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LETTERS

Somewhat Misleading

I read with great interest Philip W. Quigg's thought-provoking article on Antarctica in the February edition of the *Foreign Service Journal* ["A Pole Apart"]. His analysis of the substantive issues relating to Antarctica is generally perceptive and timely.

There is, however, one aspect of the Quigg piece which I believe is somewhat misleading—specifically, his thesis that the State Department is devoting inadequate resources to Antarctic issues. To correct any misimpression, it might be useful to simply catalogue how we are organized to deal with Antarctic matters. First, the department chairs the inter-agency Antarctic Policy Group, with the assistant secretary for OES occupying that position. Within OES, under the deputy assistant secretary for oceans and fisheries affairs, there is the Office of Oceans and Polar Affairs (OES/OPA), which has operational responsibility for Antarctica within OES. OES/OPA includes five substantive officers—four of whom devote most or part of their attention to Antarctic issues. In addition, we in OES work closely with other bureaus in the department, most particularly with the Economic Bureau and the Office of the Legal Adviser, in handling Antarctic policy issues.

I believe that the United States has been quite successful in the pursuit of its Antarctic policy over the past few years and am confident that we have the capacity to deal with those emerging issues which Mr. Quigg has so well described.

JAMES L. MALONE
*Assistant Secretary of State,
Bureau of Oceans and International
Environmental and Scientific Affairs
Washington, D.C.*

Arabesque Encore

Mideast specialists are divided over the wisdom of a public debate on Arabists ["The Education of an Arabist," by Curtis F. Jones, December; "Arabesque," March LETTERS] but neither they nor other neutral observers of the Washington scene are in doubt about the undue influence over

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our policy in that region by supporters of Israel. About 350 Arabists have been trained by the Department of State since 1955 and about 100 of these remain in the Foreign Service. Twelve officers know both languages.

Comments by some of them, both serving and retired, show that they are uncomfortable with the current debate over Arabists not because they feel the article by Mr. Jones is wrong in any substantial part, but because they fear being targeted. Some senior retired officers pursuing a second career even felt threatened in that career. Several in this completely unscientific survey said that they were often hampered in their objective recommendations of policy by the pressures exerted by Capitol Hill or from minority advisers in the White House. No surprise, that.

One observer likened the denigration of Arabists to the treatment given old China Hands who had to wait 24 years for vindication. Others were more concerned over what the debate would do to using Arabists in policy positions in the future than the gains from surfacing these feelings by Arabists now.

The Arabists said that ethnic groups had to be listened to and were necessary to knit together political support for the policy. But they pointed out that U.S. policy on Palestine had always been rejected by supporters of Israel and even the President's current initiative was being given only half-hearted support. Supporters of Israel, they said, seemed to act as surrogates of that state rather than interpreting U.S. policy effectively and pressing for its adoption by Israel. They pointed to the almost insulting level of dialogue between Israel and the United States, an issue in which supporters of Israel appear to be blaming American officials, none of them Arabists.

It appears that Israel today does have many of the characteristics of Taiwan thirty years ago, when that government judged it was more important to capture Capitol Hill and influence the foreign policy establishment of America against recognition of their enemy, mainland China, than to deal with their own domestic realities. Such states have little regard for American needs in an area and always dislike knowledgeable Foreign Service officers.

The one hope of the Arabists now is that the supporters of peace inside Israel and their American counterparts will seek as much influence over the dismal direction of that state's foreign policy as they claim to have over American policy in the area.

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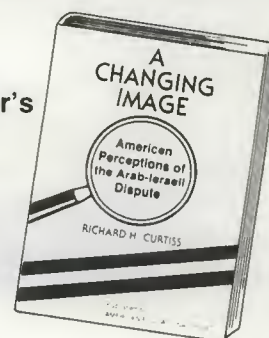
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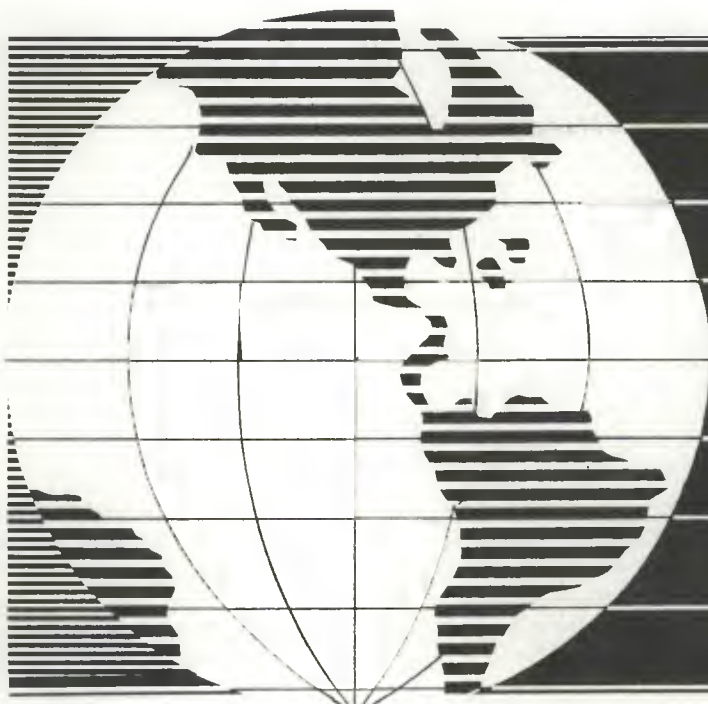
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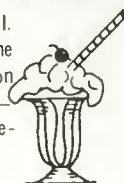
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Israel which has been much needed. The Editorial Board of the *Journal* can be congratulated for surfacing this debate, which is really over the issue of the proper role of professional specialists and their ethnic counterparts in the American population. Let the public be the judge since foreign policy is no longer made in a closet, nor should it be.

EUGENE BIRD
Washington, D.C.

Although I am not exactly a disinterested bystander, the spirited exchange of letters [March] over Curtis Jones's recent controversial article, "The Education of an Arabist," prompts the following comments.

