done so far.

Journal: What should be the role of the American Foreign Service Association?

Toon: I'm glad to see that AFSA, in recent months, has spoken out much more vigorously and eloquently on this theme than it has in years. I am glad to see AFSA taking a much more active role. AFSA's job is to get the wotd out, get it in the *Foreign Service Journal,* and make sure it gets to the press. You have a very sympathetic audience there.

Journal: At the time Ambassador Watson was assigned to Moscow, some said the Association pulled its punches. Many Foreign Service officers were upset because it seemed that unless he was totally unqualified for the job, we could not keep him from having it. Pethaps we ought to have some positive, objective standards for appointments.

Toon: I was unhappy then too. I told President Carter and Secretary Vance in 1978 that I would be leaving my post in 1979. I had had a good cateet in the Foreign Service and felt it was time to move on and make toom for some of the younger people in the profession. This is what I said to Carter and Vance. At the time, I thought my replacement would obviously be a career man. When I got to Vienna at the summit conference in June 1979 and discovered ftom Mr. Carter personally that it was going to be Thomas Watson, I was disturbed, even angry. Now, don't misunderstand me. Tom Watson is a very fine guy with great ability and impressive qualifications—but as a businessman. I told the president and the sectetary that of all posts, Moscow had to be manned by a professional. Their answer was that we really did not have anybody qualified for the post and there may have been some justification for that point of view. But then I began to get some criticism from the Foteign Service that really hutt me. The tationale was, why did you give up this job if you knew a nonptofessional would replace you? If I had known at the time that the job would go to an outsider, I might have stayed on for a while; until, in the view of the administration, a qualified ptofessional was available.

The point is, we have to get AFSA, the top officers in the depattment, and cateer ambassadors around the world to speak out about this problem, not in selfish terms but in tetms of the national interest. Specifically, how it is bound to suffer in the long run unless we have a Foreign Service with high motale doing the job it is supposed to do. All of us must act in unison.

Journal: Many times during a change of administtation, a gtoup of Foteign Service officers becomes identified with the outgoing administtation's foreign policy. Would an incoming

administration be naive to expect them to be able to shift gears and accept a change in policy? Can the senior Foreign Service officers working in the department with political appointees be sheltered from political pressures so the next administration will be able to believe it can use those people effectively?

Toon: I think it is important to understand that most Foreign Service officers have been absolutely loyal to the administration that happens to be in power. As an officer, if I could not stomach the policy of an administration, I had a choice—comply, or resign and get out. Those of us who stayed in did so because we felt we could highlight the problems of the policy being promulgated, and we had an opportunity to air our opinions in the inner circles. To comply with policy or resign—that has been the role of the senior Foreign Service officer down through the years and that is the way the Foreign Service has behaved. Therefore, I think it is wrong for an incoming administration to consider that just because a person has worked under a political secretary he or she is closely identified with that administration and therefore cannot be loyal to the new administration. With some exceptions, the Foreign Service has basically been loyal to every administration.

Journal: Is there room in between quitting and going along whole-heartedly with a policy you dislike? Is there a possibility for dissent within the department?

Toon: I can't speak for now, but when I was in the department, we had all kinds of opportunities to express our point of view to the assistant secretary or even to the secretary. I may have been defeated, but I was always listened to. If your views have been taken into account, cranked into the deliberations, and the decision is made to go against your recommendation, then you've got to decide whether this is a matter of deep principle to you, and then you have to get out, or whether in fact wiser heads have prevailed, and then you go along.

Journal: It seems new administrations have for some time discarded people because they were associated with the ideology of the previous administration. On the other side, we now seem to be selecting people because they suit the political bent of a senator. Are we moving in the direction of a greater ideological basis to our Foreign Service appointments?

Toon: Well, that may be the case. I hate to think that is happening, but, frankly, some of the things that have happened over the past years tend to say otherwise. This whole question of officers' becoming closely identified with particular administrations and then having their careers finished is very important. I am reluctant to name personalities, but there was the case of Larry Eagleburger, who was told that if Mr. Ford lost the election, the president's people would be out, and there would be no point in Eagleburger's even showing up in the office. I thought this was the wrong attitude to take and said so at the time. It is wrong, in my view, to incriminate a loyal officer who became very closely tied to a secretary of state who is now out of power. He was simply doing his job as a Foreign Service officer. If you start crucifying Foreign Service officers because they occupied high positions in previous administrations, then how can you wind up with a good Foreign Service? You can't do it. They ought to be regarded as professionals doing a job assigned to them. We don't really make policy; policy is made by the political appointees—sometimes on the basis of our advice—and we carry it out. I said before that those who can't in good conscience stomach those policies should get out. But those who stay in should not be crucified by the next administration. I faced the same problem as ambassador to Moscow. I was appointed by Ford; Carter won the election and some of Carter's people decided to "dump Toon"—I was appointed by a Republican and therefore must be closely identified with the Republican philosophy. They were wrong, and their view did not prevail, but this is a danger we will face every four years.

