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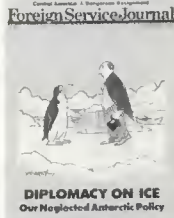
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COVER: *The future of Antarctica — its resources and territory — is a much-neglected area of U.S. foreign policy. In this issue we survey the international community's recent treatment of Antarctica and some continuing problems and disputes. Pen and ink by Henry Martin.*

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LETTERS

Common Error

I was naturally gratified that the *Journal* believed my letter of October 6 on the dangers of the nuclear weapons race between our country and the Soviet Union merited publication. At the same time, I was not happy over the heading of "A Call to Disarm" which was placed over it. This is not a nitpick but an issue of some importance. My letter decidedly did not advocate general disarmament *per se*, which is another question than progressively getting rid of nuclear weapons. Indeed, I share the views of experts far more authoritative than I (George Kennan and Robert McNamara, for example) that reducing the concentration of nuclear weapons in the dangerous European "trigger" area must be matched by a concerted rectification of the imbalance in conventional armaments between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. But this is going to take a lot more political and economic will than the alliance has succeeded in mustering to date. While some people regard the use of so-called tactical nuclear weapons as an easier way out of this disparity, there is hardly a reliable expert who thinks a nuclear exchange of any size in Europe could remain limited and would not run a very great risk of escalating into a larger nuclear war.

I'm sorry that the *Journal*, a valuable forum for informed Foreign Service opinion, fell into the common error of labeling opposition to nuclear weapons as support for the naive, and I fear unrealizable, aim of general disarmament.

ROSWELL D. MCCLELLAND
Ambassador to Niger 1970-73
Washington, D.C.

'A Great Member'

As we pass through our lives and our careers in the Foreign Service, there are probably half a dozen men who influence us greatly. For me, one of those was Ambassador James W. Riddleberger. I admired and respected him very much.

Brilliant, but with a human touch, are the words that come to my mind as I think of him. When he was made political advis-



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er to the Marshall Plan organization in Paris in 1950, he asked that I be sent there on temporary duty for three months to be his staff assistant. My wife was pregnant with our first child and could not endure hotel living, so she went to stay with relatives in England. Passing my desk one morning, Ambassador Riddleberger noted my long face and said, "This is the first time you have been separated from your wife, isn't it?" I replied that it was, and then he responded, "It won't be the last time." Several times in later years we chuckled over this, for it was the remark needed to bring me out of my dark mood.

I first worked under Ambassador Riddleberger in Berlin. Learning that I was becoming completely frustrated with the nitpicking of a small-minded supervisor, Ambassador Riddleberger called me to his office for a long, friendly chat. He never mentioned my supervisor, but both of us knew what he was doing. That action probably prevented me from resigning from the Service.

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Dunderheads

On December 13, I received my October issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. I trust you dunderheads notice that it is two months late! However, this is your normal service to me. Your magazine comes to several people here in Manila. They get theirs about in the middle of the cover month. I get mine two months late—usually. They've been later.

The only reason I could come up with is that you all are discriminating between issues sent to AFSA members and issues sent to ordinary subscribers, persons who are not members of your union. Issues to the former you insure get out quickly; issues to the latter take the slow boat.

I dare you to print this letter in your magazine, and I expect a reply. If the service does not improve quickly I shall not resubscribe and I certainly shall not join your union.

I hope, for your sake, that this is an aberration. Are there any other non-member subscribers out there who are getting such lousy service?

MICHAEL V. McCABE
Second Secretary,
U. S. Embassy
Manila, Philippines

The mailing list for the Foreign Service Journal does not distinguish between members of AFSA and non-member subscribers. All issues are mailed on the same date, generally around the first of the month. Once they are mailed, we have no control over the magazines.

Our records show that your copy is sent by APO mail, as you instructed us when you subscribed. Our 80 members in the Manila embassy, on the other hand, receive their copies by the air pouch system. We have had no complaint from any of these persons about late delivery. We are sorry that you do not receive your issues in a more timely manner. Perhaps you could allow us to forward your issues via the State Department pouch. — ED.

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BOOK REVIEWS

South Atlantic Suspense

WAR IN THE FALKLANDS. By the Sunday Times of London Insight Team. Harper & Row, 1982. \$14.95.

For anyone still curious about the Falkland Islands crisis, *War in the Falklands* offers a comprehensive, cohesive, and exciting report on that nasty little conflict. The account crackles with the narrative tension of a Ken Follett spy novel. Despite wide media coverage during the war, this instant history manages to keep the most knowledgeable reader in suspense. Tantalizing phrases frequently do the trick, such as, "But for that grace Britain might have lost a quarter of the task force's fighting ships. There was worse to come." And later, "They awaited Tuesday, May 25—Argentina's national day when something spectacular was bound to happen—with trepidation."

Even the lengthy prewar passages do not dilute the drama. These document the long and inconclusive arguments over sovereignty, involving Spain, France, Britain, and Argentina. Before hostilities commenced, some Britons voiced doubt over the validity of their claims, as well as the value of the islands. Britain now has physical possession once more and a psychological compulsion to hold on after the recent bloodshed, but the book demonstrates that no country can prove indisputable legal ownership.

The dozen authors also show that group writing can produce a sharp and homogeneous style. They maintain journalistic objectivity by letting facts present unexpected truths, whether palatable to their nation or not. One instance—the Argentines used additional Exocet missiles after sinking *HMS Sheffield*. Only luck and poor handling by the enemy spared the British more damage from these frightful new rockets.

The pace never flags. In rapid order the reader is treated to on-the-scene (complete with dialogue) views of all the saga's vital elements: Alexander Haig's shuttle diplomacy; the Argentine junta's struggle with the problem; the United Nations' feeble attempts to save the peace; and the fierce battles, down to gory specifics of wounds

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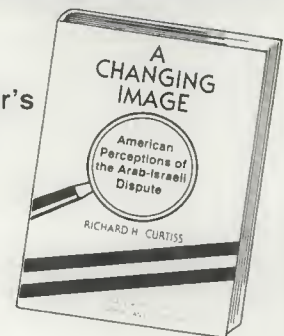
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—FITZHUGH GREEN

Japan Then & Now

A DIPLOMAT'S WIFE IN JAPAN. By Mary Crawford Fraser. Edited by Hugh Cortazzi. Weatherhill, 1982. \$29.95.

In Japan, the British are up to their old tricks, the legerdemain by which their diplomats work in their offices by day, attend parties at night, and in their spare time translate Japanese and produce literate books about the country. Sir Hugh Cortazzi, who revived this book, would probably disclaim being in the scholar-diplomat tradition of Aston, Satow, and Sansom, although besides being the current British ambassador in Tokyo, he is an expert on Japanese prints and Oriental cartography and the translator of contemporary stories about the Japanese businessman. In making selections from Mary Fraser's account of her three years in Japan as the wife of an earlier British envoy, Cortazzi has chosen well. His 341 pages faithfully reflect the order and content of her original 781, with little sense of loss. In selecting her as a subject he has also chosen wisely. Mrs. Hugh Fraser, as she unblushingly called herself, was exceptionally well equipped to convey insights into Japanese life of the early 1890s even though Japan was new to her and its language an enigma.

Mary Crawford Fraser, a professional writer, was no ordinary British wife, as Cortazzi explains in his helpful preface. She was actually an American—although hardly an ordinary specimen of that nationality and period, being both a Catholic and an expatriate raised in Rome by artistic and presumably wealthy parents. This background may explain her prejudice against, for example, Canadian Methodist missionaries, and her adulation of Japanese aristocrats. But it probably also gave her the sophistication to look discerningly through the open *shoji* (she seems to have welcomed warm days as a voyeur might) into the lives of ordinary people.

With an artlessness that must have taken considerable art, Fraser's letters to home mingle the main political drama of the era—Japan's negotiations for diplomatic equality—with reflections on court etiquette, gardens, Japanese friends and servants, her dogs, Christmases, and summer vacations. If this sounds dreary, it



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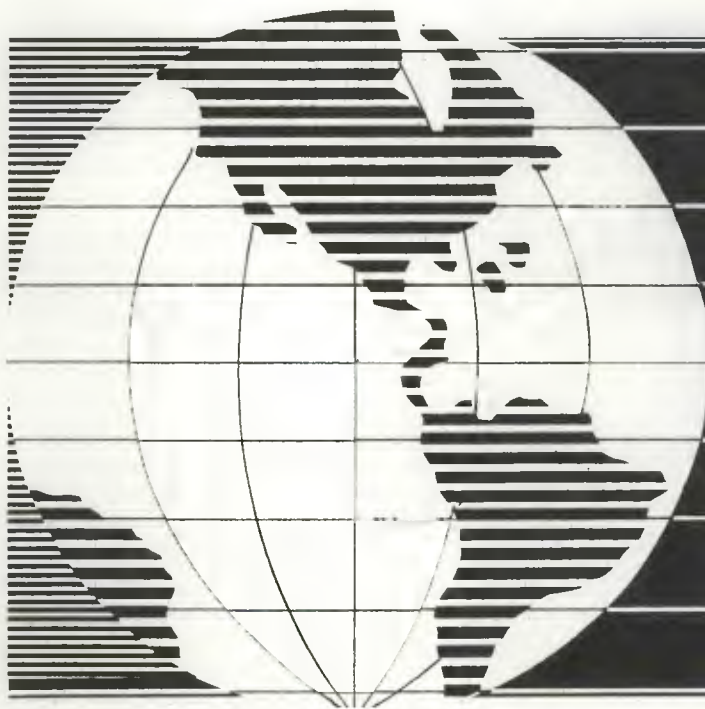
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isn't. It is a four-star scenario featuring assassinations, intrigue, fire, an earthquake, and the smashing 25th wedding anniversary of the Emperor Meiji and Empress Shoken. And, despite her privileged position, Mary Fraser does not condescend. She deplores her chic colleagues' assumption that well-educated Japanese will not catch asides in English or French and the simple-minded characterization of Japan and its people as "wee."

This book will bring joy not only to specialists, who will relish an afternoon at the Saigos' villa or dinner with Prime Minister Sanjo, but also to former residents, including diplomats, who will be surprised to learn that at one time the beach at Kamakura was a deserted paradise, that it took two days and a sedan chair to reach the Fujiya Hotel, and that Tokyo was a city of gardens. But this is a book for everyone concerned with why Japan is now so purposeful and successful. Republishing Mary Fraser after 90 years reveals how much Japan has stayed the same, retaining its drive for education and the discipline that both frees and controls the children, constrains the women, and leaves the men free to work and play astonishingly hard.

—DALLAS FINN

Yalta Unexplained

SUCH A PEACE: *The Roots and Ashes of Yalta*. By C. L. Sulzberger. Continuum, 1982. \$14.95.

In February 1945, in a villa that once belonged to the last czar near the Black Sea resort of Yalta, the three most powerful men on earth met to determine the shape of the postwar world. At the Crimea conference, better known simply as Yalta, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin attempted to resolve some of the problems brought to the fore by their approaching victory over the Axis: reparations and the future of Germany; the Soviet Union's intervention against Japan; Soviet expansion into eastern and central Europe, especially Poland; and the structure of the United Nations. *Such a Peace* is C. L. Sulzberger's attempt to explain the Yalta conference.

Unfortunately, the book adds little to our understanding of Yalta. Although it covers most of the important issues usually associated with the end of the war and the beginning of the peace, the book fails to locate the event in its proper historical context, and it lacks focus and a consistent argument or theme. Sulzberger describes the work as "part memoir . . . part history . . . and part analysis." Surely this is too much freight for so slight a vehicle (147 small pages of text), particularly as he does

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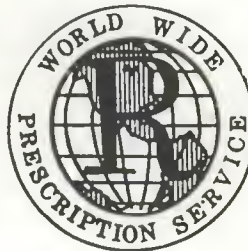
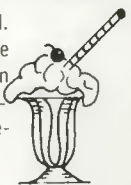
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not confine himself strictly to Yalta but meanders all over the terrain of international affairs from Munich to Potsdam, liberally dispensing personal observations, comments, and historical judgments.