Whatever legitimate criticism of Mr. Jones's positions on our Mideast policy may exist, many of us, especially those who have had the privilege of serving in the Mideast, are forever amazed at the apparent credibility accorded the arguments that first, Israel is our only dependable and constant ally in the Mideast; and second, that it serves our national interests there vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. With respect to the first argument, the question that begs an answer is: against what country in that area would the mighty United States be likely to go to war, and, if the occasion did

arise, would we really require the assistance of Israel? Needless to say, one could also write a small volume on just how "dependable" or "constant" this ally has been to date. The second argument is probably more ridiculous than the first. Far from serving our interests vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, it is the Israeli state itself and our entrenched subsidy and support of it that has given, and will continue to give, the Soviet Union its finest opportunities for penetration in the area. Indeed our practically open-ended commitment to Israel risks eventually reducing our leverage in the Arab world to zero.

We who seem to favor the "Arabist" viewpoint, do not deny those so-called "shared ideals and principles" between the United States and Israel to which one writer referred. The religious and ethical ideas embodied in the literary heritage of the Old Testament is a legacy of which we can all be deeply appreciative. By the same token, however, those shared values confer no exclusive club status on us and the Israelis. Also as Professor Hitti has written: "The culture of the Hebrews was almost entirely derived from their Canaanite precursors, whose very language and alphabet they adopted." Thus our cultural roots with the Semitic races certainly extend beyond the Hebrew.

The tragedy in all this is that despite their so-called "special relationship," both Israel and the United States are squandering their best interests and long-term goals in the Mideast—the former by its greed and belief that it can forever dictate terms to its Arab neighbors, and the latter by its inability to exact satisfactory quid pro quo's in return for the tremendous support it gives.

ROBERT L. DWELLEY
Foreign Service Staff Officer, retired
Freeport, Maine

Service Stereotypes

As a Foreign Service officer currently assigned to the National War College at Fort McNair, reading Mr. Edward Marks's piece "Letter from Fort McNair" [February] was like watching a relative make a fool of himself in public. All one can do is wince and try to stop it from happening again.

Whatever Mr. Marks's intention in writing an article of this kind, the result is lamentable, to put it mildly. What emerges from this piece is a portrait of a stage Foreign Service officer, a type of P.G. Wodehouse character whose own narrow world makes him look at the rest of humanity in terms of stereotypes, lesser orders which one must tolerate. He creates a vision of Fort McNair peopled with "narrow, gadgetry-obsessed" Air Force officers, "quirky and occasionally oddly intellectual" Marines, "provincial" Naval officers, and "mature" Army men, more "like us." This shopworm cast of characters views the "diplomats" with a "mixture of limited awe and amiable scorn."

Since I do not know Mr. Marks, I cannot say how accurately these remarks reflect his true feelings. I do know, however, that his account of War College life, particularly where it concerns stereotypes, at times borders on the delirious. In contrast to Mr. Marks, I have found a serious institution which provides an ambitious and stimulating curriculum. The student body, far from consisting of military or civilian service clones, is distinguished by its diversity and talent. Moreover, the atmosphere of openness and helpfulness is one in which words like "scorn" and "disdain" simply do not come to mind. That is why it is so painful to read such a smug and unkind account of FSOs "going native" and "trying to meet the military on their own ground." It is all fantasy, but fantasy which can nonetheless cause unnecessary ill will. If Mr. Marks can be this wrong about life in his own country, what is he reporting about events overseas?

I realize that I may appear to be overre-

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acting to what may have been meant as a tongue-in-cheek article. But if this was meant as a joke, it was a joke in poor taste, something which diplomats have traditionally tried to avoid.

W. KENNETH THOMPSON
Foreign Service Officer
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Re-entry Study Group

Readers of your January article on re-entry ["Rules for Re-entry"] may be interested in knowing that two groups, working under auspices of the AAFSW Forum and with the active support of the Family Liaison Office and the Overseas Briefing Center, have been exploring the special set of circumstances that Foreign Service teenagers meet when they return to life in the United States. For far too many, "coming home" proves to be a return to isolation and loneliness, where the value systems of their peer group are very different and communication is unexpectedly difficult.

"It was really rough. Everyone thought I was a freak."

"If I just had a friend, someone I could talk to. . . someone I could eat lunch with at school."

These comments were made by members of a teen panel made up of Foreign Service juniors, warm and intelligent young people who came to discuss very frankly the problems of re-entry, the personal reactions, and the lessons they've learned on how to cope. The panel met in several sessions last fall with clinical social worker Janet Lloyd and anthropologist Harvel Sebastian, both Foreign Service wives. In addition, a parent group has assessed its own family experiences, trying to analyze problems and find remedies.

Overseas, our teenagers usually live in a face-to-face community, where their teachers know them personally, and they know each other and the families of their peers. Even though overseas communities have their own sets of problems, the kids have a structured world in which they possess their own place and status.

Returning to Washington, they often come back to no community and no support system at all. We, their parents, may or may not have or develop our "networks" of friends and relations. But our friends usually don't know our children, and these adult relationships too rarely establish the community or reference group of familiar and important people that our children need for social and personal development.

Above all, our children are set down without adequate communication tools, expected to know how to pierce that seam-

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less barrier of teenage clannishness in schools so large that, at the end of a year, few teachers or fellow students may have come to know their names. Often this lasts two, three, four years for some.

Bleak picture? It happens to yours, to mine, to the children of our colleagues. Some children sail through. Some pass through an anguishing and stunting period but develop coping strategies. Some get really dented. And some don't survive. Our losses as a community are too high.

The Teen Re-entry Study Group has now begun to recruit actively both youth and adult members for an action campaign and a lively program to combat these prob-

lems. For those who have energy and ideas to give to this effort, or who want more information, call the Family Liaison Office (leave name and phone number for Phyllis Habib), or the Overseas Briefing Center (leave same for Ruth Abramson).

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BOOK REVIEWS

U.S. Canadian Relations: Farce or Friendship?

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES: *Dependence and Divergence*. By The Atlantic Council Working Group on the United States and Canada (Willis C. Armstrong, et al). Ballinger Publishing, 1982.

PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS. By Lawrence Martin. Doubleday & Co., 1983. \$19.95.

Two more contrasting treatments of the U.S.-Canadian experience could not be imagined. Canadian *Globe and Mail* reporter Martin romps through a hundred years of misunderstandings with verve and good humor, poking large, ragged holes in the myth of the special relationship.

President Kennedy infuriates Prime Minister Diefenbaker (JFK pronounces it "... bawker") who finds a document Kennedy left behind discussing how the United States should push Canada into supporting U.S. policies. It was alleged that Kennedy had written in the margin, "What do we do with the sonofabitch now?" Diefenbaker then angers Kennedy by refusing to back him up during the Cuban missile crisis.

Prime Minister "Mike" Pearson (Johnson insists on using "Lester") infuriated President Johnson by speaking in Philadelphia against the bombing of North Vietnam. At Camp David, Johnson blows his top. "... the President of the United States grabbed him by the shirt collar, twisted it and lifted the shaken Prime Minister by the neck. The verbal abuse continued in a venomous torrent, 'You p---d on my rug,' he thundered."

But this is light stuff compared to the dark designs of Grant, Hayes, Cleveland, Teddy Roosevelt, and Taft to maneuver Canada into annexation. It is light stuff compared to the wholesale ignorance and indifference of Americans toward things Canadian, and the deep-seated and impotent resentment of Canadians toward the United States. The relationship has been best summed up in an unforgettable oneliner by Canadian politician Robert Thompson. "The United States," he said, "is our friend, whether we like it or not."

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For those not already involved in the epic of the "disparate dyad" (a ten-to-one relationship in all things but geography), Martin is a good introduction to the sober, concerned study by the Atlantic Council Working Group. The slow process by which Canada drifted away from Britain and closer to the United States reached its apogee during World War II when Roosevelt and MacKenzie King formed a mutual admiration society that ended with Roosevelt's death and has never been revived. Instead, there has since been a sometimes desperate Canadian effort to foster the growth of its own identity. It has adopted the Trudeau style—cool and detached, friendly but uncommitted, above all searching for an independent role.

The Atlantic Council takes the relationship a step further. It is the United States that is now wary and worried about Canada rather than the other way around. Canadian unity and central government authority are being tested by Quebec separatism, increasing provincial autonomy, and economic and political strains beyond the control of Ottawa. According to the council, Canada is in for a time of troubles. A great variety of American interests are at stake in a situation which the United States can little affect. Beginning with a policy paper (published separately by the council), the book has separate chapters on confederation, energy, investment, trade, environment, defense, and Quebec.

What is special about this study, however, is the implicit recognition of Canada's importance beyond the bilateral issues. Thus, it suggests that the United States should seek to work closely with Canada in multilateral forums, e.g. GATT, the summits, OECD, UNCTAD, OAS, IMF, and the World Bank; should resume consultations on world grain trade; should support Canada's defense efforts in the Pacific; and maintain close coordination on arms control. The council suggests—too faintly, one thinks—revival of the U.S.-Canadian Joint Cabinet Committees. This should gratify Canadians, this indication that at least one group of Americans takes Canada very seriously indeed.

These books make a good pair, and are best read together. One is about the past, written by a Canadian and defensive of Canada; the other about the future, written mostly by Americans, defensive mainly of U.S. interests (and criticized for it in a dissent by one member). One is to be read seriously; the other has a serious side but should be read for fun as well. As one reviewer wrote, "Lawrence Martin has done the impossible; he has made Canadian-American relations interesting."

—ROBERT K. OLSON

Talking to Foreigners

CITIZEN AMBASSADORS: *Guidelines for Responding to Questions Asked about America.* By Charles T. Vetter Jr. Brigham Young University Center for International and Area Studies, 1983.

Several generations of Foreign Service officers will remember Vetter as the man who introduced them to dialectical argument during his impersonation of Soviet diplomats at the Foreign Service Institute and elsewhere. His new book is a must volume for all Americans who are going abroad, especially Foreign Service officers. Above

all, it is an indispensable manual for those who have never faced the irrepressible curiosity of foreigners, both friendly and hostile.

Beginning with the first of his sixty most trenchant questions asked by foreigners—"Describe American family life for us. Is it true that the wife runs the husband and the children run the mother?"—Vetter offers us not only factual answers but very effective common sense ways to respond to tough, hostile questions on the one hand, and the naive curiosity of the uninformed on the other—and a guide to telling the two apart.

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tive American who does not learn something useful about her- or himself in the process of working through Vetter's questions and answers. The book is divided into four sections: American culture and society, American government, Americans in the world economy, and American foreign policy. Some sample entries: How can a peanut farmer and a movie actor even try to get the presidency? How can you have poverty and unemployment in your country when you are so rich? Wasn't your intervention in Chile, Israel, and Iran a return to your "big stick" policies of the 1920s and before?

This review will not spoil your enjoyment of the book by providing Vetter's responses (he doesn't call them "answers") to these and other questions, but a word about his basic thesis is in order: Vetter believes that Americans frequently are simply unable to communicate effectively the information needed to strengthen others' understanding of our country. He suggests that motivation and attitude are at least as important as formal training. He also stresses the importance of the national employees of U.S. missions abroad who have shared their insights with him, and through him with the reader.

The forward and section introductions by Dr. W. Ladd Hollist, a Brigham Young University political scientist, are very helpful stage setting, especially for the non-professional reader. The meat of this book, however, is pure Vetter.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

Donovan Examined

THE LAST HERO: *Wild Bill Donovan*. By Anthony Cave Brown. Times Books, 1982. \$24.95.

DONOVAN AND THE CIA: *A History of the Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency*. By Thomas F. Troy. Aletbeia Books/University Publications, 1982, \$29.50.

DONOVAN: *America's Master Spy*. By Richard Dunlop. Rand McNally, 1982.

"Wild Bill" Donovan, a name already fading into history, was one of the extraordinary figures of his time. World War I hero, founder of a leading Wall Street law firm, U.S. attorney and assistant attorney general, losing Republican candidate for lieutenant-governor and governor of New York, he headed the United States' first intelligence agency, the Office of Strategic Services, that in turn paved the way for today's CIA.