Journal: Senator Mathias is introducing a bill that would limit the number of political appointees to ambassadorial posts. Is it a good idea to legislate change in this area?

Toon: I don't think we should go that route. It seems to me that the Foreign Relations Committee itself should exercise its responsibility to advise the president and see to it that more competent people are appointed than in the past.

Journal: There is of course language in the Foreign Service Act of 1980 that describes the qualities an ambassador ought to have: familiarity with the language, the culture, and so forth. Yet this seems to have been applied only to career officers. It also says that as far as practical, career members of the Foreign Service ought to be appointed as ambassadors. If that language were heeded more, we might move closer to the kind of goals you have expressed today.

Toon: Yes, but I think this really requires a sensible approach on the part of any incoming administration, as well as the Foreign Relations Committee. I don't think that you can legislate percentages of political appointees. I think it is up to the Foreign Relations Committee and the White House to make sure the people they are sending to important posts are qualified. I think if you followed that rule, you would end up with 85 or 90 percent of your ambassadorial posts being filled by career people. I think *that's* the proper approach.

We as a nation have got to get away from the idea that these posts are for heavy contributors to the party. How do you do that? Obviously, you do not work on the politicians in Washington because they have an ax to grind and certain debts to pay. I think you have to work directly on American public opinion. Frankly, I have been encouraged by the reaction I have gotten when I speak around the country on this topic. The reaction has been very positive.

I want to leave you with two points. First, the top people on active duty have got to do more. Let them resign with a *bang,* slam the door, make a big noise about it. Secondly, you have got to make sure that you are not just speaking to the Foreign Service community, but that you are speaking to the concerned public. And you do that by making sure what you are saying is getting to the press. □

Politics or Merit?

A Senate Bill Introduced Late Last Year Limits the Number of Non-Career Ambassadors

By CHARLES McC. MATHIAS JR.

For four years, from 1807 to 1811, William Pinkney, a square-shouldered, blue-eyed Annapolis lawyer, labored as the American minister in London to prevent war with England. Although Pinkney ultimately failed in his mission, his efforts inspired Henry Adams to comment that "America never sent an abler representative to the Court of London."

Pinkney was a member of that first generation of brilliant American diplomats who were drawn from public and private life briefly to represent their country abroad and afterwards returned to their law practices, their farms, and the domestic political arena. Pinkney himself returned from London to be appointed attorney general, fight in the Battle of Bladensburg, and serve as a member of the House of Representatives, minister to Russia, and finally as U.S. senator from Maryland.

Now, 160 years after William Pinkney graced the Senate with his remarkable presence, I find myself deeply engaged in an effort that seems to belie my distinguished predecessor's achievements as a citizen-soldier-diplomat-politician. In fact, in November 1981, I introduced a bill in the Senate to limit the number of non-career chiefs of diplomatic missions.

My intention in this legislation, however, is not to prevent modern day William Pinkneys from being appointed ambassadors. Rather, it is to provide a safeguard against overloading the diplomatic circuits with political patronage appointments.

Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution imposes special obligations on members of the Senate regarding the appointment of ambassadors. It specifies that: {The President} shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors. . . ." Sharing the power of appointment with the president is not a passive role. It compels the Senate to use its authority to ensure that the United States is represented abroad by its ablest men and women.

Shaping Current Attitudes

To understand some of the problems about how we choose our ambassadors, it is useful to consider the unique historical experience which has shaped our attitude towards diplomacy and diplomats. When the United States won its independence, it also broke with European diplomatic practice. During the nineteenth century, while most of the countries of Europe moved toward professionalizing their diplomatic corps, the United States moved in a different direction. The newly independent republic looked upon ambassadorial rank and privilege with a jaundiced eye and found it undemocratic. It viewed European courts as nests of intrigue, and it distrusted diplomats who spent years abroad subject to foreign influences, believing they emerged tainted from the experience. As a result, the United States sent few envoys abroad and did not give even these the rank of ambassador. More importantly, the first American diplomats were consciously chosen from the mainstream of American life and, as was the case with William Pinkney, returned to other careers following their diplomatic service.

Perhaps nothing symbolizes more the uniqueness of American diplomatic practice in this period than that five of the first eight presidents (both John Adams and John Quincy Adams, Jefferson, Monroe, and Van Buren) served as American ministers resident abroad. Not only was this without parallel in Europe at the time, but, even today, it stands as unique in diplomatic history. The outstanding individuals who served the United States abroad in those early years, among them, of course, Benjamin Franklin, created a legacy which strongly reinforced the idea that a professional diplomatic corps was both unnecessary and undesirable.