Furthermore, *Such a Peace* needs but lacks an editor who might have been able to prevent the commission of such sentences as: "Eventually we reached Cairo, where we decided to base, near Marina's native land and on the road to everywhere, including secret messages to her family." Or: "For a long, long time it was a dreadful period." Perhaps the best thing about the book is the particularly fine photo,

taken by the author, of the dashing General Anders, commander of the Free Polish Army in Italy.

Sulzberger was for many years a foreign correspondent for the *New York Times* and other newspapers, and in 1951 he won a Pulitzer prize for overseas reporting. *Such a Peace*, such as it is, is his 22nd book. Sulzberger should have stood pat at 21. The Yalta conference certainly merits a serious, scholarly study to complement or replace D. C. Shavers's not entirely satisfactory effort of 1970. *Such a Peace* is not it.

—LOUIS JOHN NIGRO

Containment in Asia

DRAWING THE LINE: *The Origin of the American Containment Policy in East Asia.* By Robert Blum. Norton, 1982. \$22.95.

The first part of *Drawing the Line* examines the United States' China policy (or lack thereof) from the end of World War II to just after the 1949 defeat of the Nationalists. In particular, Blum looks at the years 1948-49 and the China-policy debate that raged in the State Department, Congress, and various other government and non-government bodies.

As Blum points out, we had not one China policy but three: one for Communist China (entice it to follow a "moderate" or Titoist course); one for Republican China (halt their military collapse); and one for Taiwan (promote the emergence of democratic forces). Not only were the policies confused, they were mutually contradictory. Not surprisingly, all three were unsuccessful in the end. "Formosa would not reform; the Nationalists on the mainland would neither collapse nor effectively fight the Communists; and the Communists would not publicly distance themselves from Moscow." Of course, the Nationalists did collapse, and the United States was faced with a hostile China.

The second part of *Drawing the Line* places our China policy in the larger context of our Asian policy during a period that saw the end of European colonial influence and the emergence of various nationalist and Communist guerrilla movements.

Blum's thesis is that our failure in China prompted the adoption of a policy of containment across Asia, particularly in Vietnam and Korea. He cites our decisions to recognize Bao Dai over Ho Chi Minh, and to send military aid to the French in Vietnam, decisions which were made before the outbreak of the Korean war. Yet Blum is less than successful in trying to prove this thesis. The impetus for containment

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in Asia may have derived from our failure in China, but more likely it emerged as part of a global policy based largely on our experiences in Europe—a possibility Blum does not address.

Blum's discussion of our China debate is very good indeed. He is clearly familiar with the subject matter, and has done a great deal of work in the State Department archives. The farther he strays from China, however, the weaker his work becomes. But if you wish to know more about our China policy options and debates in 1948-49, this is your book.

—FRANKLIN L. LAVIN

Salvadoran Transition

EL SALVADOR IN TRANSITION. *By Enrique Baloyra. University of North Carolina Press, 1982. \$19.95 (cloth), \$8.95 (paper).*

Despite the almost overwhelming attention tiny El Salvador has been given in the past few years, there remains a real need for a calm and at least relatively dispassionate study of the forces that have torn that country apart and made it a focal point of world attention. This book, by a professor at University of North Carolina, contributes to such a study even though its author

makes no bones about his antipathy to the Salvadoran oligarchy or his underlying distrust of President Reagan's policy toward El Salvador. His primary concern seems to be that what he labels "the transition from reactionary despotism" initiated by Salvador's junior military in October 1979 should produce an economic and political democracy that would eliminate the wrongs of the past.

Baloyra traces the historical roots of the current crisis very briefly. But he considers in more detail the succession of military regimes that in 1979 culminated in a new kind of military coup, one which was expected to make improvements in the economic and political situation. More than half the book is devoted to a description of the way these expectations have fared. In the background hover certain "American Fantasies" which the author apparently believes have dominated both Carter and Reagan policies. These fantasies stemmed from the illusion on the part of those administrations that "the United States can dictate the outcome of a crisis like that in El Salvador." (Has anyone since John Foster Dulles really believed *that?*)

Despite such a patronizing note from time to time and a tendency toward political science jargon, the book contains much useful information. Not the least of this is an extremely handy list of more than one hundred acronyms of organizations and groups in or concerned about El Salvador. There are also more than two dozen figures and tables, some of which illuminate one or another aspect of the Salvadoran scene. Others, such as an effort to diagram a cabinet crisis, are less enlightening.

In a section toward the end of the book, Baloyra writes of "The Guys With the Guns," an account of the various guerrilla groups and their leaders. The latter he finds to be "composed primarily of a dedicated group of Marxist-Leninists." He includes nothing about the sources of their weapons or the manner in which their intellectual and, perhaps, material inspiration would be betrayed by participation in a truly democratic government.

—EDWARD A. JAMISON

Unfocused on Africa

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. *Edited by Gwendolen M. Carter and Patrick O'Meara. Indiana University Press, 1982.*

Generally speaking, it is a pleasure to review anything written or edited by Gwendolen Carter, surely one of the United States' foremost authorities on southern African affairs. The same is true with Pat-

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rick O'Meara. While a new work on the international relations of any area of Africa is a welcome addition, it is difficult to get a handle on this book. The table of contents gives the first clue that this work shifts rapidly from consideration of general processes — "The Role of Donor Agencies in Southern Africa," "The African Dimension," and "The International Moral Protest" — to case studies such as "The Communist States and Southern Africa," "Western Europe and Southern Africa," and "Nigeria and Southern Africa." Even within the chapters there are sudden and unexplained shifts in focus. The editors seem most comfortable with the introduction — something which might be expected from two such eminent authorities.

While it is difficult to single out an entire chapter as being particularly informative or thoughtful, there are some isolated pieces that fit that description. An example is the discussion of Nigeria and southern Africa by Alajide Aluko. Yet one gets the overall impression that this book — one of the first of its kind on a subject about which more information is urgently needed by policymakers — has been quickly thrown together with little forethought or organization. Some chapters are particularly disappointing. In the "Middle East Dimension," Colin Legum disposes of Israel's relations with the whole of southern Africa in just over three pages. Such a superficial treatment is rather surprising in view of the long-standing diplomatic and economic links Israel has had with South Africa — the only country on the continent to which Israeli diplomats are accredited.

Is this book intended as a guide for the offices specializing in foreign affairs, not only in the developed countries but in the newly emerging states of southern Africa? Certainly there are portions of many chapters which might be helpful to them. Is it supposed to inform political groups in a country like Namibia that may someday become independent? Certainly such groups might find it useful. Or is the book to be used by scholars and diplomats? Some information is disseminated, but much of it is anecdotal and isolated.

The editors and many of the authors are very knowledgeable, but this knowledge has not been presented in an organized manner. There is no concluding chapter as such but instead, a chapter entitled "The International Moral Protest," which is only five pages long and does not really tie the book together. Moreover, the book suffers from being disjointed and lacking in focus. With some reorganization, substantial editing, more analysis by the editors, and more thorough treatment of vital

and important subjects, the book could have been much better.

—ROY A. HARRELL JR.

Books in Brief . . .

ATLAS OF THE 20TH CENTURY. By Richard Natkiel. *Facts on File, Inc.*, 1982. \$29.95.

Prepared by the chief cartographer at the *Economist*, this atlas of world history since 1900 places heavy emphasis on the two world wars but also manages to provide unusually detailed maps of Third World conflicts. However, little attention is given to agricultural or trade developments.

HANDMAIDEN IN DISTRESS: *World Trade in the 1980s.* By Carlos F. Diaz-Alejandro and Gerald K. Helleiner. *Overseas Development Council, paper #34*, 1982. \$3.50. This brief study argues that "the integrity and credibility of the liberal trading order" must be renewed.

SENEGAL: *An African Nation Between Islam and the West.* By Sheldon Gellar. *Westview Press*, 1982. \$16.50. This volume by a development consultant and professor profiles a small, strategically located West African country with both Sahelian and maritime traditions.

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Foreign Service Journal, February 1973: "The United States indicated its support for an international authority governing the exploitation of the world's oceanic resources in a White House statement issued in the summer of 1970. It declared that the resources of the oceans were the common property of all mankind and should be made available to all nations large and small, marine and landlocked. The 42-member United Nations Seabed Committee made considerable progress in 1970 in formulating the guidelines for regulating exploitation of the oceans. In the same year the General Assembly Political Committee unanimously adopted a statement of principles 'placing the seabed beyond the reach of national sovereignties, linking benefits from its peaceful use to the needs of developing countries.' "

—LESTER R. BROWN

Foreign Service Journal, February 1958: "A general pay raise for employees of the Foreign Service is, we believe, clearly and urgently needed in order to enable Foreign Service personnel to meet the demands of the rising cost of living. The last pay raise was granted by Congress in 1955, since which time the cost of living has risen sharply, as we are intimately and somewhat painfully aware."

—AFSA EDITORIAL

Foreign Service Journal, February 1933: "Our relations with Russia. . . have produced an unusual situation. . . The department has taken note of the need for specialization in the work of the Foreign Service with respect to the development of American relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. This is shown in steps taken to build up a special corps of Foreign Service officers possessing appropriate language qualifications to assist in the carrying out of the work of the department and the Foreign Service in connection with our relations with those countries."

—ROBERT F. KELLEY

PLUS ÇA CHANGE records excerpts from *Journal* issues of 10, 25, and 50 years ago with an eye toward how much things have changed for the Foreign Service, or how they have remained the same.

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A Dangerous Region

Association with Carter's Central American Policies Proved Hazardous to the Careers of Several FSOs

By GEORGE GEDDA

A few days before President Reagan's inauguration, David Newsom, the outgoing under secretary of state for political affairs, was faced with an unpleasant assignment. He was told by an official of the Reagan transition team to instruct William Bowdler, the lame duck assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, to vacate his office by the time of the swearing-in. With understandable reluctance, Newsom carried out the order.

The summary dismissal came as a blow to Bowdler, a former ambassador to South Africa, Guatemala, and El Salvador and one of the Foreign Service's most seasoned experts in Latin American affairs. Bowdler had taken charge of the Latin America bureau at the State Department in the fall of 1979. His tenure encompassed an unusually tumultuous period, and the countless 16-hour work days had taken their toll both physically and mentally. He knew the change in administration meant he would be replaced but, given his sacrifices, he felt he at least would have a dignified leave-taking. He was wrong. The call from Newsom "hurt [Bowdler] a great deal" said a long-time acquaintance. "It really shattered him."

Political appointees of an outgoing administration leave government ser-

vice almost as a matter of course. But career diplomats serving in top positions, although often replaced by an incoming administration, can usually count on an appointment to another senior post. For example, George Vest, a career officer who headed the European bureau under President Carter, was named ambassador to the European Economic Community after the inauguration.

Overriding Perception

Bowdler's unusually harsh and unceremonious departure was but one result of an overriding perception on the part of the incoming administration: that President Carter's policies had seriously damaged American interests in Central America and were chiefly responsible for the continuing political turmoil in the region. Bowdler was merely the first Latin America hand at State to sense the depth of the new administration's disillusionment. In time, virtually all of the career diplomats who guided Central American policy during the Carter years either saw their careers set back or found themselves, like Bowdler, out of the Foreign Service altogether.

The Reagan team appeared to believe that the Carter administration, in pursuing an aggressive human rights policy in the region, had created a political vacuum that allowed leftist insurgencies to flourish and Cuba to intervene in the area on an unprecedented scale. The incoming administration felt that Carter's human rights policies had laid the groundwork for

the potential establishment of the first Marxist dictatorship on the American mainland in Nicaragua and for the leftist uprising in El Salvador. The fact that the guerrilla-led "final offensive" in El Salvador earlier that January had failed did not placate those in the new administration who argued that Carter's policies had created an auspicious environment for such activities. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger spoke for many when, deriding Carter's approach, he said, "We're creating our own anti-American revolution down there."