A Catholic Irishman from upstate New York and graduate of Columbia College

and Law School, Donovan early displayed outstanding leadership qualities. While forging a successful career at the bar, he found time to enter Republican politics and lead a troop of New York national guard cavalry in Pershing's chase after Pancho Villa in 1916. As a battalion commander and later colonel of the "Fighting 69th" in World War I, he returned from France with more decorations even than his brigade commander, Douglas MacArthur. But despite the efforts of his admirers (especially Dunlop) to provide Donovan with credentials, what emerges from these biographies is that in the professional sense, Donovan had no intelligence background at all. What he brought to the task was incredible energy, extraordinary inspirational gifts, and a conviction that conventional military operations were only one dimension of modern warfare.

At first, Donovan's intention was not to build an all-embracing intelligence organization to compete with military and naval intelligence, but rather to create a covert warfare capability based on "coordination of information" from a variety of sources. Hence, the para-military, covert action emphasis of both the OSS and the early CIA. Indeed, the OSS never was a system of world-wide intelligence collection and evaluation—that only came later with the CIA. Much of the information with which Donovan regaled President Roosevelt was "raw data," often dubious in origin. Even at that time, intelligence based on decoded German and Japanese intercepts (MAGIC and ULTRA) was more reliable than "human" intelligence for the same areas. Moreover, recent revelations in Britain indicate that one of Donovan's top British advisers was a German agent, and probably a Soviet agent as well.

Despite the gaudy nickname, Donovan was a quiet person, with a talent for persuasion and a consummate ability to enlist persons of influence. Since he was a compulsive traveler and no administrator, it was a miracle that he was ever able to fight off the efforts of J. Edgar Hoover, military intelligence, the Office of War Information, and Nelson Rockefeller's aid operation for Latin America to emasculate the OSS and steal its functions. Donovan also had one turf battle after another with the British over operations in Europe. To the end of the war, the OSS was dependent on the British intelligence system, and this dependence was recognized in Donovan's November 1944 memo to President Roosevelt that laid the conceptual basis for the later CIA.

Of the three biographies, Cave Brown's work is the most comprehensive, providing an exceptionally detailed picture of in-

dividual OSS operations in the field, including devastating fiascos in Turkey and Central Europe as well as outstanding successes in France and the Balkans. It reflects monumental research and access to the Donovan archives.

The Dunlop biography, heavily based on taped interviews, is successful as an admiring portrait of Donovan the man, but often vague in the specifics of OSS operations, imprecise as to dates and sources, and given to gross and unsubstantiated exaggeration as regards the role of OSS in winning the war. Troy's *Donovan and the CIA* (an official history, updated for current publication) is an impeccable work of scholarship and superbly written. Primarily concerned with the organizational history of the OSS and CIA in the United States, it by no means neglects the career and personality of the hero. All three have considerable difficulty in presenting a rounded picture of Donovan. That remarkably secretive gentleman remains as elusive as ever. —CHARLES MAECHLING JR.

A Sorry State

RUSSIAN ROULETTE: *The Superpower Game*. By Arthur Macy Cox. Times Books, 1982.

Russian Roulette is a timely and frightening account of the dangers of accidental nuclear war and the sorry state of U.S.-Soviet relations. Cox blames the demise of détente on Soviet expansion in the Third World. He would remedy matters with sweeping bilateral cuts of nuclear weapons and with a superpower compact not to send troops into Third World countries. Georgi Arbatov, head of the Soviet Institute for the Study of the United States and Canada, contributes a chapter to the book, sharply disagreeing with Cox's analysis of the end of détente. The book has a few factual errors; for instance, it was the United States, not the Soviet Union, that called for negotiations to reduce troops in Europe. But Cox has a point of view which he presents forcefully. —DAVID LINEBAUGH

De Gaulle Remembered

DE GAULLE. By Bernard Ledwidge. St. Martin's Press, 1982. \$17.95.

After retirement, German ambassadors write lengthy and self-serving memoirs (Grewe, Frank, Blankenhorn, Wickert). Retired U.S. ambassadors tend to write ponderous policy prescriptions read mainly by political science professors (Kennan, Herz, Davis, Garthoff). British ambassadors, however, spend their retirement writing readable contemporary history

(Nicolson, Trevor-Roper, Selwyn Lloyd), much of it so well-written that it is selected by the Book of the Month Club or the Current History Club. Ex-ambassador Ledwidge's biography of Charles de Gaulle is an excellent example of this genre.

Ledwidge served as minister of the British embassy in Paris from the birth of the Fifth Republic in 1958 until de Gaulle's resignation in 1969. He knew de Gaulle personally and had access to the personal papers of President Georges Pompidou.

This book makes clear the continuity of de Gaulle's policies since the days of World War II. Even today, the present Socialist government adheres in its foreign and defense policies to the main lines of de Gaulle's 1945 blueprint. And it does so under a Gaullist constitution using Gaullist legislative tactics—witness the recent use of decrees to regionalize France.

Ledwidge, in contrast to John Newhouse (*De Gaulle and the Anglo-Saxons*) and other American biographers, generally regards de Gaulle favorably and does not believe that he harmed the western world. Even when he criticizes de Gaulle—as for his handling of the student revolt in 1968—Ledwidge sees him as a prophet following a permanent set of goals intended to further French aggrandizement in a more independent Europe. But de Gaulle's opportunism in the pursuit of his goals is also very evident. Ledwidge sometimes understates de Gaulle's flexibility of means and his recognition of the importance of Franco-American relations. As the greatest power in the world, it was the United States that could provide France with the recognition and role that de Gaulle felt it deserved.