Over the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, this legacy tended to obscure the uglier realities of the spoils system and patronage politics. Beginning with Andrew Jackson, continuing through Ulysses S. Grant and even Woodrow Wilson, chiefs of U.S. missions abroad were chosen largely from the ranks of the president's friends and

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Charles McC. Mathias Jr. is Maryland's senior U.S. senator, now serving his third term. Previously he was elected four times to the House of Representatives. He is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee's International Economic Policy Subcommittee.

supporters. With each change in party in the White House, qualified and unqualified American ministers were packed off to be replaced by others who had earned their posts through family ties, political influence, or campaign support. General Grant sent his brother-in-law to Denmark, his secretary's uncle to Belgium, and a military crony to Spain. None distinguished himself. Woodrow Wilson's appointments were described by diplomatic historian E. Wilder Spaulding as, for the most part, "a non-descript team of lame ducks, non-entities, and political innocents."

Of course, there also were some distinguished representatives during this period. Charles Francis Adams, whom President Lincoln selected to serve as minister to London during the difficult Civil War years, proved to be a superb choice. Adams's diplomatic skill in maintaining British neutrality contributed greatly to the Union victory. But, in choosing Adams, Lincoln seems to have been motivated more by domestic political considerations than by Adams's qualifications for the post. In a biography of his father, Charles Francis Adams Jr. compares Lincoln's approach to filling this sensitive diplomatic post with the way the president would select a local postmaster.

Founding a Career Service

Over time, revelations of corruption and incompetence gradually nudged the country toward a career service based on merit. Meanwhile, a few skilled diplomats, such as Eugene Schuyler, William Scruggs, and Henry White, managed to survive the changes of administration to form the core of a professional diplomatic service. In 1924, passage of the Foreign Service Act was a major step toward creating a pool of experienced career diplomats from which ambassadorial appointments could be made. In that year, 18 of 51 chiefs of mission were career officers. By 1928, some 30 of 58 chiefs of mission were career. Throughout the remainder of the period between the two world wars, the career segment in the ambassadorial ranks remained close to the 50 percent mark.

The next jump in the percentage of

career chiefs of mission came after World War II. As the United States assumed global responsibilities and the number of overseas missions expanded, the percentage of career chiefs of mission rose in an almost unbroken line to 71 percent by 1960. For the next 20 years, the percentage of career ambassadors hovered around the 70 percent mark. It dropped as low as 64 percent one year under President Kennedy and rose to a high of 78 percent one year under President Carter. Changes in campaign financing laws, increases in some representation allowances, and Congressional insistence on more qualified nominees have all helped to establish more firmly the career principle.

Nevertheless, no president in recent memory has resisted the temptations and pressures to make patronage appointments. While there have been such outstanding non-career appointments as Shirley Temple Black, Mike Mansfield and his predecessor in Japan, Edwin Reischauer, John Sherman Cooper, and Averell Harriman, there have also been a number of questionable choices and some real losers. President Truman sent the "Hostess with the Mostest"—the chairman of his inaugural ball—to Europe; President Eisenhower nominated a businessman who admitted in his confirmation hearing that he did not know the name of the prime minister of the country to which he was being sent; and President Nixon picked an ambassador who had donated $300,000 to his campaign.

The Reagan Record

The Reagan administration is no more immune than its predecessors to criticism of its ambassadorial choices. After monitoring the new administration's appointments, the American Foreign Service Association issued a statement in October 1981 critical of the fact that then some 44 percent of the administration's first 81 appointments had come from outside the ranks of the career Foreign Service. While welcoming such non-career appointments as Arthur Burns to Bonn and Maxwell Rabb to Rome, AFSA complained that "the selection of political ambassadors continues to be a reward for party loyalty and campaign participation."

The administration defended itself by pointing to the number of career ambassadors retained at their posts. In an appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last November, Secretary of State Alexander Haig argued that when the number of retained ambassadors was added to the new appointments, the administration's record was roughly the same as its predecessors. Secretary Haig also pointed out that ambassadorial assignments tend to follow a cycle. In the first years in office, a new administration typically would select a high percentage of political appointees, then, in its later years, there would be a higher percentage of career ambassadors.

In December, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Fairbanks sent Senator Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, figures to support Secretary Haig's position. These statistics showed that while only 43 of 85 of the administration's new appointees were career officers, 41 career ambassadors remained at post. This brought the overall percentage of career officers up to 65 percent, considerably closer to the 76 percent figure achieved by the Carter administration.

It would appear that both AFSA and the administration have made some valid points in this debate. To the Association, the number of new appointments from the career ranks is disturbingly low. Even when the retained career ambassadors are counted, the percentage of ambassadors from the career service has dropped 11 percent in one year. This is the largest drop in career appointments for any one-year period since at least 1960.