During Reagan's early weeks in office, then Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. repeatedly warned that the United States was prepared to "go to the source" of Central America's problems — Cuba. Reports that the United States was contemplating military action against the island were not denied. Assessing the new, more buccaneer attitude of the Reagan team, one official remarked, "These guys are looking for a fight."

In this atmosphere, the administration quickly came to the conclusion there was no place for the Foreign Service officers perceived to be the architects of the discredited policies of the past — at least not for long. The new team had little sympathy for the view that career diplomats are merely passive conduits for policies established by the president and the secretary of state. The Reaganites, according to one official, "had a particularly ideological bent" — as others, besides Bowdler, found out:

George Gedda has been a State Department correspondent for the Associated Press since 1968, with a particular interest in Latin America. He served with the Peace Corps in Venezuela in 1962-64.

John Bushnell — He was deputy assistant secretary under Bowdler and succeeded him on an acting basis before Thomas O. Enders was appointed by Reagan to head the bureau. Bushnell was an enthusiastic advocate of the administration's tougher line during his tenure as Bowdler's temporary replacement. Once Enders was sworn in, Haig wanted to reward Bushnell for his loyalty, recommending him on three occasions to the White House for ambassadorial appointments. Each time, the White House rebuffed the recommendations, obviously sensing that he was tainted by his association with Carter's policies. Bushnell had to settle for the number-two slot at the U.S. embassy in Argentina.

James Cheek — Like Bushnell, Cheek was a deputy assistant secretary under Bowdler, with special responsibility for Central America. He was retained by Haig for several months, then went to Harvard for a year as diplomat-in-residence. Haig suggested to the White House that Cheek be named ambassador to Uganda but was told, as one informant reported, "There's no way Cheek is going to head any embassy as long as we're around." Cheek is now deputy chief of mission in Nepal — safely out of the line of fire.

Lawrence Pezzullo — He went to Nicaragua as ambassador in the spring of 1979 during the final weeks of the Somoza regime and was replaced a few months after Reagan's inauguration. After a year as diplomat-in-residence at the University of Georgia, he was available for a new diplomatic assignment but none was offered. Pezzullo — who makes no secret of his disagreement with Reagan's policies — left the Foreign Service last fall.

Robert White — A week after Reagan was sworn in, White was fired as ambassador to El Salvador. He soon resigned from the Foreign Service and has since become an outspoken critic of American military support for El Salvador and U.S. opposition to a negotiated settlement of the civil war there.

Jack Binns — As Carter's ambassador to Honduras, he was somewhat isolated, unaware of the magnitude of the change in attitude that occurred with Reagan's inauguration. A former official said Binns's cables after the in-

auguration continued to reflect Carter's views and "he got on the blacklist," although his career is not believed to have suffered irreparable damage. After a year as diplomat-in-residence at the University of California, Binns is now assigned to State's European bureau.

Were these officers mistreated? Were they unjustly penalized for faithfully carrying out the policies of the president? Or did they squander away their claim to positions of trust and influence in a conservative administration by having formulated and executed "liberal" policies perceived to have damaged American interests close to home?

Alphabetical Order

Though not a spokesman for the new administration, New Right muckraker John Lofton, editor of *Conservative Digest*, said the housecleaning in the Latin America bureau was not enough. The State Department is "wall-to-wall with people who are not Reagan supporters," he said. "If I were Reagan, I would get hold of a State Department directory and start firing everybody in alphabetical order." Asked whether he wanted to soften that quote for publication, Lofton replied, "Well, I suppose it would be all right if they were fired randomly instead of alphabetically."

Said another conservative appointed

to a top administration position: "It would be very surprising if the people most closely identified with that policy, which permitted the Sandinistas to take over and set the stage for what was happening in El Salvador, had been raised to the heights of glory by an administration that was appalled by the results of that policy."

Pezzullo, on the other hand, felt the purge damaged the Foreign Service. "I think it was very unfortunate from a professional standpoint," he said. "It's very dangerous when you confuse professionals dealing in a very difficult area with partisanship. Professionals come into the Foreign Service on the assumption that they will pursue policy lines no matter what administration comes into power." Another former senior State Department official described career diplomats as "by and large, loyal civil servants. They certainly can be managed."

In truth, some diplomatic professionals are harder to manage than others. Cheek, for example, has always been somewhat of a Foreign Service maverick, eschewing the polite caution that characterizes so many of his pin-striped colleagues. Over the years, he has acquired a reputation for profound hostility towards the economic elites and their military allies who have dominated Central American political life since independence.

During a stint in Managua as a po-



William Bowdler, assistant secretary for inter-American affairs under Carter, was the first Latin America hand at State to sense the depth of the new administration's disillusionment with the Carter policy.



John Bushnell was an enthusiastic advocate of Reagan's tougher line, yet the White House, sensing he was tainted by association with Carter's policies, rebuffed suggestions of an ambassadorship.

litical officer in the early 1970s, Cheek felt the close U.S. identification with the Somoza regime was a mistake, and he made no secret of his low regard for President Nixon's ambassador there, Turner Shelton, a conservative political appointee. Cheek's independent strain was underscored years later when he worked successfully behind the scenes, through allies in the press and the Congress, to head off President Ford's appointment of Shelton to another ambassadorial position.

Few doubt the Foreign Service's need for some officers, like Cheek, who are willing to put their careers on the line on a matter of principle. The question, however, was whether the Reagan White House could count on him to be as loyal a servant as he had been under Carter. In rebuffing Haig's efforts to obtain an ambassadorship for Cheek, the White House obviously decided it couldn't.

Bushnell's case was different. Widely viewed as a conservative by his colleagues, Bushnell had dutifully carried out his tasks as deputy assistant secre-

tary under Carter. If he had reservations about Carter's policies, he kept them to himself. When, during Bushnell's brief tenure as acting assistant secretary, Haig began to pursue a tougher policy, Bushnell seemed almost liberated. The same John Bushnell who assailed Cuban-backed subversion in Guatemala after January 1981 had, a year earlier, been blaming Guatemala's unrest on repressive military rule.

Suspect Allegiance

But the efforts of Haig and others to reward Bushnell for his labors by giving him an ambassadorship fell on deaf ears at the White House. Perceived as a loyal servant under Carter, Bushnell's allegiance to Reagan was suspect. Those familiar with Bushnell's experience, however, including some conservatives, felt he deserved a better fate.

Just who at the White House was responsible for rebuffing Haig's recommendations is not clear, although some of the names mentioned include

Counselor Edwin Meese III and two lesser known officials, E. Pendleton James, Reagan's first personnel chief, and his successor, Helene Von Damm.

No one interviewed for this article had much sympathy for White who, after being fired as ambassador to El Salvador a few days after Reagan's swearing-in, was offered a job in the inspector general's office at State. Considering the offer an insult, White turned it down and since then has crusaded almost non-stop against the administration's policies in El Salvador. White's erstwhile colleagues accuse him of having hurt the Foreign Service by what they regard as his intemperate criticism. But White sees it as his patriotic duty to speak out against policies he believes are damaging American as well as Salvadoran interests.

Ironically, the Carter administration had resumed military assistance to El Salvador during its final week in office, with White's full concurrence. The policy shift occurred after Salvador's guerrillas, with Cuban and Nicaraguan support, embarked on their abortive final offensive.

Not all Central Americanists in the Foreign Service found their careers set back by the change in administration. One who benefited was Frank Ortiz. Ortiz was sent to Guatemala as ambassador by Carter in 1979 but was abruptly recalled a year later. The administration felt he was too friendly with Guatemala's rightist military leadership and decided it needed an ambassador who was willing to confront that government on human rights. In an obvious demotion, Ortiz was ordered to Panama as political adviser to the American military command. He considered resigning from the Foreign Service but decided to stay on to see if the political winds would change. After the election, Ortiz's views were once again in fashion and he immediately became a prime candidate for po-

litical rehabilitation. He was offered virtually any Latin American ambassadorship he wanted; he chose Peru.

Ortiz's experience during the Carter administration illustrates a point made by a number of State Department officials: every administration, not just the current one, has had reservations about the loyalty of at least some diplomatic professionals. Officials recall that a number of China hands were drummed out of the Service after the Communist conquest of 1949, victims in the acrimonious debate over "Who Lost China." The distrust of both John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon for the Foreign Service was well known. Nixon felt the National Security Council should have primary responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy. Determined to keep the State Department on the policymaking fringe, Nixon became perhaps the first president to name a secretary of state — William P. Rogers — on the basis of his *lack* of foreign policy expertise. For the Foreign Service, the Nixon years were a demoralizing ordeal.



Lawrence Pezzullo left the Foreign Service when no new diplomatic assignment was offered. He now comments that the Reagan purge will warn young officers away from tough assignments.

Under Carter, the careers of some officers were set back because they were perceived as too conservative. But compared with the Reagan administration, ideological loyalty was far less important under Carter. Some officers were penalized for non-ideological reasons. One respected career diplomat, John Crimmins, was dismissed by Carter as ambassador to Brazil over a seemingly petty issue. He complained in a 1978 cable about the "arrogance" of a White House advance team visiting Brazil. Soon after he was recalled, Crimmins, a role model for some junior officers, quit the Foreign Service.

In addition, a number of senior diplomats who felt they were ready for ambassadorships complained bitterly when those assignments went to beneficiaries of Carter's affirmative action policies — blacks, hispanics, and women.

Carter himself had no strong ideological underpinnings, and this was reflected in his appointments — some liberal, some conservative, from Andrew Young on the left to Zbigniew Brzezinski on the right. On occasion, the results were chaotic. In Carter's first year, there were titanic struggles between conservatives in the Latin America bureau and liberals in the human rights office. In Central America, it was the human rights activists who prevailed. The administration embraced the view that change in the region was both inevitable and desirable after decades of repression and injustice. American policy was not to try to halt that change but to guide it toward a moderate outcome — a goal that proved to be elusive.

In Haig's view, that policy was creating turmoil in the area, and his combative side surfaced when it was disclosed shortly before the inauguration that Nicaragua, while receiving American aid with one hand, was supplying Salvadoran guerrillas with the other. On taking office, Haig felt it was within the means of the United States to achieve a quick victory in

(Continued on page 34.)



Frank Ortiz's views came back into fashion with Reagan's election and he soon became a prime candidate for political rehabilitation. He was offered virtually any Latin American post he wanted.

Helping the Overseas Alcoholic

By ANONYMOUS

I am an alcoholic who was a Foreign Service officer. Since my retirement and subsequent introduction to Alcoholics Anonymous, I have learned a few things about the disease. I have come to understand why someone once said alcoholism (along with divorce) is an occupational hazard of a diplomatic career. While alcoholism is by no means unique to the Service, some of the causes of the disease—isolation, loneliness, stress—are endemic to Foreign Service life overseas, and frequently in large measure.

The common use of alcohol in overseas diplomatic entertaining makes matters worse for the potential alcoholic. The ease with which we obtain, serve, and use it is similar to the situation of the doctor who prescribes narcotics. Just as accessibility may explain in part the high incidence of drug addiction in the medical profession, so it does alcoholism in the Foreign Service.

Alcoholics and members of their families who reside in the United States have access to dozens of social agencies, AA, Al Anon, as well as the State Department's alcohol and drug abuse staff. But this is not the case of the Foreign Service family serving abroad, where exposure to the disease is more severe.

The stigma of alcoholism worsens its effects. Overseas, where the line between private and professional life is rarely clear, families with a problem tend to keep it within the family. This unfortunately is especially true of alcoholism, which by its nature forces its victims into isolation.

Understanding that alcoholism is a disease helps remove that stigma. Though the sufferer of cancer is thought of as a blameless victim, the alcoholic is usually considered a misfit given to self indulgence and abuse. Research into the causes of both cancer and alcoholism, however, points to the conclusion that they both may have genetic underpinnings. Other research has shown that alcoholism or latent alcoholism can be detected by measuring brain waves, suggesting that the disease is a function of the way a person thinks. Since this can be passed from one generation to another, it may account for the recurrence of alcoholism in families.