In the final analysis, de Gaulle failed to secure the leadership of a strong European bloc, failed to overcome the division of Europe, and failed to break up superpower hegemony over Europe. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of Atlantic orthodoxy, France today remains a special case, due largely to the intellectual ability and charisma of a man who began his political career as a temporary brigadier general. Sir Bernard Ledwidge provides us with fascinating personal insights into a sense of predestined greatness whose mythical quality even today affects French and European politics. —CHARLES R. FOSTER

Comintern Memoirs

THE BELLS OF THE KREMLIN, by Arvo Tuominen, edited by Piltti Heiskanen. University Press of New England, 1983. \$22.50.

Arvo Tuominen (1894–1981), was secretary general of the Finnish Communist

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party, member of the Presidium of the Comintern, and a protégé of the Finnish Communist leader Otto Kuusinen, Stalin's life-long confidant. Piltti Heiskanen, Finnish-born writer and retired FSIO, has edited a remarkable memoir based on Tuominen's five books and on interviews.

Tuominen recalls an early period when he lived across the Moskva river from the Kremlin in the skyscraper apartment building that housed only the highest functionaries of the "classless society." He leads us through the Lenin School, a collective farm, and the Comintern Hotel Lux on Moscow's Gorky Street where "every conceivable villainy was devised." He describes the Comintern's role as setting land

mines for future wars and revolutions which, he says, are still exploding in our time. As a leading official of the Comintern, Tuominen occupied one of the reserved seats at the purge trials in which the old Bolsheviks Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, and Radek made their abject confessions. He knew them well, as he did Lenin whom he respected and admired even after his break with communism.

Tuominen limits his observations and judgments to the state and party systems of the Stalin era, leaving open the question of how much the basic nature and rigidity of the system has changed since then. Following the shock of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Soviet dictator demanded in Novem-

ber 1939 that Tuominen lead a Finnish puppet government prior to the planned invasion of Finland. Being in Stockholm at the time, Tuominen was able to defy the order. He broke with Moscow, but being still secretary general of the party, he led the Finnish communists in the fight against the invading Soviet armies. Finnish patriotism transcended ideological differences. The miracle of the winter war united the nation and, he strongly believes, guaranteed its future. Throughout this memoir, Tuominen convincingly testifies to the failure of the Communist system and to the ability of people to stand firmly by their national values and traditions.

—ROBERT A. BAUER

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Books in Brief . . .

THE FIRST YEAR OF SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE. By Bela Balassa. *American Enterprise Institute*, 1982. \$1.50. This brief essay critically examines the structural and short-term economic policies of the first year of the new Socialist government. Balassa does not deal with political and cultural matters, such as decentralization or defense, but focuses on industrial development and public sector expenditures.

HENRY S. SANFORD: *Diplomacy and Business in Nineteenth Century America.* By Joseph A. Fry. *University of Nevada Press*, 1982. \$9.25. This rather academic biography of Sanford, who served as chargé d'affaires in Paris and minister to Belgium in the mid-nineteenth century, concentrates on his nearly always unsuccessful business ventures.

REPERTORY OF DISARMAMENT RESEARCH. By Jean-Pierre Cot, Jean-François Guilbaudis, and Chantal de Jonge Oudraat. *United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research*, 1982. This extensive bibliography lists studies on the arms race, regional disarmament, nuclear, biological and chemical, and conventional disarmament, and disarmament in the oceans and outer space. There is also a listing of institutes involved in the study of disarmament.

STUDIES IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF PALESTINE IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. Edited by Roger Owen. *Southern Illinois University Press*, 1982. A collection of four well-written, learned essays by scholars associated with the Middle East Center of St. Antony's College, Oxford, eminently suitable for reference purposes or for experts in the economic and social history of Palestine.

BOOK ESSAY

Brzezinski on State

POWER AND PRINCIPLE. By Zbigniew Brzezinski. Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1983. \$22.50.

President Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski has produced his version of events in U.S. foreign policy from 1977-81. It is an odd document, sometimes gossipy and anecdotal and revealing in ways that were not intended. It is also a bit troubling.

The book does not have the reach and commanding grasp of Henry Kissinger's first two volumes of memoirs. But neither does it have the ponderous lecture-hall tone that pads Kissinger's interminable and unfinishable tomes. Much of Brzezinski's book is compulsively readable in the same way as *People* magazine. There is also, of course, a narrative that builds a straightforward insider's account of the Carter years, especially the Iranian crisis.

The most startling revelation is the importance of personal relationships in the formation of policy. If Brzezinski is right, and he gives convincing documentation for those four years, then he adds a whole new dimension to diplomacy and diplomatic reporting. Ideas are often less important than personal relationships. Seeking out an "enemies list" is not just morbid journalistic snooping; it can be the stuff and substance of foreign policy, if only because it is being reported in the newspapers that thud on the desks of the nation's policymakers every morning and they react, sometimes with irrational fury. So, if you want to know where it's really at in national security, don't read the front page; read the gossip columns and the "Style" section.

What is more disturbing is the composition of Brzezinski's own enemies list. There are numerous villains and failed heroes, but only one person emerges totally unscathed, straight as an arrow (no prizes for guessing who that is). Jimmy Carter is portrayed as a somewhat flawed man, dignified and courageous but also somewhat insecure and moody. The four main villains in the book are:

- Helmut Schmidt, former Social Democratic chancellor of West Germany.

Brzezinski writes that Schmidt's inability to keep his tongue under control "soured German-American relations to an unprecedented degree and lent respectability to the increasing German propensity to be highly critical of the U.S. President and of U.S. policies more generally." At one point, Brzezinski even suggests that Schmidt was so pathetically eager to demonstrate his own intellectual superiority that he may be, psychologically speaking, about one quart low.

- José López Portillo, president of Mexico. As described by Brzezinski, nothing is beneath this contemptible character. He is vain and petty, causing the U.S. President to make a long detour at an arrival ceremony simply to make obeisance to a statue that turns out to be of López Portillo. After making heroic claims for Mexico's humanitarian policies, he reneges on a promise to give refuge to the dying Shah of Iran.

- Menachem Begin, prime minister of Israel. Begin is described as a world-class con-man who used flattery, obstinacy, and deception to get his way, and when he couldn't prevail—as on the settlements freeze after Camp David—simply ignored the agreement. One hilarious, revealing incident has Begin in the Oval office, along with Carter and Brzezinski, asking for a "favor." He wanted the United States to forgive \$3 billion in debt payments as a favor to his wife, Aliza. As Brzezinski describes it, Carter "who on financial matters was a bit of a miser, looked at first quite stunned and then, turning to me, he burst out laughing."