The pattern of administration appointments in certain areas of the world also raises questions. New appointments in both Western Europe and the Caribbean seem to be heavily weighted in favor of political ambassadors. Ten of 14 ambassadors to NATO capitals, and 14 of 18 ambassadors to European OECD capitals, are political appointees. And a political ambassador has just been named to Ireland. In the Caribbean, only one of four new ambassadors is career, and it is likely that another vacancy, the Bahamas, will go to a political appointee. Though all of these non-career appointees have distinguished themselves in other fields, and some will no doubt make excellent ambassadors, it is hard to understand why there is so little room for career officers in these areas. The European alliance is the keystone to American foreign policy. With

William Pinkney was a member of the first generation of brilliant American diplomats drawn from public and private life to serve briefly and then return to their former careers. In today's uncertain world, says the author, the best hope for finding qualified ambassadors lies in the career Foreign Service. Painting courtesy N.Y. Historical Society.

growing political and economic strains between the United States and its Western Europe allies, European capitals can no longer be regarded as comfortable posts to be filled by friends and political supporters. Rising nationalism and desperate economic problems make the Caribbean posts far too sensitive to be viewed as rewards for party and personal loyalty. Both of these regions are crucial to U.S. interests and demand the experience and skills of career ambassadors.

At the same time, the administration has made a number of valid points in defense of its appointments record. A cursory look at the Carter administration's first-year appointments to bilateral posts does lend some support to the argument made by Secretary Haig. President Carter's percentage of career appointments to bilateral posts in his first year was 65 percent, a figure below the overall level achieved later in his administration. This suggests that political considerations *do* weigh more heavily in an administration's first year. It is unfair, then, to compare President Reagan's first year with the four-year record of the Carter administration. However, the Carter first-year record for new appointments still beats the Reagan administration's by eight percentage points.

The administration has a number of other points more clearly in its favor. For example, nominating a career officer, Walter Stoessel, as deputy secretary lends credence to the administration's assurances that it values the career service and that greater numbers of career ambassadorial appointments can be expected in the future. In addition, while it is true that more posts have switched from career to non-career, a number of the most important posts, such as Moscow and Beijing, have shifted the other way. This suggests what every statistician knows: That numbers will tell you anything you want them to. It also suggests that they should not be the sole indicator of the health of the career service.

After studying the administration and AFSA arguments, my own conclusion is that both sides place too much emphasis on whether the situation is "better" or "worse" under the current administration than its predecessors. I suspect that this administration's record, after four years, probably will end up looking pretty much like those of its predecessors. But I can't take much satisfaction in that.

"Limiting the percentage of non-career ambassadors does not in itself ensure that qualified ambassadors will be selected. There is no way that Congress can legislate quality appointments. Nor is it intended to exclude qualified non-career individuals from consideration as ambassadors. . . . But it may be possible to control the abuse of ambassadorial appointments for patronage purposes and strengthen the career service."

Ending 'Diplomacy by Dilettantism'

Reviewing the record of the Reagan administration, as well as the record of the previous administration, convinces me that the time has come to end what George Kennan once called "diplomacy by dilettantism." The bill I have introduced, S. 1886, the Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions Bill, would help us do that. S. 1886 would amend the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to provide that not less than 85 percent of the total number of chiefs of mission be members of the career service.

The approach which this bill takes is not new. In 1973, Arkansas' J. William Fulbright, then-chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, tried unsuccessfully to pass legislation limiting the percentage of non-career ambassadors. In each of the next two years, I introduced bills placing a 20-percent limit on non-career appointments. Although neither of these measures passed, the Senate in 1976 did adopt my compromise amendment to the State Department authorization bill providing for a 25-percent limit on non-career ambassadors. In the conference with the House, the amendment was watered down to a mild statement of support for a "greater number" of career ambassadors.

Obviously, limiting the percentage of non-career ambassadors does not in itself ensure that qualified ambassadors will be selected. There is no way that Congress can legislate quality appointments. Nor is it my intention to exclude qualified non-career individuals from consideration as ambassadors. The concept of the non-professional ambassador is deeply rooted in our history, and many Americans who were not professional diplomats have made outstanding contributions to American diplomacy. We will continue to need the new ideas and fresh perspective which they bring to diplomacy.

My intention in introducing S. 1886 is to control the abuse of ambassadorial appointments for patronage purposes and to strengthen the career service. To achieve these objectives, the bill would affect the nomination and confirmation process in three ways:

- First, the bill, if enacted into law, would encourage more careful scrutiny of non-career appointments within the administration. A president who knows that he has a limited

number of non-career appointments can be expected to make choices with considerable care;

- Second, a limit on non-career ambassadors would act as a shield to protect well-intentioned administrations from the temptations and pressures of patronage politics. And it would restrain administrations more prone to spoils than to merit;
- Third, a limit on non-career appointments would offset the strong bias in the Senate in favor of confirmation of nominees.