A most interesting theory came to me recently from a Jungian psychoanalyst who was lecturing on the feminine principle in literature. In Jungian psychology the feminine principle is related to an infinite void that is the essence of unexercised choice, while the masculine is separateness and order. Men and women are each endowed with both instincts. Though the appropriate principle usually dominates, each of us shifts from one to another. According to this psychologist's theory, alcoholism is spawned in the feminine mood of indecision. How many of us, while serving in remote or isolated posts, have been faced with not knowing what to do with ourselves? We could not decide whether to go to the American Club, write a letter, read a book, or *have a drink while thinking about it*.

The question as to whether the dis-

ease has a genetic foundation or is related to patterns of thinking remains unanswered, but in either case there is strong evidence that susceptibility is related to body chemistry. Whatever the causes, the fact remains that, like cancer, alcoholism can be arrested and controlled—and that early detection and treatment are essential.

The issues of detection, treatment, and control in the unique circumstances of the Foreign Service are important to the foreign affairs agencies, the members of the Service, and their families. Despite the department's alcohol awareness program, I suspect that a lot of fish are slipping through the net. The addiction is cunning and clever; it will go to any length to continue its power over the body that feeds it, even to the extent of degradation, insanity, or destruction of its host. Thus it takes a skilled person who is knowledgeable in the ways of this cunning devil to detect and treat it.

In my own case, four doctors who found liver malfunctions during routine in-service examinations warned me to be careful with alcohol. But it was not until I was taking my last physical prior to retirement that a physician insisted I talk to the alcohol and drug abuse staff. Today, I thank the doctor, the department's program, and God that I am able to enjoy my retirement in sobriety and happiness. The point is that I have a hunch that the doctors who made the earlier examinations could have been more forceful in their handling of suspected

alcoholism and could have insisted upon referral to the program. I am not arguing that the department's program does not work. To the contrary, the program works; I only wish that I had been caught earlier.

Let's examine some of the symptoms of the disease in the framework of a Foreign Service environment. In my early years in the Service I enjoyed the many social functions that are a part of overseas life. Every once in a while I would go to a truly fine party that was especially lively, and after most of the guests had gone home I would stay on with a small group to talk and drink. Over the years I found myself more often than not one of the last to go home. I wanted to stay on to drink and enjoy the companionship.

It was the same with the parties that I gave. I really enjoyed them. In fact, I enjoyed my own parties more than I did some of those stuffy diplomatic receptions that we have to go to. (You know, the kind where they serve those watered-down drinks.) At my parties I was the one who was in charge of the bar, and *my* drink was never weak. At my parties I could start sipping wine while I was doing the cooking, and then when everything was set, all of the decorations in place and the bar all arranged, I could pour myself a good stiff drink before taking a shower and dressing. After I had dressed and was ready to receive the guests I could have another drink while waiting. When the party was over I could sit down with my wife or by myself and have a drink as a reward for having given such a fine party.

Becoming Addicted

At some point I was no longer a social drinker. I was physically addicted; I was an alcoholic. In the last few years before the disease was finally discovered, I found myself less inclined to go to parties, preferring to stay home and drink alone. During all of this time I was functional, I went to work regularly, and I had outside activities, which generally included alcohol. It was only in the last year that I spent entire weekends in my air conditioned bedroom drinking and listening to the radio.

There was an inner voice telling me

that I was sick, and I wrote letters to myself saying that I was going to stop this destructive habit.

But I could not stop. I knew that something was wrong in my life, but I used the fact that I was functional in my job, and still reasonably social, to deny that I was sick. It was only after I was introduced to the program that I learned that *denial* is the principal symptom of alcoholism.

Under the best of circumstances,

'At some point I was no longer a social drinker. I was physically addicted; I was an alcoholic. During this time I was functional, I went to work regularly, and I had outside activities that generally included alcohol. Only in the last year did I spend entire weekends in my bedroom drinking alone.'

when the alcoholic is surrounded by people who can help him, this denial will keep him or her from seeking help. As already stated, the circumstances of overseas life are not conducive to the alcoholic seeking help. The denial and other alcoholic thinking make the problem worse—too large, too complex to solve. For these reasons I believe that the department's alcohol awareness program needs to be strengthened.

Alcoholism is a medical problem, but all posts do not have medical offi-

cers. Moreover, I am not certain that all medical officers are as sensitive to recognizing alcoholism as they could be. Perhaps medical, administrative, and personnel officers and even deputy chiefs of mission should have an opportunity to go through a 28-day rehabilitation program to heighten their awareness to the symptoms.

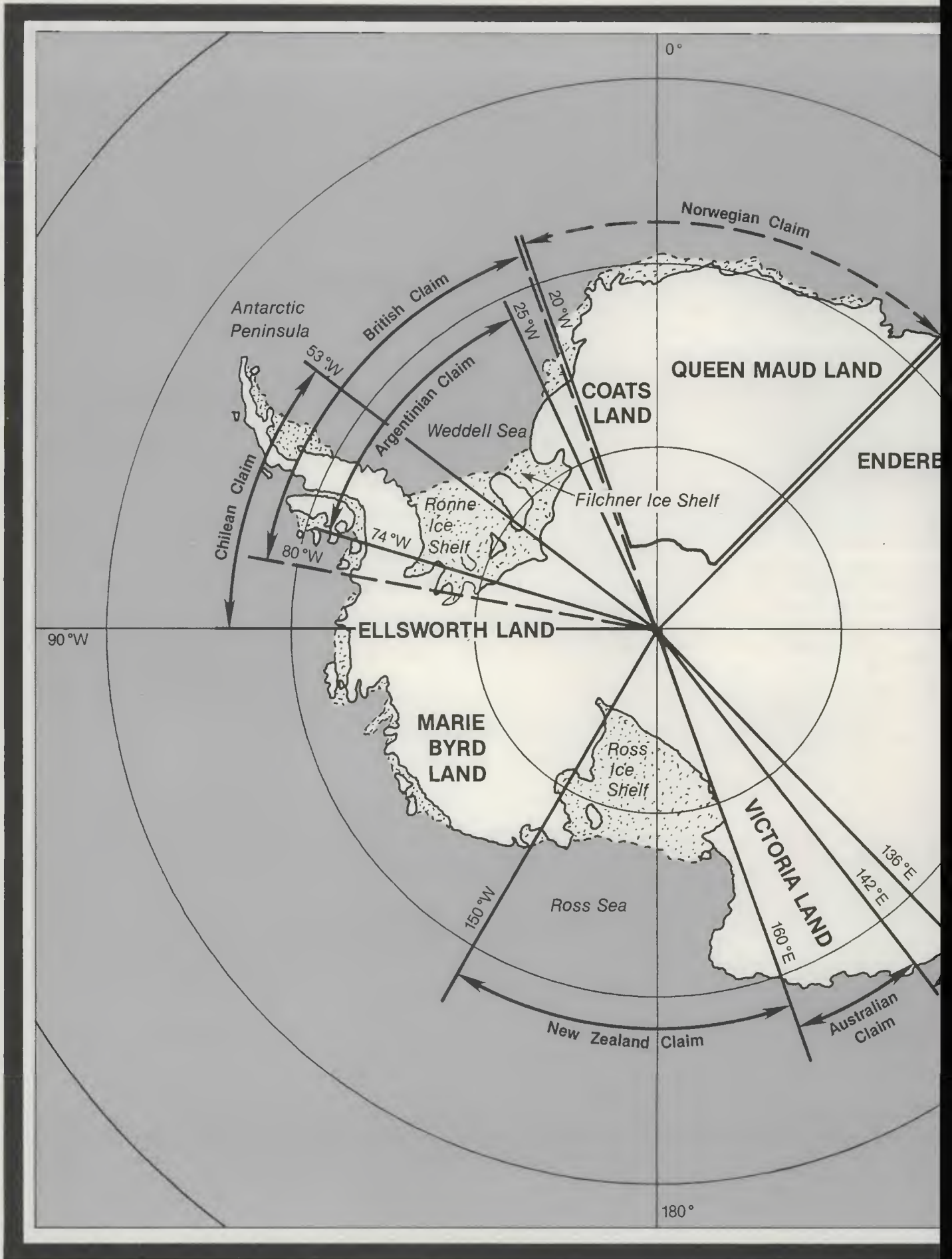
Seeking Help

The problem, as I see it, is to create within the Foreign Service a means for the alcoholic to seek help without a further loss of self esteem. What is needed at every post is one person to whom the alcoholic can turn for the understanding guidance needed to emerge from despair and to regain a happy and productive life. The presence of this person at the post should be regularly brought to the attention of the employees in such a way that they are encouraged to discuss their drinking problems with him or her.

I am very much aware of how sensitive the handling of suspected alcoholism can be. Its detection can influence present and future assignments, to say nothing of entire careers. Through enlightened handling of the problem, however, the department and the Foreign Service can reap the benefits of a fully functioning employee with a fully functioning family.

In the meantime, even though the means for detecting and treating alcoholism at Foreign Service posts is less than perfect, I urge anyone who suspects that he or she, or a member of their family, is suffering from alcoholism to discuss it with their post medical officer, or anyone who is available. The department has access to the best rehabilitation facilities in the world, and the treatment of the disease can change the course of a career or a lifetime. □

Our writer, whose name we are withholding because of the sensitive and personal nature of his subject, is a retired Foreign Service officer who served in Madrid, Mexico, Dacca, Mogadishu, Quito, and several other posts. Readers who have suggestions on how to improve the Foreign Service are invited to send manuscripts of 1000-1500 words to THE SUGGESTION Box.



A Pole Apart

The potential scientific and resource values of Antarctica demand more attention in U.S. foreign policy

By PHILIP W. QUIGG

In the hierarchy of overseas assignments, where is one to place Antarctica, a land without a government, bureaucracy, capital, or indigenous population? Of course, the answer is nowhere. Yet this ice-encased continent covers 10 percent of the terrestrial world, is believed to have valuable resources, involves the interests of the major powers, and, after a remarkable history of cooperation in exploration and science, may become a focus of serious political contention.

To the exploration and study of Antarctica, the United States has devoted greater resources than any other nation yet, unlike seven of its allies, has made no territorial claims there. Rather, it has been instrumental in the internationalization of Antarctica in a manner that is variously viewed as the last stand of colonialism, an exclusive association of the world's largest realtors, a political anachronism whose days are numbered, or an astonishingly successful experiment in international cooperation among antagonistic nations.