- The State Department. His dislike of the State Department in general, and of the seventh floor occupants in particular, is a leitmotif running through the entire volume.

Cyrus Vance is described as an elitist, unworldly, pleasant man who did not understand the uses of power or threatened force. "His deep aversion to the use of force was a most significant limitation on his stewardship in an age in which American power was being threatened on a very broad front." It is not likely that Vance, when finally called to the Council on Foreign Relations in the Sky, will wish to have Brzezinski's assessment chiseled on his tombstone: "There is no doubt he is a very good person. . . . He obviously has a lot of energy and a very good memory."

Brzezinski is scathing about some of Vance's aides, notably spokesman Hodding Carter and Political-Military Affairs director Leslie Gelb. He accuses them of attacking him "under the protective shield of non-attribution" while Vance loftily ignored the whole business. Yet there is



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nothing in the book to indicate that Brzezinski himself was not above leaking information, some of it derogatory to the State Department.

His tone of resentment and antagonism toward the State Department is so general that one has the sense that Brzezinski is talking about a hostile foreign government. The department is seen as insecure, turf-conscious, and packed with sore losers who spend most of their time leaking information when they are not helping create foreign policy disasters such as the case of the Soviet combat brigade in Cuba, the neutron bomb, and the fall of the Shah. We will have to wait for Vance's version before we can get a balancing view, but from Brzezinski's account it is remarkable that anything worked at all in terms of foreign policy during the Carter years, given the extraordinary suspicion and distaste that hung in the air between the NSC staff and the State Department.

Indeed, it is a fair question to ask why a State Department official (or a foreign diplomat or leader) should drop that suspicion and speak openly and frankly in the presence of somebody like Brzezinski, knowing that the words will soon appear with a spin in book form. In light of the treatment given to Henry Precht, Iran desk officer during the crisis, the Brzezinski book would seem to have an inhibiting impact on any Foreign Service officer speaking his mind on paper or even in private meetings.

The book also raises anew an important question about whether the present division of labor between the White House and the State Department can ever work if there is a strong personality as national security adviser. And there is no doubt that Brzezinski was strong and combative. Brzezinski tells how Vance had come to him, very upset, in December 1979 saying that he (Vance) thought the NSC-State relationship had deteriorated and he wanted to discuss it with the President. At what must have been a very tense meeting, Carter began "by saying that he thought he had a united team." If he really thought that, Carter was surely unique. Brzezinski complained that, "for twenty months there had been a fairly sustained press campaign directed at me, with much of it openly derived from State Department officials." The President ruled, according to Brzezinski, that State "was much more responsible for the leaks," pinning responsibility on Gelb and Richard Holbrooke, then assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, but Carter left the system and the rivalry intact and the sniping continued for the remaining two years of the administration. —JIM ANDERSON

PLUS ÇA CHANGE . . .

Foreign Service Journal, May 1973:
"Both presidents and Foreign Service officers should accept with understanding and a reasonable amount of good humor the primary reason why the Department of State is unlikely to be widely acclaimed as a popular institution. The simple fact is that the department deals with that part of the public business which we ourselves cannot control. . . . When we cross our national frontier we find ourselves in a world of some 140 governments, each with its own traditions, political system, problems, urgent needs, hopes, and aspirations. . . . It is a world of negotiation, compromise, cooperation, occasional confrontation, and on rare occasions violence. A president learns that the State Department must tell him on frequent occasions that he cannot have what he wants because strange foreigners just won't act as he would like them to do. From the point of view of the Oval Office, the Department of State is often the Department of Bad News." —DEAN RUSK

Foreign Service Journal, May 1958:
"The country desk officer in the regional bureaus of the Department of State may be low man on the totem pole so far as seniority in policymaking is concerned, yet he wields significant power in the formulation of American foreign policy. With a considerable degree of truth it may be said of him that he is both wheelhorse and sparkplug of the decision-making process." —ROBERT E. ELDER

Foreign Service Journal, May 1933:
"Our nation was 12 years in stumbling into present conditions, and it faces a rather long and uphill battle in order to bring back not the days of over-prosperity, but some sort of sane economic comfort. . . .
"Foreign relations will play an immensely important part in the victory we shall win from this struggle. There are many international problems to be solved, and much better international understanding to be attained by the internationally coordinated restoration of commerce, shipping, and industry. . . . The nation is fortunate, and I am heartened, that such a well prepared and efficient organization [as the Foreign Service] is available in this time of need." —CORDELL HULL



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Cloudy Treaties

The example of "yellow rain" provides valuable lessons for the verification and enforcement of multilateral arms control agreements

By CHARLES C. FLOWERREE

On December 1, 1982, a group of experts submitted to the U.N. General Assembly a final report on its investigation into the use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. The experts, who had been appointed by the secretary general, failed to find a "smoking gun" even though their investigation lasted for nearly a year and a half. But, the report concluded, neither could they disregard circumstantial evidence suggesting the possible use of "some sort of toxic chemical substance in some instances." Both the suspected perpetrators of chemical warfare (the Soviet Union and its Vietnamese allies) and those who had brought the charges before the United Nations (the western allies and some non-aligned countries) cited the report's findings as support for their positions. Although one U.N. official privately characterized this as a happy outcome since it gave a measure of satisfaction to both sides, it did not really satisfy the need for effective

enforcement of international agreements relating to the use of chemical and toxin weapons.

The 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibits the use of chemical and toxin weapons in warfare; the report of the group of experts was the culmination of an effort by the international community to provide a mechanism for verifying compliance with that agreement. As such it was the first international fact-finding effort organized to consider compliance with a multilateral agreement limiting weapons. And, even though the work of the group of experts did not prove to be an effective means of obtaining compliance with the protocol, the group did, despite having to operate under very heavy handicaps, produce a creditable report.