As any long-time observer of the confirmation process knows, the Senate rarely challenges a president's ambassadorial nominations. Most members of the Senate believe the president is entitled to have those whom he wants serving him. In general, we have neither the time nor the inclination to engage in bruising battles over a single ambassadorial nomination, unless the selection is palpably egregious. Politically, there is little to be gained from such a fight, and contrary to the stereotype, most senators do not enjoy grilling a hapless nominee in front of his family and friends. It is unrealistic, then, to expect that the confirmation process will screen out any but the most obviously unqualified nominees.

My main aim in limiting the number of non-career chiefs of mission is to strengthen the career service. Obviously, there have been career ambassadors who were not qualified for their posts. Every Foreign Service officer has a favorite horror story to tell. And it would be naive to assume that all future career ambassadors will be qualified. However, in the long run, the best hope for having consistently well-

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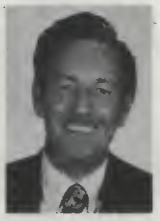

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THE JOURNAL

International

Bussing may be a hot issue in the United States, but overseas it's the essence of diplomatic cool

By JIM SLACK

As a veteran of more than three thousand diplomatic dinners, receptions, and cocktail parties, I have had the opportunity to observe the manner in which my Foreign Service colleagues conduct themselves at these affairs. The chief function of most diplomatic soirées, observers generally concede, is to provide an informal setting in which one can cross-examine representatives of other nations on matters of mutual importance in order to file a trenchant dispatch attributed to "knowledgeable sources." The other fellow usually files a dispatch too, thus making the evening a success for all concerned.

But there is another aspect to these gatherings which has escaped the scholars, and that is the manner in which diplomats choose to bestow or receive an embrace. The way a male diplomat embraces a woman—or a man, for that matter—is almost a dead giveaway as to his nationality and must be not only respected but returned in kind, though no amount of training can entirely filter out deeply inbred manners and behavior. As an example of the power of the political pucker, recall Jimmy Carter's ineffectual bussing of Leonid Brezhnev on national television just after they signed the second SALT treaty. No wonder it never passed the Senate! The successful foreign affairs professional should therefore be attuned to this variety that is the spice of diplomatic life.

Take, for example, the Mideastern custom of greeting male colleagues with hugs and kisses. This is quite normal for the Mideasterners. But diplomats from English-speaking countries, in particular, find it difficult to respond—unlike, say, their Mediterranean counterparts. The latter may flinch ever so slightly when embraced by another male, but they usually carry the moment with an insouciance envied by the English speakers. The Mediterraneans understand that Mideastern men, by custom, express respect for another man by exchanging an embrace.

Puckered Poker Face

Despite their Foreign Service training, English-speaking diplomats prefer a manly handshake when greeting male colleagues or, if overcome by emotion, a hearty slap on the back. A learned American friend of mine served for many years in the Mideast. He spoke graceful Arabic and was scholarly in his knowledge and appreciation of the region's history, culture, and customs. Yet, when thus embraced, he stood like a poker, eyes popping, looking for the nearest exit.

At various gatherings one of his counterparts, a man whose intellect he admired, used to grab his hand and refuse to relinquish it until their conversation ended. My friend would occasionally make a feeble effort to free the imprisoned hand, flopping it about weakly, but his colleague hung on with oblivious tenacity. There they stood, hand in hand like Tweedledee and Tweedledum, but speaking earnestly of oil embargoes, the poetry of Omar Khayyam, and the political machinations of their common enemies.

My friend has since retired and lives in Kansas with his excellent collection of Mideastern art, tapestries, and carpets. I am told he frequents the local Lions Club, where he discusses business and politics at a distance of about three meters, a habit the unsuspecting other members find a bit odd.

The Asians, for their part, are as friendly as the Mideasterners, but custom prevents them from indiscriminately embracing everybody in the room. In my view, the Asian pecking order, so to speak, is more impeccable. It is flexible enough so that a polite greeting can be extended even to a person who is currently out of favor. Mind you, the Asians know how to administer a snub, but it is both classic in its simplicity and graceful in execution.

While most English-speaking male diplomats keep a stiff upper lip when confronted by an affectionate male, they are less reluctant when it comes to embracing women. Hand-kissing, of course, went out with dress swords and plumed hats, so that ancient art requires a sense of history and real savoir-faire. Even the French and the Italians seldom attempt the maneuver anymore, unless they happen to pre-date Maurice Chevalier.