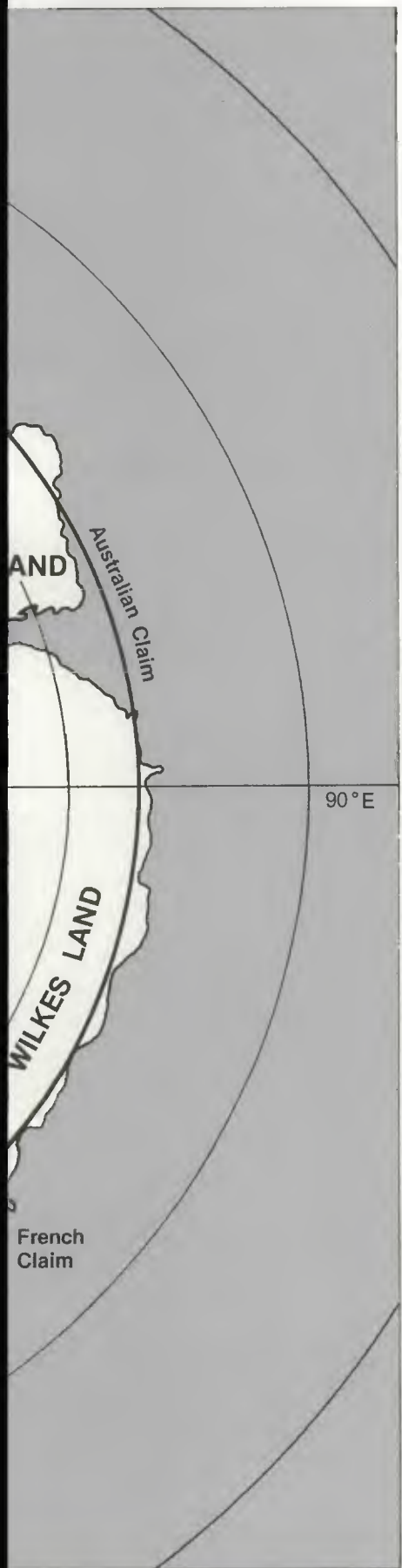
Antarctica deserves more attention than it receives today. Within living memory, the series of Richard Byrd expeditions, exploiting the new tech-

nologies of the radio and airplane, riveted the attention of Americans much as the space program did a generation later. Then there came the International Geophysical Year (1957-58), which focused heavily on Antarctica and discovered more about the continent than had been learned in the previous century. This was followed by negotiation of the Antarctic Treaty by the 12 countries most active in Antarctica. They sought to institutionalize the high degree of cooperation and the apolitical environment that had marked the IGY. The treaty, which came into effect in 1961, attracted attention primarily because, at the height of the Cold War, it represented unprecedented agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. It provided for the non-militarization of the continent, a prohibition against nuclear explosions or waste storage, and the unlimited right of unilateral inspection. The continent was dedicated to peaceful purposes and freedom of scientific investigation.

Little Attention

Since then, public attention has been little drawn to Antarctica. Scientific research continued on a substantial scale. A relatively few tourists viewed the wonders of the continent from cruise ships or big jets flying from Australia and New Zealand. And there were occasional stories about Antarctic krill, the small crustacean that offers the potential for doubling the world catch from the seas, providing its harvesting does not dangerously

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disrupt the ecosystem of the Southern Ocean and further endanger survival of the great whales, which depend entirely on krill.

Although the Antarctic Treaty was a remarkable achievement, it failed to come to grips with two matters. By pre-arrangement, the issue of territorial claims was deferred, with the understanding that assertions of sovereignty could not be strengthened or weakened during the life of the treaty, which was not limited, though its provisions could be reviewed in 30 years. The claimant states were (and still remain) Britain, Argentina, and Chile, whose claims overlap in the Peninsula area, plus Australia, New Zealand, France, and Norway; making no territorial claims and recognizing none were Belgium, Japan, South Africa, the United States, and the Soviet Union. (On the basis of their "substantial scientific research activity," Poland and West Germany have recently been invited to join the inner circle of "consultative members.")

The second most obvious omission in the treaty stemmed from the first: the question of how natural resources might some day be explored and exploited could not be dealt with as long as the charter members were uncompromisingly divided on the issue of sovereignty. Today the 14 consultative treaty members are making a second effort. They are trying to fashion a "minerals regime" that would set the terms on which the anticipated deposits of oil, gas, and hard minerals might some day be developed with adequate protection for the environment. Exploitation is not imminent; exploration has not begun and the technology for development in such a hostile environment is lacking. What gives some urgency to the negotiations is the presumed need to reach agreement *before* valuable discoveries are made, *before* the claimant states become any more

The internationalization of Antarctica has been variously viewed as the last stand of colonialism, an exclusive association of the world's largest realtors, a political anachronism, or a successful experiment in cooperation among antagonistic nations.

adamant in their insistence on sovereignty, and *before* the rest of the world becomes more aggressive in asserting rights to share the spoils, if any. Already, Australia, New Zealand, and Britain, once somewhat flexible, have joined Chile and Argentina in a very tough posture. The negotiations are going slowly and it is possible agreement may never be reached.

Who Owns Antarctica?

It is surely singular that there is no consensus as to who owns Antarctica. Does it belong to the seven claimants and, if so, who gets title to the segment in Marie Byrd Land that no one has claimed and how are the overlapping claims to be resolved? Does it belong to the "Gang of 14" — the nations that have over the years invested large sums in scientific research, the results of which have been freely

shared? Or is Antarctica, as the United States long maintained, "*res nullius*" — belonging to no one — simply because effective occupation and administration are not possible in such an inimical climate? This position has become less tenable as year-round stations are maintained over decades, and, in the relatively benign northern peninsula area, Argentina has successfully encouraged settlement of complete families.

A fourth position that has been asserted — and totally rejected by the treaty powers — is that Antarctica is the heritage of all mankind. The Space Treaty, which the United States ratified, the so-called Moon Treaty, and the Law of the Sea Convention, which the United States has rejected, offer obvious though imperfect analogies with Antarctica [*Journal*, July/August 1981]. Through the exertions of Argentina and Chile in the Group of 77, Antarctica became an unmentionable subject in the LOS negotiations, but it was rarely out of mind. The Antarctic Treaty powers have dreaded the thought that after completion of the LOS Convention a battalion of international lawyers might have nothing better to do than to seek to impose the Common Heritage principle on Antarctica. If half the treaty nations have failed to establish their sovereign claims convincingly, and the other half assert that no national sovereignty exists in Antarctica, then the legal position of the treaty members is vulnerable to the Common Heritage concept. At the least, the international Seabed Authority might seem justified in claiming responsibility for Antarctic resources from the shoreline outward.

A more immediate impact of the Law of the Sea Convention has been to present the claimant states with a dilemma. If they fail to declare sovereignty over a 200-mile exclusive eco-

nomie zone off their Antarctic coasts, they might compromise their territorial claims. But if they explicitly claim their EEZs, they may be in defiance of the Antarctic Treaty, which forbids enlargement of existing claims. A great deal of ingenuity has been used in trying to resolve this inherent conflict.

Different Perspectives

In August 1975, the *Foreign Service Journal* published an article entitled "Antarctica: the Land Belonging to All the People." A representative of the Third World might have been excused for assuming that the author was endorsing the treatment of Antarctica as the heritage of all mankind. Such was not his intent, but the article did reflect a confusion that has pursued North-South relations in several contexts. The United States freely applies the word "Commons" to areas beyond national jurisdiction, including the floor of the sea and Antarctica. The analogy is with the high seas, which every nation is free to use, abuse, and exploit. To the developing nations, this concept is unsatisfactory, for it means that resources are up for grabs by the technologically most advanced nations. Thus they interpret the Commons as the common heritage of mankind, where all share equally or according to need. This difference in perception is fundamental to a discussion of what the future of Antarctica should be. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Antarctica is legally open to all. Though it may often appear to be operated like a club, the Fourteen are discriminatory only as to who sits on the board. And they can only hope that any outsider coming to Antarctica will abide by the rules laid down by the treaty and subsequent conventions.

That the United States has played a leadership role in Antarctica is espe-

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investigation.

cially remarkable because it has been so vacillating, so unsure of its own interests. For example, it backed and filled for three decades on the question of asserting a claim and to this day keeps open the possibility that it might. From the end of World War II until the conclusion of the IGY, a pillar of U.S. policy (and that of its allies) was to exclude the Soviet Union from any political arrangement for Antarctica; this was reversed in a matter of months and the Soviets were invited to join in the treaty negotiations (which the Russians stonewalled for almost a year). U.S. decision-making regarding Antarctica has resided in a variety of bodies and until quite recently there were perpetual bills in Congress to create some special institution to establish and carry out policy in Antarctica.

Since 1965, the responsible body for setting objectives in Antarctica and

seeing that they are effectively pursued has been the Antarctic Policy Group, consisting of the Department of State, the Defense Department, and the National Science Foundation, through which all funds for research are syphoned. The group is chaired by State; other departments and agencies participate on an ad hoc basis as their interests become involved. Having been deprived of its once primary role, the Defense Department is now an uninterested if not sullen player, without significant expertise and no mission other than to provide logistic services requested and paid for by NSF's Division of Polar Programs.

How is the State Department equipped to exercise its responsibilities for Antarctica? Antarctic affairs reside in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES), their fourth home since World War II. When this catch-all bureau was created in 1973, the announcement failed even to mention that Antarctica was part of its responsibility. For an extended period in the mid- and late 1970s, State literally had no policy on the key Antarctic issues because the bureau was preoccupied with other matters. For the biennial meeting of the treaty powers in Oslo in 1975, the U.S. position papers were prepared by the NSF, which also provided the chairman of the delegation. This astonishing abnegation of State's responsibility was consistent with the fact that in its first five years OES was headed by a succession of three inexperienced assistant secretaries and for 31 months the post was vacant. In a period of less than three years, 1979-81, the bureau had four different deputy assistant secretaries with responsibility for Antarctica. During these crucial months the United States was negotiating the important Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources, planning and hosting

the Tenth Consultative Meeting of the Treaty Parties, and preparing positions for the start of negotiations on a minerals regime. Leadership and continuity have for some years resided in a single Foreign Service officer, who has now resigned in order to remain in Washington as our only knowledgeable person in Antarctic affairs.

Grab-bag Bureau

Obviously, Antarctica is not considered a stepping stone to high promotion within State. This is in part inherent in the circumstances of an unpopulated, cultureless territory where there have so far been no political crises. But it also stems from the structure of OES, a grab-bag of leftover missions whose assistant secretaries have generally been chosen for their experience in nuclear matters (OES has responsibility for non-proliferation) rather than in science or the environment or the oceans, much less Antarctica. What has probably saved State from more acute embarrassment is that other departments and agencies have provided essential inputs to policy formulation. For when the United States enters negotiations with its treaty partners, it is going up against delegates with years, even decades, of experience in Antarctic affairs. They are not time-servers, but skilled, highly informed experts, frustrated by not knowing whom to deal with or who is in charge in Washington.

Antarctic issues are becoming too technical, the tensions too severe, and U.S. interests too important to continue policymaking and execution in the haphazard manner of the past. Not only is State undermanned, but past sources of expertise such as the Department of Energy, Commerce, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration are being devastated. Antarctica has no constituency in the United States and no commercial in-

Though it is ostensibly U.S. policy to maintain a constant effort in scientific research in Antarctica, budgetary constraints are gradually eroding the U.S. position Meanwhile, the Soviets have recently opened a new year-round station.

terests as yet. It is a wheel that does not squeak, but it deserves to be noticed.

There is one other concern bearing on U.S. capacity to sustain its influence in Antarctica. Although it is ostensibly U.S. policy to maintain a constant effort in scientific research in Antarctica, budgetary constraints are gradually eroding the U.S. position, particularly as compared with the Soviet Union, Japan, Argentina, and West Germany. Specifically, the U.S. decision to maintain four year-round stations, a policy sustained for more than two decades, is being revised. Siple Station will soon be closed permanently, leaving only McMurdo, South Pole, and Palmer (on the Peninsula). Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has recently opened a new year-round station in the sector that has previously been treated almost as a U.S. preserve — bringing the Soviet total to seven.

Also, it may prove necessary for the United States to reduce its use of costly C-130 transports, which have given a special character to U.S. operations. The question arises whether the United States can maintain its influence among the consultative powers while reducing its effort when others are increasing theirs. Of course, the quality of science cannot be measured in expenditures, but research at the bottom of the world is especially costly. For every dollar of science about nine are required for support. But to give the appearance of declining interest in Antarctica would be particularly unfortunate at a time when the influence of the United States is essential to satisfactory pursuit of a minerals regime and the preservation of the Antarctic Treaty system.

We have a major stake in both. The treaty system, as it has evolved into a continuing decision-making body, could easily come apart over the entwined issues of territorial claims and resources. What would take its place? The United Nations with more than 150 cooks stirring the pot? This would quite likely put the Antarctic environment at risk, deter scientific research, and fail to establish a climate for investment. The treaty powers have so far behaved responsibly and have acknowledged the interests of all mankind. If they can resolve their internal differences over a minerals regime, they deserve the opportunity to continue to administer Antarctica as a Commons in trust for all mankind. The Gang of 14 are emphatic in their unwillingness to share decision-making and administrative responsibility widely. But if their self-appointed mission is to remain acceptable to the rest of the world, some adjustments may be needed. If membership in the club is seen to offer substantial benefits as well as responsibilities, ways must be found to give the developing coun-

tries some sense of participation. This will require some tough decisions by the 14.