International Concern

Moreover, the whole exercise, from the adoption of the initial General Assembly resolution establishing the group to the adoption of its final report, had certain ancillary benefits. It raised the issue, initially viewed as a major problem only by the United States and the countries directly affected, to the level of wide international concern. It forced the United Nations to face the vexing problem of dealing with charges of violation of a multilateral treaty in the absence of an established verification mechanism. And it provided a considerable amount of practical experience that will be useful to those who must grapple with future problems in this area.

Charles C. Flowerree, a retired Foreign Service officer, was the U.S. representative to the Committee on Disarmament in 1980-81 and concurrently headed the U.S. delegation that negotiated bilaterally with the Soviet Union on a treaty prohibiting chemical weapons. He has been appointed by the secretary general as the U.S. member of a U.N. group of experts charged with developing better procedures for investigating alleged violations of chemical and biological weapons conventions. A different version of this article appeared in Arms Control Today.

Nevertheless, the group of experts was unable to establish whether or not the allegations were accurate. Even if it had been able to verify the occurrence of actions violating existing treaties, the group had no mandate to recommend measures intended to enforce compliance. In this respect the group and its investigation suffered not only from difficulties associated with this particular situation, but from problems inherent in any effort to assure compliance to a multilateral agreement.

Old Reports

The alleged use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia has a long history. Reports and eyewitness accounts of the use of toxic chemicals against the Hmong people of Laos began to surface within a year after the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Soon similar charges began to emerge from Kampuchea and, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, there were reports that various types of chemical weapons had been used against the *mujahideen* guerrillas. By late 1978 the United States had initiated actions through diplomatic channels. The first *démarches* were made to the Lao government and later to the governments of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. In addition, State Department representatives and a Defense Department medical team were dispatched to Thailand to interview Hmong refugees claiming to have knowledge of chemical attacks. (An account of U.S. actions regarding evidence of chemical weapons use in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan was published in March 1982 in Department of State Special Report No. 98 and updated last November by Special Report No. 104.)

As the evidence grew, the Carter administration decided to press for an impartial investigation into the use of chemical weapons in Laos, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan. In August 1980, the United States circulated a compendium of reports and other relevant information to U.N. members. In the same month the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva decided to include language in its annual report to the United Nations on the need for an impartial international investigation

into the problem of chemical weapons use.

That autumn, a vigorous and sometimes heated debate developed in the General Assembly over the question of chemical weapons use. Finally, despite strong Soviet opposition, the assembly adopted a resolution (A/35/144C) requesting the secretary general to ascertain the facts with the assistance of qualified medical and technical experts. The vote was 78 in favor to 17 opposed, with 36 abstentions, but the vote tally does not convey the drama of the resolution's passage, from the introduction of the original draft in the First Committee of the General Assembly to the resolution's final adoption.

Numerous organizational problems caused the group of experts to get off to a late start. It took almost a year before the group was able to make its first visit to Thailand, in October 1981. It had not yet completed arrangements for visiting Pakistan and had no prospects for visiting Laos, Kampuchea, or Afghanistan. In these circumstances the experts could not make a useful report to the 36th General Assembly, and so an extension of their mandate had to be authorized by another resolution. Again the Soviets and their supporters made a vigorous effort to defeat the resolution. In the end, however, it was adopted by a slightly larger vote than that of the previous year.

The extension allowed the group of experts to accomplish enough work to present a reasonably detailed report to the 37th General Assembly. The investigation, however, fell far short of fulfilling the optimum objectives. The experts were not permitted to visit any of the areas where chemical attacks were alleged to have occurred. Several pages of the final report are devoted to a description of the group's bizarre negotiations with the U.N.-recognized Kampuchean authorities for permission to visit the site of an alleged attack, negotiations that ended in total frustration. Logistic and scheduling difficulties hampered the experts' work in Pakistan and Thailand. Furthermore, many problems were encountered in handling and transporting samples of alleged toxic substances, blood, and tissue that they had acquired in their visit to Thailand. Even

more frustrating was the task of arranging to have these specimens analyzed by qualified laboratories. The report contains a long account of the experts' misadventures in trying to nail down a laboratory to examine the samples acquired in Thailand. Eventually they succeeded but the long delay contributed to the degrading of the usefulness of the laboratory results.

Throughout its investigation the group of experts was placed at a serious disadvantage in carrying out its mandate by a variety of factors, including the lack of established procedures for selecting personnel; the lack of recognized precedents or established operating procedures for carrying out the investigation; and budgetary and time constraints. Under these circumstances, and considering the swirl of controversy that surrounded the issue, it is remarkable that the group accomplished as much as it did.

It was not the task of the group of experts to make judgments about the culpability of any state under the 1925 Geneva Protocol or the 1975 Biological Weapons Convention which, *inter alia*, bans the development, production, or stockpiling of such agents as mycotoxins for non-peaceful purposes. Nor was the group expected to recommend any follow-up actions to its investigation. Even if it had arrived at an absolutely clear-cut finding that chemical weapons or other toxic substances had been used, deciding on the next steps would have generated much controversy in the international community.

Recent Evidence

Because the United States believes that the evidence it has acquired suggests the occurrence of activities incompatible with the Biological Weapons Convention it could, under the terms of the BWC, seek to obtain compliance by raising the question in the Security Council. Doing so, however, would simply put the issue in a highly political context and invite a Soviet veto. The lack of an intermediate stage in the procedures relating to compliance has been recognized as a weakness of the BWC for some time. It was dramatized by the still unresolved mystery of the occurrences at Sverdlovsk in

the U.S.S.R. in April 1979, where, reportedly, an unexplained outbreak of pulmonary anthrax near a known biological weapons facility caused a large number of deaths. After a series of unsatisfactory consultations with the Soviet Union, the United States found itself stymied unless it wanted to bring the Sverdlovsk case, which was based on ambiguous evidence, to the Security Council.