A loving smack on the cheek among equals, however, is quite acceptable, unless the woman's husband is temporarily personna non grata for having worn tennis shoes to a Vin d'Honneur. In this case, she gets a frosty little wave of the hand from across a crowded room.

In any event, it has been my observation that kissing women is definitely in among the English-speaking men. Cheers! One expects, though, that the

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Edward "Jim" Slack is a retired Foreign Service information officer who now lives in Bangkok, Thailand, where he is a free-lance writer, and too far away to give lessons or advice on his topic.

Pecking Order

male diplomat will exercise discretion in choosing the women to receive his highly touted kisses. He must observe our own American pecking order. An ambassador, for instance, may kiss all the women he wants to—but rarely does. He did not rise to ambassador by showering kisses with abandon.

Junior officers usually confine their kisses to the wives and girl friends of their peers. On special occasions—New Year's Eve, Bastille Day, the Fourth of July, or St. George's Day—when the guests are mostly compatriots, the junior officer, if emboldened by champagne or a series of double bourbons, might decide to plant one on the ambassador's wife. Under these circumstances, he may be forgiven, but it is more likely his record will note that, while he is politically astute, he is subject to fits of uncontrollable passion.

Most male diplomats are discreet when it comes to kissing women at parties. They respect the pecking order and do not go around willy-nilly kissing every woman in sight. But, alas, one friend, an otherwise stable and productive officer, had the unfortunate trait of becoming instantly puckered when exposed to a roomful of attractive women. The women would quickly scurry for cover upon sighting him—if they were fast enough. He was a clever fellow, however, and pursued them into the farthest corners. Sometimes he would spot a cowering woman at fifty paces and fix her to her spot by shouting, "Ah, there you are, my dear!" She would know she was in for it and brace for the inevitable. I once saw this man enthusiastically buss no fewer than eight women in a single evening. Today, he has been mysteriously assigned to an isolated post.

My advice to young diplomats embarked on a career which may well include thousands of parties is to play it cool. Be graceful and responsive with diplomats from male-oriented societies. Be very choosy in kissing women. Some women may like it, others will think you are a boor and should be somewhere else selling insurance. Respect the customs of our society; expect the customs of others. Remember that practices vary. Otherwise, you may get the treatment given by the Eskimos, who will rub your nose in it. □

The Fashoda Syndrome

(Continued from page 21.)

deeply felt, fails to answer the basic question of how to provide for security in Europe and protection of overseas interests. What, then, is it all about? We are reminded constantly that since the decline of U.S. power during the 1970s, Europe has had no choice but to seek its own salvation as best it can—an explanation which rather begs the question. More ominously, could this urge for independence be the stalking horse for a choice, which cannot be admitted, privately or publicly, toward accommodation with Soviet power following the decline of U.S. authority?

Acting Tough in Europe

At this juncture, one thing seems evident. If the United States wishes to retain the good will of Western Europe and to preserve the alliance, it can no longer do so merely by acting tough in Europe. In what may seem to Eurocentric diplomats something of a paradox, more fruitful relations could result and the alliance could be strengthened, now as in 1904, through cooperative understandings in the Third World. "Here is what appears to be, perhaps, the greatest weakness of the present American administration," writes Dieter Dettke, a member of the European parliament for the German Social Democratic party. Europe criticizes the United States, seeks to convert it with Brandt Commission reports, and pushes it into the Cancun summit and global negotiations because the United States, with its power and economic size, will determine whether the future is to benefit or damage Europe. Edgar Pisani of the European Commission states that the present U.S. approach could entail "serious risks," and that the only hope is for Europe to reverse the course by "sheer determination." The fault is not all on one side; far from it. European performance frequently falls short of its rhetoric: its reluctance to negotiate nontariff barriers during the Tokyo Round and its intransigence during the 1978–79 renegotiation of the International Wheat Agreement. But, on the whole, Europe seems to be the most aggrieved party.

Let us not, therefore, take Europe for granted; another serious conflict in the Third World such as Suez, the oil crisis of 1973, or even Afghanistan would drive Europe even farther away and weaken irreparably the fabric of Atlantic cooperation. On the other hand, recognition of Europe's needs and interests in a new entente that takes account of Third World affairs, and perhaps involves a division of labor, could lower the level of frustration and strengthen the alliance. The Atlantic Council of the United States urges greater coordination and consultation among NATO allies on Third World matters. German political scientist Wichard Woyke recommends a division of labor in the Third World and creation of a new, permanent coordinating committee to handle affairs outside the NATO area. There are many other recommendations for ways of coping with this problem.

Through an arresting historical persistence, modern strategic rivalries have resurrected Fashoda from the dust-bin of history. Fashoda was important because it affected the security of Egypt, Egypt because of the Suez Canal, India, and the British empire. For a United States with its own vital interests "east of Suez," Egypt is again a vital component in the world power matrix. Like Britain, the United States must deny Egypt to a rival power at all costs. The Sudan is still important because it still affects the security of Egypt. Who can say that Fashoda (now named Kodok) may not again become a flashpoint in a new East-West crisis?