Breaking the Ice

First, the treaty powers should do what they can to overcome the appearance of secrecy. It is understandable that their deliberations are closed to the public; nations with so many differences and antagonisms among them could not reach consensus in an open forum. But much more documentary material could be published and reports of meetings could be fuller without betraying confidences. It is intolerable, for example, that U.S. position papers must be classified, not for any reason of national security but because of understandings among the treaty members.

Second, if exploitation of Antarctic mineral resources becomes feasible, some form of profit-sharing must be undertaken as a matter of right. Most treaty members have implicitly acknowledged this obligation, but they may depart from the principle when revenues seem less remote. Revenue sharing with the Third World is the minimum that can be offered as compromise between the concept of the Commons (them that has gets) and the Common Heritage (then that hasn't are first in line).

Third, the international Seabed Authority should be invited to participate in mineral exploration and exploitation when and if these activities are deemed feasible and environmentally safe. This will allow the developing countries to take an active role in the only way that is practicable, and it will serve as a reminder that Antarctica is not closed to anyone.

Fourth, the treaty powers should define what is meant by "substantial scientific research activity" and then apply it equitably. These words formed the basis for selecting the origi-

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nal parties to the treaty and for subsequently inviting other countries to become consultative members. But several of the contracting parties — Belgium, Norway, and South Africa — no longer conduct substantial scientific research activity. Since knowledge and experience of Antarctica are the justification for the privileged role assumed by consultative members, failure to sustain research at some reasonable level weakens the case for responsible trusteeship. And while, by treaty, the original 12 are immune from forced resignation, nations subsequently invited to join the inner circle can be dropped for failure to sustain some undefined level of effort. Thus Poland, whose economic problems have required a radical cutback in Antarctica, might legally be disinvented at any moment (though it is very unlikely), whereas Belgium, which has

mounted only one very small expedition since 1958, has secure membership for as long as it wishes. If the treaty powers are serious about their special qualifications for administering Antarctica, these anomalies should be removed.

Fifth, to forestall external political pressures, it might be sensible to invite representative Third World countries to become consultative members on a rotating basis. Two developing nations would suffice, drawn initially from the 11 states that have adhered to the treaty without gaining consultative status. At the start, the selection might be made by the consultative members themselves, but in due course — possibly after 1991, when the treaty can be amended by a simple majority — the rotating members should be chosen by an appropriate organ of the United Nations. Four-year terms would allow them to participate in at least two consultative meetings but limit the time they could obstruct a consensus. There is no reason to assume, however, that U.N.-appointed members would add anything to the tensions already existing among the 14, a most improbable group of countries from which to expect a consensus.

These are some of the ways in which the treaty system might be adapted so that the consultative members may continue to exercise responsible trusteeship. More than at any time since the negotiation of the Antarctic Treaty, in which the United States played the central role, imaginative initiatives and political leverage are needed to make certain that a minerals regime is achieved, and then to demonstrate the adaptability of the treaty system so as to ensure that "in the interest of all mankind," as the treaty states, "Antarctica shall continue forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and shall not become the scene or object of international discord." □

Letter from

Normally separated by a river, the first line of defense and the last line meet on the Washington peninsula where the National War College stands.

By EDWARD MARKS

The Class of 1981 arrived at the National War College in early August. We drifted into the old building at the end of the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Anacostia River and Washington Channel and, with only minimal confusion, passed through the various registration lines. By noon we had completed the initial paperwork, found our desks, met our comrades, and finished for the day. That gave us time to explore our campus.

Fort Lesley J. McNair is a lovely old Army post, built in a more gracious era and gently transformed over the years into a scenic site in the heart of the capital. The only troops are the honor company of the Old Guard which occasionally dress in Revolutionary War uniforms. They occupy the lower post, near the entrance. The main sweep of the fort is dominated by the row of generals' houses, the officers' club, the tennis courts and nine-hole golf course, the modern Industrial College of the Armed Forces building, and the crowning National War College. Time can lend character, if not beauty, to a building if there is some

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strength built in to start. Seventy-six years old, the college has that character, a *gravitas* that lends dignity to the institution and its program. Nearly a hundred years before it was built, a battery of eight 24-pounders charged with the naval defense of Washington guarded the point now dominated by the college and the golf course. In 1814 the invading British forces blew up the garrison and, today, senior military officers and others armed with numbered clubs guard the site where the battery once stood.

The student body numbered 160, split between the Army, the sea services, the Air Force, and civilians. The military students averaged just under 42 in age, the civilians a few years older. For the military in particular, selection for the college obviously had a special meaning, a career passage. Most of them came from important jobs, but they still retained the whiff of the junior officer. For the military, arrival at the college meant an important ticket was being punched. Selection for senior training, though not a guarantee of elevation to the ranks of the mighty, at least meant they were in the running.

New Post, New School

We civilians watched and weighed our military colleagues (presumably as they were doing with us) and matched our prejudices, preconceptions, and memories against reality. Our mood was much as one might expect of a group of Americans of that age and background — a mixture of new post and new school. For at least this student, there were also the mixed feelings of diffidence, respect, disdain, and amusement. A former draftee was now mixing professionally and socially with battalions of colonels. After 21 years, I still remembered my serial number (US 52428657). By the end of the term, we had somewhat modified

our opinions. We also arrived at a few conclusions; in my case I came to more or less agree with the observation of a friend who had passed through the college a few years before. He decided that the Air Force types were quick and clever but tended to be narrow and obsessed with gadgetry; the Navy provincial and self-absorbed; the Marines quirky and occasionally oddly intellectual; and the Army the most mature and "most like us." He did not mention the Coast Guard, but the two in the Class of '81 were universally admired for their personal and professional qualities.

The Marines, of course, were the most impressive, being the most unchanged from the old image. They are the opposite of trendy. They move through life with ears attuned to the Corps' drummer, still beating the old refrain. On the birthday of their service, they held a noon-time ceremony in the great central hall of the war college. The rest of us stood around in clusters and hung over the circling balconies to watch. The Marines marched in to the reverberating sound of their red-coated drum-and-bugle corps and proceeded to stand tall and salute and honor their friends, their Corps, their country, and themselves. We listened that day and were touched. The Marines performed an old-fashioned ceremony with perfect aplomb, armored by innocence and self-confidence. They made it clear that they knew who they were, and that they were satisfied with that knowledge.

The civilians were more of a mixed bag. Some worked for the Department of Defense and were quite at home, others were strays from the spectrum of government agencies with various degrees of legitimate interest in foreign affairs and national security: OMB, Treasury, the FBI, NSA. There were also a number of openly declared CIA officers whose exoticism wore off

Fort McNair



National War College

The National War College was built of red brick during the years 1903–07 and dedicated in 1908. A late example of the Beaux Arts era, it was designed by the prominent Washington architectural firm of McKim, Mead & White. Its brick tile ceilings and vaulting, three-story central hall give it an air of grandeur appropriate to McKim, a noted architect who designed the Pierrepoint Morgan Library and served on the McMillan Commission. His colleague White, however, was shot to death by a jealous husband on the roof of the old Madison Square Garden, which he had designed. Crowning a greensward that slopes to the Anacostia, the National War College presents an impressive view to sailors on the river while inspiring those who work within it.

quickly. But the largest single group of civilians was the contingent of Foreign Service officers: a dozen from State, three from USIA, some light-cover CIA-types, and one from AID. From the first day it was clear that no stranger creature existed in the eyes of the average military officer than the professional American diplomat.

What manner of beast were we? A vision of limp-wristed cookie-pushers passed through their minds, an image soon to be obscured by a growing respect for the average FSO's verbal fluency and easy command of subjects in the curriculum. The military expected we would know about things like pro-

cedure and balance of payments and diplomatic notes, but they could never quite get over our presumption to deal with strategic and military issues. As the year passed, the military view of their diplomatic classmates seemed to settle into a mixture of limited awe and amiable scorn. When push came to shove in many a discussion, the diplomats usually wanted to seek a political solution or arrangement to deal with the problem; not for them the "surgical use of military power" or the mobilization of national resources. (I speak of most of the FSOs; one or two made an effort to meet the military on their own ground — both on the sport

fields and in the seminars. A case of going native, one might say.) In the end, this preference for political solutions differentiated most of the diplomats from most of the military.

Being by far the majority, the military students dominated the atmosphere. While the college is a military institution, it was created, in cooperation with the State Department it should be remembered, as a policy institution not a military trade school. While there were continual debates over the curriculum (e.g., whether or not it was rigorous enough), there was little desire on the part of the military students for a more technical program.

They were at the college to study the broader aspects of national security policy. At the same time, the parentage of the college obviously meant that a large amount of strictly military material was presented. By and large the civilian students found this interesting and educational, if occasionally overpowering. All in all, the mix of purely military subject matter and broader policy concerns was viewed favorably by both military and civilian students. Both groups, in fact, generally felt that the year spent at the war college ought to lean toward personal development and education rather than any form of training.

One interesting difference between the military and civilian students was the importance of attending the college in itself. For military officers it clearly represented more than the hope of further advancement. Studying at the War College was a sign of achievement, a form of recognition by one's peers.

The civilians, on the other hand—and the foreign affairs civilians in particular—viewed the college with a markedly more casual perspective. Senior training in the Foreign Service is not noticeably related to career success; it comes to one and all at a certain rank. It does provide a pleasant experience, useful from the point of view of general background and contacts. However, it is somewhat of a lark, and only a few workaholic FSOs resent the essentially motivationless year.

Intellectual Adjustments

The program itself presented some intellectual adjustment problems for many of the military. The vast majority came from relatively narrow jobs; narrow in the sense that a battalion commander rarely spends much time worrying about nuclear disarmament or the North-South dialogue. (Subjects which, it should be noted, junior

FSOs serving their time in the visa line argue about incessantly.) Expanding their perspective to consider these questions was a task facing many of the military; the purpose, it should be repeated, for their presence at the college. Some, of course, came from staff positions at the Pentagon where they had been dealing daily with such issues. These students had no adjustment problem. Some of them, in fact, appeared to persist in maintaining the organizational perspective of their last position, continuing to argue the views of their service in student seminars.

The military, moreover, were at Fort McNair in order to become at least novice policy planners. The intellectual and professional background they brought with them was not auspicious; it had a firmly inculcated bent toward problem solving. Unfortunately, grand strategy is not always about solving problems; more often it is about living with them. Even when in agreement on the occasional necessity for the use of military force, the military and the diplomats at the college meant essentially different things. In general the military saw the use of military force in a given situation as the option of choice for solving the policy problem posed. Diplomats, on the other hand, tended to see the use of force as a sometimes necessary expedient to avoid further political losses or a way to move the issue onto another plane or into another time. Troops become chips for the diplomats, and the military can hardly be blamed for an inclination not to look at themselves in that manner.

The FSOs, moreover, to no one's surprise and true to their reputation, persisted in muddying the water of seminar discussion with "but," "on the other hand," "what are the implications of," and similar interjections referring to the complexity of the

world. The approach to specific subjects revealed the imbalance between our backgrounds and interests and those of our military colleagues. The war college existed to make policy planners out of colonels of infantry, jet jockeys, and ship handlers, not to make leaders of men out of diplomats. We, the civilians, by and large, wanted a serious exposure to military attitudes, theory, and thinking as they influence our professional concerns, but we were already well acquainted with the major elements of national security policy.

Articulating Policy

As a general rule, therefore, the foreign affairs civilians became part of the educational experience for the military students, assistants to the regular faculty. More articulate, generally, than our military colleagues, we had to be careful not to dominate the seminar discussions or the question and answer periods. We were not always successful nor, to be honest, did we always try that hard. One rarely finds such a large and captive audience for one's favorite stories and policy prejudices. I, for one, for the very first time, almost talked myself out. This is a good place to thank my military classmates for their patience and good humor.