But the ultimate meaning of Fashoda today is that the Western community must take a more spacious view of its primary relations, a view that includes not only Europe and North America but relations with the Third World as well. These relations can no longer be conducted as the by-product of a Cold War strategy or economic free marketeering. They must be raised to top priority. For the United States particularly, a new entente with Western Europe over Third World differences may, at the least, avoid another serious rift. At the most, it may provide Europe with the confidence and flexibility it seeks to continue to grow within the alliance. □

Politics or Merit?

(continued from page 32.)

qualified ambassadors clearly lies in strengthening the career service. One of the most important ways of accomplishing this is to increase the prospect that career officers can aspire to the highest positions in their profession. Without this possibility, it is difficult to see how we can continue to attract and retain trained, dedicated individuals at a time when Foreign Service life involves increasing hardships and danger. Limiting non-career appointments is not just a matter of fairness to the career service, it is a question of the best interests of the country.

Ambassadors in An Uncertain World

Whatever the fate of S. 1886, it is obvious that the United States needs more than ever to be represented abroad by the best men and women we can find. Perhaps we cannot aspire to the heights of those glorious years when future presidents represented America abroad. But we can certainly aspire to a better system than we have now. Skillful diplomacy is more important today to the security of the United States than at any time since the Republic was created. The United States now finds itself in a world in which it cannot readily impose its will on others nor retreat to the safety of isolation. Where we once could use military or economic power to work our will in the world, we now find ourselves constrained and our options limited. The United States can no longer go it alone. As crises in Poland, Afghanistan, and the Mideast show, we need the support of our allies, we need the cooperation of non-aligned countries, and we need to communicate clearly with our potential adversaries. Bargaining, negotiation, and consensus building are the order of the day. To succeed in such a world, we must ensure that our side of the table is peopled with skilled and experienced diplomats, who are imbued with a knowledge of history and who have the wisdom to understand why Napolean said: "Essentially, the great question remains 'Who will hold Constantinople?' " □

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

1982 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Panelists

Envelopes with exotic stamps from worldwide overseas posts have been bringing applications for the 1982 AFSA/AAFSW Merit panelists to review. On April 1, twenty Foreign Service volunteers from State, AAFSW, AID, ICA, and the retired Foreign Service community, plus the six Committee on Education members, will sit on four panels to determine the winners. The 1982 awards are named in honor of Betty and Norris S. Haselton, longtime supporters of both AFSA and AAFSW activities.

The Merit awards are given in recognition of academic excellence and community contributions of graduating high school students at home and abroad. The members of the review panels are as follows: State — Robert Perry, William Weatherford, James Williams, Harriet Culley; AAFSW — Patricia Barbis, Margaret Simons, Jean Teare, Lesley Dorman; AID — Barbara Ann Dotherow, Fermino Spencer, Lou Ann Douris, Juanita Mofflet; ICA — Harvey Leifert, Sam President, Jan Zehner, William Dawson; Retired FS — Leslie Brady, Elizabeth Cabot, Roger Ernst, James McDevitt. The AFSA Committee on Education members are Hon. H.G. Torbert Jr., Chairman; Robert Caffrey, State; Stephen Chaplin, ICA; David T. Jones, State; Sheila Mack, AAFSW; and James Singletary, AID. Winners will be announced May 1.

Deaths

Bernard J. Cahill, a retired foreign trade official with the Commerce Department, died of a lung ailment on January 14 in Fairfax, Virginia. He was 71.

Born in Alameda, California, Cahill was a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley. He joined the Labor Department in 1939 and later worked for the War Production Board and served in the army during World War II. Following the war, Cahill worked for the Civilian Production Administration and then joined the Commerce Department. From 1958 to 1960 he was a commercial attaché with the U.S. Embassy in La Paz, Bolivia. When he retired in 1975 he was the director of emergent markets in the Latin American division of the Office of International Marketing.

Survivors include his wife and three children. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to a charity of one's choice.

David W. Christenson, an Agency for International Development official, died in an automobile accident on January 29 in Waupaca, Wisconsin. Christenson was serving as chief of the Agriculture Division of AID in Kenya. The family suggests that contributions be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Andrew Vincent Corry, a former Foreign Service officer, died of emphysema November 24, 1981, in San Diego, California. He was 77.

Born in Missoula, Montana, Corry was a graduate of Harvard University and a Rhodes Scholar. Corry joined the State Department in 1947, serving as minerals attaché in New Delhi. He later served as consul general to Pakistan and coordinator of Senior Foreign Service policy. He was ambassador to Sierra Leone from 1964 to 1967, and then served as ambassador to Sri Lanka and the Maldive Islands until his retirement in 1969. Corry was a recipient of the State Department's Commendable Service Award.

In a tribute to Ambassador Corry, during a special session of the House of Representatives, Rep. Thomas Foley (D.-Wash.) said of Corry, "His rich legacy consists in his extremely distinguished service to his country over many years and in the high regard and warm memories of his many friends."

Muriel Quinn Greenwell, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of leukemia January 25 in Fairfax, Virginia. She was 61.

A native of Washington, Greenwall worked during World War II in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. She was a personnel officer with the U.S. Information Agency from 1948 to 1955, and then joined the State Department as an administrative officer in the passport division. She is survived by her mother and a brother.

Theodore Alan Huntley, a retired chief congressional correspondent for the U.S. Information Agency, died of arteriosclerosis on January 10 in Annandale, Virginia. He was 93.

Born in Greenville, Michigan, Huntley began his career in 1910 with the *Sheridan Post* in Wyoming. He later worked for the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Pittsburgh Post* before coming to Washington in 1916 as the press secretary of Representative Guy E. Campbell. Huntley also worked for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Washington Times, Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph,* and the *Detroit Times.*

In 1950 Huntley joined the Office of International Information in the State Department where he worked as the USIA's chief congressional correspondent until he retired in 1961. Survivors include his wife, three children by a previous marriage, and a sister.

Helen Orhon, long time American resident of Izmir, Turkey, died last year. She was 83.

"Aunt Helen," as she was known, came to Turkey in the late 1920s. She was a nurse with the American Board of Foreign Missions serving in Gaziantep. Orhon did volunteer work for many years at the American Girls School.

According to Beauveau B. Nalle, Consul General of Izmir, she was "theoretially a lunchroom supervisor, but more usually a sort of 'resident grandmother' to give advice, strength, and wisdom to all, Americans and Turks alike, who came to her. . . . Aunt Helen's warm, helpful example will never be forgotten by those who had the opportunity to know her. Her radiant personality, charm, youthful enthusiasm, and common sense made her truly a beautiful American."

William W. Schott, a diplomat for more than 30 years, died at his home in Bad Godesberg, Germany, on November 2. He was 88 years old.

Schott graduated from the Naval Academy in 1916 and served on subchasers and destroyers in the Atlantic during World War I. After a severe back injury, he retired as a lieutenant commander.

He entered the Foreign Service in the early 'Twenties and served in many posts before the war, including that of private secretary to Ambassador Myron Herrick in Paris. When the Allied army occupied North Africa, Schott was sent to Oran, Algeria, where he acted as liaison officer to the Army, Navy, and the OSS under the command of Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Murphy, who commended Schott highly for his war service. At the end of hostilities he went to Berlin as protocol officer under General Clay and later became the chief of liaison and protocol for the Allied Tripartite Commission in Bonn, where he remained until retirement from the Service in 1956.

He moved to Bad Godesberg, where he remained until his death. His wife, Janet Mabon Schott, preceded him in death.

DAVID D. SHERMAN, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of chronic brain syndrome February 3 in Wheaton, Maryland. He was 75.

Born in Brooklyn, Sherman graduated from National University Law School. He joined the State Department in 1950, and his foreign posts included Japan, Thailand, Korea, Nigeria, and Brazil. He is survived by a brother.

CHARLES W. SMITH JR., a former public opinion analyst at the State Department from 1945 until his retirement in 1964, died January 19 of a heart ailment in Kissimmee, Florida. He was 77.

Before joining the State Department, Smith taught at several universities and colleges and wrote a textbook *Public Opinion in a Democracy*. He is survived by his wife, a son, and two sisters.

LESLIE A. SQUIRES, a retired Foreign Service officer and former assistant director of the U.S. Information Agency, died September 6, 1981. He was 67.

Squires entered the Foreign Service in 1942 and during World War II served in Mexico, Egypt, Turkey, and Hungary. His postwar assignments included El Salvador, Greece, India, Morocco, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. He served as assistant director of USIA from 1971–72.

A graduate of Stanford University, Squires was the recipient of the USIA meritorious award, the State Department distinguished honor award, and AFSA's Herter award.

Survivors include his wife, the former Eloise Lanham, and three children. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Marriage

JORDAN THOMAS ROGERS, a retired Foreign Service officer, was married to Eunice M. Middleton on June 14, 1981, in Landisburg, Pennsylvania. The couple are making their home at 148 Old Ford Drive, Camp Hill, Pa. 17011.

Event

ELEANOR DICKINSON, a frequent cover artist for the Journal, will have her African trade cloth paintings on view, April 16–May 22, at the Textile Museum Shop Gallery, 2320 S St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

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