Still, we got along quite well and the personal contacts made across the professional and organizational boundaries were real and may themselves be sufficient justification for the year of mid-career study. Most students have between 10 and 15 years of service left, and those will be spent at senior levels of responsibility. The ties and sense of camaraderie which the war college created between the military and foreign affairs civilians must certainly contribute something to the efficiency of the Republic's international machinery.

It certainly was a pleasant year, by

and large, and has already come to occupy a warm spot giving off cozy memories in the minds of most of us. In one sense it was a reward rather than a task, and maybe in that form it best fulfilled its purpose. It is not terribly easy to pursue the classic public service careers in contemporary America. The standards and rewards are out of touch with the late 20th century. The independent nation-state was the creation of previous centuries, and was managed by aristocratic and bourgeois

classes living by a set of rules no longer considered relevant. Some modern nations have attempted to deal with the problem by going all the way, turning the nation itself into one vast bureaucracy so that public careers are not differentiated from other activities. But the industrialized and democratic countries are still trying to operate societies composed of mixed private and public sectors while diluting the psychic and social rewards offered to those who serve in the public sector. What,

in other words, is going to replace *noblesse oblige*?

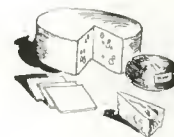
Something probably will, possibly at the same time something replaces or seriously alters the nation-state. Meanwhile, those who practice the old professions try to live up to the old traditions. So Fort McNair and the National War College was a form of pep rally, where military officers and diplomats reinforced each other's belief in the worth of their ideals and the value of their goals. □

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A Dangerous Region

(Continued from page 21.)

Central America. But his pursuit of a harder line may also have been influenced by domestic political considerations. Haig espoused moderate policies in East-West relations, and he needed to show a tougher stance somewhere to preserve his credibility with the Republican right. Central America was the logical choice.

Pezzullo described his view of Haig's attitude this way: "You start playing hard ball in some areas — the Soviet Union, China — and the cost is too high. On the other hand, you can say and do things in Central America and get away with it." It was an area where Haig felt he could score ideological points at little or no cost with such conservatives as Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), chairman of the foreign relations subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs.

With the regional policy change instituted by Haig came the sweeping personnel changes in the Latin America bureau. Some of the key posts, interestingly, went to officers who had

made their reputations during the Indochina war.

Enders, who took over the assistant secretary's post in the spring of 1981, was deputy chief of mission in Cambodia at the time of the secret American bombing missions against North Vietnamese infiltrators in the early 1970s.

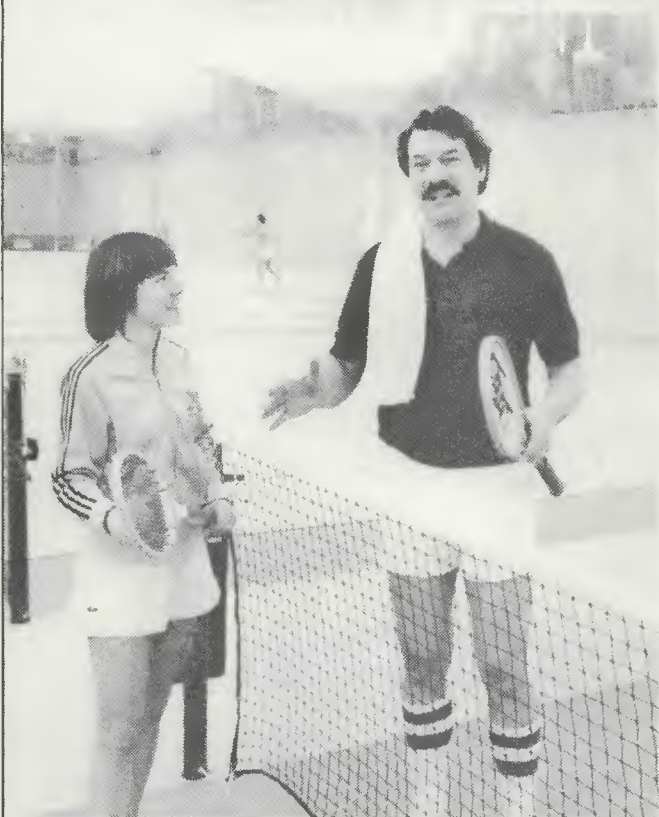
John Negroponte, who succeeded Binns as ambassador to Honduras in 1981, spent two years as an embassy officer in Saigon in the mid-1960s and also worked for Kissinger on the National Security Council staff during Nixon's first term. He reportedly has major responsibility for directing a covert operation against Nicaragua involving Honduran-based, Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries.

Craig Johnstone, now head of the office of Central American affairs, also spent a year in Vietnam in the mid-1960s, working on a rural development program. Most of the remaining posts involving Central America have gone to non-ideological professionals with reputations for carrying out orders. None of the officers recruited by the administration for dealing with Central America had had any recent

experience in the area, and for some it was an entirely new issue.

Pezzullo, who now works for a firm specializing in collecting information on foreign political and economic developments, feels the Reagan administration acted unwisely in penalizing Carter's Central Americanists. "If you take people who have been in areas of difficulty and then associate them with the policy or the problems of the policy, then you're doing some basic damage to the system," he said. "That's what bothers me. What you're really saying to junior officers is 'stay away from tough places. Don't get burnt.' But we need officers who have the willingness to go into tough positions."

A top administration appointee with impeccable pro-Reagan credentials saw it differently. He said policy is formulated at the assistant and deputy assistant levels, and "some bad calls" were made by officers assigned to those positions during the Carter era. "The policy went badly and they can't say they were just innocent bystanders carrying it out," he said. "It would be a terrible injustice to describe these guys as martyrs." □



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*Foreign Service

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

Last Call for AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Applicants

Deadline: March 1, 1983. Eligible students who will be attending school full-time in academic year 1983-84 in the United States are encouraged to write immediately to the AFSA Scholarship Programs Administrator, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, for applications for the **Financial Aid Scholarships**. Those undergraduate students whose parents are serving or have served overseas in foreign affairs agencies of the U.S. government, as defined in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, are eligible to apply for these scholarships, which are awarded solely on the basis of need. Personnel in the lower grades are especially encouraged to apply.

Students who will be graduating from high school in 1983 are also eligible to apply for the **Merit Awards**, which are given for outstanding academic achievement and extracurricular activities. The deadline for all materials to be received in the AFSA office is March 1, 1983. Therefore, write or call immediately for applications if you are a qualified Foreign Service dependent student. Call Dawn Cuthell, Administrator, at (202) 338-4046. When you request applications, please give your Foreign Service branch connection and state your interest in either the Financial Aid Scholarships, the Merit Awards, or both if applicable.

The Merit Award competition is judged by a group of 24 volunteer panelists from State, AID, AAFSW, and USIA. Materials required include SAT scores, four years of high school transcripts, grade point average, personal essay, list of extracurricular activities, and letters of recommendations. Deadline for submission of completed applications and all materials is March 1, 1983. **WRITE OR CALL TODAY.** Merit Awards are \$500, and last year there were 22 winners. Financial Aid grants vary from \$200 to \$2000, depending on need.

Deaths

NORMAN ARMOUR, former ambassador, assistant secretary of state, and president of

AFSA, died in New York City on September 27, 1982. He was 94 years old.

A 1909 graduate of Princeton who received an LL.B. from Harvard, Armour joined the Foreign Service in 1912. Some of his first posts included Paris, Vienna, Petrograd, Brussels, the Hague, Uruguay, Rome, Tokyo, Canada, and Chile. He served as ambassador to Haiti and to Argentina in the years between the wars, then was named minister to Spain during World War II. He served as an assistant secretary of state under the Truman administration before retiring.

A college classmate wrote: "Retirement did little to slow Norm down and, indeed, one of the events of which he was proudest occurred in 1954, when Norm and four other retired diplomats wrote an open letter protesting Senator Joseph McCarthy's attacks on the Foreign Service. As one of Norm's colleagues in the State Department observed, 'You can't compare Armour to anyone else in the Service. He's one of a species, like Lincoln.' "

In his private life, Armour served as a trustee of Princeton University, which awarded him an honorary degree in 1947. He was also a trustee of the French Institute of the United States and a director of the English-Speaking Union. He was married to Myra, a princess in czarist Russia who escaped to Sweden with his help, who survives, along with four grandchildren. Their son, Norman Jr., died in 1979.

BARTAN L. CONNETT, wife of retired Foreign Service Officer William B. Connett, died at the American Hospital in Paris on November 3, 1982, after five years of fighting cancer. Despite the pain and discomforts of chemotherapy during that entire period, she continued to give French-cooking courses in English to students from all over the world at her home in Chinon. It was only during the last month of her life, when she could no longer walk, that she was forced to give up teaching.

The Connetts were married in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1942. After the war, William Connett joined the Foreign Service, and he and Bartan spent most of their careers in various Latin American countries, including Venezuela, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, and Mexico. During a revolution when they were stationed in Santo Domingo, Bartan organized a detail of Americans to feed and water the animals in the zoo for two weeks until the terrified keepers returned. In Guadalajara, she gave cooking lessons to pay for a garden for the blind where children could touch the things they couldn't see. The Connetts also had two tours of duty in Paris and during the last Bartan again held cooking classes and don-

ated the proceeds to the American Library for the Blind in Paris. She is survived by her husband, who intends to remain in Chinon, where he would welcome a visit from any of their old friends and colleagues in the Foreign Service.

DONALD DRESDEN, former restaurant critic for the *Washington Post* and an assistant to the editor of the *Foreign Service Journal*, died November 11, 1982, at George Washington University Hospital in Washington, D.C., of Parkinson's disease and arteriosclerosis. He was 72.

This was not his first battle with serious illness. In 1978, he wrote an article for the *Washington Post Magazine* about learning to live without normal speech when his cancerous larynx was removed. Dresden moved to Washington in 1950 after war service in the Army Air Corps as an intelligence officer. He was decorated by the French government. He was the author of three books, and wrote articles for many publications in addition to his work on the *Journal*.

He is survived by his wife, formerly Marta Vejarano, of Washington, and two sons, Christopher of San Jose, California, and Anthony of Washington.

URSULA STREEPER, a longtime AFSA member and the widow of Consul General Robert Streeper, who died 20 years ago, died on November 21, 1982, in Berlin, West Germany, her home for the last two decades. She is survived by her mother, Erna Zinnow, her son Charles, and her daughter Patricia.

LOUISE JENKINS TENNEY, the widow of Foreign Service Officer E. Paul Tenney, died in early November at Blowing Rock, North Carolina, of leukemia. She was 71 and earlier had suffered a severe stroke.

Tenney accompanied her husband, who retired from the Foreign Service in 1958, to posts in Japan, China, Lebanon, Iraq, Bermuda, and Italy. The Tenneys made their home in Stuart, Florida, and spent their summers in Blowing Rock. She is survived by three sons, Peter of Los Angeles, California, Philip of Key West, Florida, and Stuart of 3085 Southeast St. Lucie Boulevard, Stuart, Florida 33494; two brothers, Ryan Jenkins and Norman Jenkins of Richmond, Indiana; and a sister, Mrs. Sydney K. Lafoon, of Ocean Reef, Key Largo, Florida.

In Memoriam Fund

The friends and family of **PEGGY TRACEY**, who died of malaria in Nairobi in May 1982, are raising funds for a memorial to

her. They hope to purchase a piece of life-saving medical equipment called a respiratory ventilator for the hospital in Nairobi. It maintains breathing during serious cases like hers. Contributions are needed to raise the funds. They will be tax deductible and should be sent to: The Peggy Tracey Memorial Fund, c/o Ms. Laurel Sherry, 1317

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Marriages

WILLIAM G. MARVIN, consul general, retired, and Suzanne Marie Franzon of Bordeaux, France, were married on October

16, 1982. They live at Chateau Giller, Faleyras, 33760 Targon, France.

FRED M. SHAVER, public affairs officer in Libreville, Gabon, was married to the former Susan Lowe Frisbee on December 15, 1982, in Arlington, Virginia. The couple will be returning to Libreville.

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SFSA

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Association News

Group Discusses Foreign Service Concerns



Representatives of several groups who work with Foreign Service employees met in the Foreign Service Club last month to discuss issues of common concern. From left, Herman J. Cohen of the Senior Foreign Service Association, AFSA President Dennis K. Hays, Samuel President of the Women's Action Organization, September 17's Ingrid Stegelmann, Ginny Taylor of the FLO, AAFSW President Sue Parsons, and Brooke Holmes of AFSA and the Consular Officers Association. (Not pictured: James Singleary of the Thursday Luncheon Group.)

Public Employees Day Honors Federal Service

The Public Employees Roundtable, a coalition of 26 public employee organizations in which AFSA is a charter member, sponsored the first Public Employees Appreciation Day on January 10, 1983, organized to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Pendleton Act establishing the career federal Civil Service. The ceremony, held during lunch hour in the new Washington Convention Center, attracted a large crowd of federal workers who were addressed by members of Congress, public employee union leaders, and distinguished career government employees.

Many of the speakers deplored the increasing tendency of our political leaders to denigrate the public workforce by implying that public employees are in large measure responsible for many of our national problems. This, coupled with a growing effort to cut back drastically on certain employee benefits such as health insurance and retirement, as well as the escalating use of the "contracting out" process as a means of eliminating federal jobs, is inflicting a heavy toll on employee morale. The belief was expressed that

unless this trend is reversed the resulting decline in the quality of the federal workforce will have a serious impact on the administration of federal programs.

Speaking on behalf of the Foreign Service, L. Bruce Laingen made an eloquent case for the need of a sense of public responsibility and professionalism in the federal-employee community, a point that reinforced the theme of the Public Employees Roundtable, "Public Service for the Public Good."

The hope was expressed that Public Employees Appreciation Day would inaugurate a continuing campaign to educate the American public about the true role of their career public servants in maintaining and improving the quality of life in our country.

AFSA Files ULP On State Special Incentive Pay

AFSA recently filed an unfair labor practice charge against the Department of State alleging failure to negotiate on implementation of a benefit provided by law to Foreign Service employees, the Special Incentive Differential.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 provides that employees may be granted additional differential of up to 15 percent of basic pay for assignment to a post determined to have especially adverse conditions of environment. The additional pay is meant to serve as a recruitment-and-retention incentive for the filling of positions at that post.

AFSA had made a proposal for implementation of the Special Incentive Differential in February 1982. On numerous subsequent occasions AFSA asked the department to respond to the proposal. To date we have not received a response, and there is no indication that one is forthcoming.

Elections Notice

An Election Call, dated February 1, 1983, for the nomination and election of some new members to the AFSA Governing Board, is being sent to members. If the notice does not arrive in time to make the March 1 deadline in Washington, prospective nominees can consult their AFSA rep or write the Elections Committee at 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

AFSA President Makes Career Case on TV



AFSA President Dennis K. Hays (left) makes a point to ABC-TV reporter Brit Hume during an interview on the costs involved in appointing unqualified political ambassadors.

200 Jam Club For First Annual Xmas Party



Nearly 200 AFSA members, employees, and guests crowded the Foreign Service Club on December 17 for the Association's first annual Christmas Party, also the concluding event in the week-long unveiling of the club's renovated facilities and improved menu and service. The changes were implemented by the Governing Board to help raise club revenues. New Club Manager Alberto Gracia served as maestro during a two-hour long culinary performance that included seafood, gourmet treats, and flaming coffee.

Health Insurance: More Changes in the Offing?

When the word went out that beginning in January 1983 active Foreign Service employees would be taxed 1.3 percent of their pay up to a maximum of \$35,700 for FICA health insurance coverage, the questions started coming in. "What is this FICA health insurance? Why weren't we consulted on this beforehand? What are the benefits and when do they become available?"

For those who don't know by now, FICA is the acronym for the Federal Insurance Compensation Act, and the FICA tax is the amount withheld from the wages of the nation's workforce to finance the employees' share of payments to the Social Security trust fund. Of the total FICA tax of 6.8 percent, 1.3 percent is earmarked to fund the Medicare program, which provides health insurance coverage for persons aged 65 and over who are eligible to receive Social Security benefits. So FICA health insurance is actually another name for Medicare. With the imposition of the 1.3-percent tax on federal salaries, government workers become eligible for Medicare coverage at age 65.

Medicare health insurance has two

parts. Medicare "A" covers expenses related to confinement in a hospital, and this part is available to those eligible to receive it at no additional cost. Medicare "B" covers other expenses not necessarily related to being a patient in a hospital. This insurance is optional and entails the payment of a monthly premium after age 65.

Thus the 1.3-percent FICA tax on the federal payroll inaugurated in January introduces a new element into health care cost planning for federal workers, especially those approaching age 65. Meanwhile, other changes in the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program (FEHBP) appear to be taking form.

There are now about 120 plans within the FEHBP. Most of these are the so-called "comprehensive medical plans," or health maintenance organizations (HMOs) which are available mainly on a regional basis. Other than the HMOs, in 1982 there were 17 indemnity plans sponsored by various employee organizations, one government-wide indemnity plan (Aetna), and one government-wide service benefit plan (Blue Cross/Blue Shield). The latter two plans were by far the largest, accounting for approximately 66 percent of the 10 million FEHBP participants and their dependents covered under the program.

The escalating costs in recent years

that have elevated health care to the level of a \$270-billion-plus industry resulted in exceptionally heavy drains on certain of the FEHBP plans, forcing their premiums to increase dramatically at the same time that their benefits were cut back. The problems multiplied and much controversy ensued. The 1982 open season, the period during which employees can switch from one plan to another, was postponed from November 1981 to May 1982 because of a tangle of disagreements between the insurance carriers and the Office of Personnel Management. During that open season about 11 percent of all FEHBP participants switched plans. While complete figures for the 1983 open season are not yet available, indications are that up to 15 percent of the participants may have changed plans.

All of this adds up to an atmosphere of uncertainty which will most certainly result in significant Congressional attention being focused on this area during the coming months. Congresswoman Mary Rose Oaker (D-Ohio), chairperson of the Subcommittee on Compensation and Employee Benefits of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has introduced a bill to overhaul a number of provisions in the present FEHBP legislation, while rumors are that the administration is considering a proposal to scrap the present program and go to a voucher system. Other ideas being floated include introducing a single federal benefits package for all participants and retaining the essentials of the present program while providing separate coverage arrangements for employees and annuitants.

It is known that the health insurance industry believes that the FEHBP has departed from one of the basic principles of group insurance, i.e., that the risks must be spread widely enough to provide for reasonable costs and broad protection for all. This view holds that present FEHBP practices actually promote the erosion of this basic principle through the annual open season process, the combining of active employees and retirees in the same pool, the wide range of choices between the individual plans, and the method under which the government's contribution is fixed.

To sum up, everyone seems to agree that changes in the present system are needed but few can agree on what form the changes should take. Some clues to the eventual answer should begin to emerge in the months immediately ahead.



Managing Your Money

Bewildering Choices in Banking

By MARGARET WINKLER, *Financial Planner*

"Banking" is not what it used to be. The clear distinctions between savings and checking functions have been virtually obliterated. Changes are coming fast and furious, presenting opportunities as well as a snakepit of confusing advertisements trying to lure your savings and checking deposits.

With the onset of interest-rate volatility, banking and thrift institutions (savings and loans) suffered massive outflows of funds. Customers sought higher returns for their dollars by parking them in money market funds, which by late 1978 were available to virtually everyone. Deposits in money market funds grew from only \$4 billion in 1978 to more than \$230 billion by the end of last year.

Banks and thrift institutions used to be subject to government policies and regulations that perpetuated rigidity and retarded progress. Acceding to consistent pressure, regulators began several years ago to allow banks to raise yields and present new services, but the interest-on-checking (NOW) accounts were still held to 5½ percent interest. At the same time, credit union regulations allowed the payment of slightly higher returns. Only the money market funds, which are unregulated, were able to respond to the market.

The accelerating pace of regulatory change is fast blurring the old distinctions between banks, thrifts, money market funds, and investment companies. They are competing aggressively for savers' dollars, often printing large ads with details in very small print.

To decide whose services best fit your needs, compare yields, convenience, and safety. Investigate charges and fees; you should be able to find an institution to manage your cash at negligible cost. Remember that all limitations and restrictions constitute a form of cost. Here is a brief description and comparison of the cash management tools now at your disposal.

• *Money market funds* assure you no idle dollars; your entire deposit earns a uniform, high rate. Yield fluctuates and is compounded daily, and credited once a month. You may write as many checks as

you like, or withdraw in person or by phone. Up to now the minimum check size has been \$500, so the fund is clearly not a substitute for (but should be utilized in conjunction with) an ordinary bank checking account. Pooled funds are invested in short-term (approximately 30 days) government, bank, and corporate obligations of high quality. Money market funds have not been federally insured to date, but some are starting to use private insurance. The minimum investment: \$1000 to \$5000 (usually the initial level need not be maintained).

• *"Sweep" accounts* at major banks and brokerage firms are a useful refinement for the active investor with at least \$20,000 in cash and securities. They provide additional services, such as a debit card and a line of credit.

(Service and convenience for both of the above vary with the institution. It is possible and desirable in many cases to have an additional broker or banker manage your account. Some firms have initiated fees for money market customers who do not trade securities—ask, and avoid! An additional advantage of some of the money market funds is the availability of investment funds in the same "family," with the privilege of exchange. Some also have tax-exempt money market funds, which should be seriously considered by anyone who insists on keeping a large amount of cash and is in the 40-percent tax bracket or above.)

• *Bank and thrift money market accounts*, the new guys on the block, have been available only since mid-December. Launched with extensive advertising, the accounts offer high one-month introductory rates, reminiscent of the Individual Retirement Account blitz a year earlier. It is too soon to assess their popularity or rate performance. Continual payment of high interest will clearly pose a serious threat to bank profitability. The terms generally require a minimum of \$2500 to establish an account, and the minimum must be maintained or the money market rate of return will drop to 5½ percent. Unlimited personal withdrawals are permitted but only three checks per month can be written. Bank "Super-

NOW" accounts are even newer, with the advantage of unlimited checking. Both of these accounts are federally insured.

• *Credit unions* remain a convenience for many, despite the slightly lower yields, which vary according to the account balance. The minimal return (5¼ percent) on balances below \$5000 in share draft accounts make these very similar to bank NOW accounts. Deregulation has produced one very significant change: in August 1982, credit unions were allowed to remove penalties for early withdrawal in certificate accounts. This change, of course, makes it possible to use the certificates as a cash-management vehicle, but the privilege of free withdrawal could conceivably be altered if abused.

As I have written on prior occasions, it is important not to confuse cash management with investing. Keep two to three months' cash flow, or more if comfort requires, in a convenient, available place, but make it work! Look for sources of higher return, specifically growth vehicles, for other funds.

There are many changes still to come in the way we conduct our banking and related business. Electronic banking—paying bills via a home computer—may be just around the corner. One already sees stocks and bonds for sale at Sears—a sign of the changing times!

—MARGARET WINKLER

Margaret Winkler is a certified financial planner and investment broker with Legg Mason Wood Walker Inc., 1747 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

AID Standing Warns Change Not Likely in School Travel Funds

Because educational travel benefits are limited to dependents enrolled in full-time degree programs, AFSA's AID Standing Committee is looking into chapter suggestions of obtaining these funds for dependents in non-degree programs such as computer programming.

Though reform makes sense in today's economy, the committee said, changes cannot be effected through negotiations with management. The benefits are limited not by joint agency regulations but by law and apply to all other federal workers as well. The law specifies "undergraduate college education" and does not provide for non-degree programs.

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