The BWC is not the only international treaty in the arms control field afflicted with such fuzzy compliance provisions. Treaties governing certain forms of military activity on the seabed, in Antarctica, and in outer space are equally weak on the matter of verification. Fortunately, no suspicion of violation of these treaties has arisen thus far. The 1978 Environmental Modification Treaty, which prohibits such things as rain-making and creating artificial tidal waves for hostile purposes, took a small step forward by adding a provision for a Consultative Committee of Experts to act as a fact-finding body, but the procedures for convening the committee are cumbersome and the terms of reference imprecise.

In the end, the effectiveness of all multilateral treaties relating to arms control and disarmament must depend on the mutually perceived self-interest of the contracting parties and the restraining effect of world opinion on would-be violators. In contrast, bilateral treaties have more tangible restraints against violation. Verification and other important provisions are negotiated to a much greater degree of refinement in agreements between just two countries. Moreover, concurrence on sensitive points, difficult as it may be, is easier to achieve in a bilateral context than in negotiations where the interests and concerns of many countries must be satisfied.

Verification is given great weight in bilateral negotiations, especially by the United States, in the expectation that early exposure of a prohibited activity will have a deterrent effect on a potential violator and will protect the security interests of the innocent party. Since bilateral negotiations are usually carried out in confidence, understandings can be reached about the use

of intelligence assets to monitor activities related to the treaty. States enter such agreements only if they appear to be of mutual advantage. Therefore, the party that violates the convention endangers its own security by running the risk that the other party could renounce the treaty and no longer be restrained from those military activities the treaty had been designed to prevent. In the absence of a strong verification mechanism, however, a determined violator could simply deny that a violation was taking place and thus avoid much of the opprobrium that might attach to a renunciation of the treaty. Of course, states may also withdraw from a multilateral treaty by invoking the "supreme national inter-

*"The sine qua non
for progress on
multilateral arms
control treaties is
prior agreement by
the United States
and the Soviet Union."*

est" clause that is nearly always a feature of such agreements.

How then can confidence be increased in the effectiveness of the 1925 Geneva Protocol and treaties like the BWC? The General Assembly recently addressed this question with regard to both agreements. In an attempt to strengthen the Geneva Protocol, the assembly adopted a resolution (37/98D) requesting the secretary general to:

- undertake investigations of any reports of violations of the protocol;
- draw up a list of qualified experts who could be available to conduct investigations;
- designate laboratories which would have the capability of analyzing samples; and
- appoint a committee of experts to study procedures for conducting inves-

tigations of reported violations of the protocol.

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 86 in favor, 19 against, and 33 abstentions. The votes against included all the Eastern European countries as well as Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Laos. And in another resolution (37/98C), the assembly recommended that the states party to the BWC hold a conference to consider methods of strengthening its compliance provisions.

While these are welcome developments, the possibility of a great leap forward in the near future is remote. The mechanics of modifying a multilateral treaty or establishing new institutions to enforce an existing agreement are daunting. Somehow all the parties must be brought to accept both the need for change and the form it is to take. At the present time, not all countries are agreed that new compliance provisions are even needed. The vote on the resolution pertaining to the Biological Weapons Convention was 126 to 15, with one abstention. Again "No" votes were cast by the Soviet Union, and its client states. At this point it is not clear what attitude the Soviets will adopt toward the effort to devise better ways of dealing with allegations that the Geneva Protocol is being violated.

Even if all parties could be brought to agree on changed procedures for the BWC and on the establishment of a permanent investigative mechanism for the Geneva Protocol, some of the inherent weaknesses of multilateral arrangements would remain. Access to the territory of recalcitrant countries would still be a problem. No country could be forced to accept the investigators. Of course, refusal to admit them would carry a political penalty, but recent experience has shown that authoritarian countries are not overly reluctant to pay that price. This leads to the more fundamental question: What can the international community do about a treaty violator which will not admit its guilt, even if that guilt can be established beyond doubt?

The only readily available sanction is the opprobrium of world opinion, but for many governments, some outside the Iron Curtain as well as those

(Continued on page 27.)

The World of a Foreign Service Secretary

An Interview with Pauline Slavik

By JOHN J. HARTER

Pauline Slavik has been in the Foreign Service for 19 years. As an FS secretary she served in New Delhi, Moscow, Hamburg, and many other posts. She is now an accounting specialist at the Washington Finance Center in Rosslyn. This interview was conducted in January 1981 and updated before publication.

Harter: You were a secretary to senior partners in Chicago law and investment firms before you joined the Foreign Service in 1964. How would you compare the two sets of experiences?

Slavik: I feel that my private sector employers recognized me as a professional, and we shared a mutual respect for each other. Some of my State Department supervisors have treated me quite differently. They said "Good morning" and "Good evening" at the appropriate times, but in between they were too preoccupied to recognize me as a colleague, much less as an individual.

Harter: Foreign Service officers often feel they, too, are used—and abused. Is this just the pecking order?

Slavik: It could be. I know many FSOs who are entirely different outside the office and in many instances secretaries can have a good rapport with them. But then from eight to five, we are again relegated to our "inferior" position of being *just* secretaries. We are talking about a caste system—a

rigid division between the staff and officer corps. This includes walking down a corridor and being deliberately spurned by a Foreign Service officer, not because he or she is distracted, but simply because that officer does not consider a secretary worthy of being addressed. It also includes being assigned simple mechanical tasks with meticulously detailed explanations of the obvious. Most secretaries do not appreciate being told that two plus two equals four.

"We have a wealth of untapped resources in the staff corps; a good number of our secretaries have college degrees and are definitely underemployed."

Harter: But some secretaries may lack your intelligence. . . .

Slavik: It's not a question of intelligence—it is a question of sensitivity.

Harter: How did you come to join the Foreign Service? Has your pre-entry image of the Service been substantiated or repudiated by your actual experience?

Slavik: I didn't have a pre-entry image of the Foreign Service. I saw a recruit-

ment poster in the Chicago post office at a time when I was ready for a fundamental change in my life. I took the qualifying examinations and passed. Some months later the State Department telephoned and asked me to come to Washington, and about five weeks later I was on a plane to my first post—New Delhi.

Harter: You had no formal training before your departure for India?

Slavik: Only a short course in records handling and a general introductory course to living abroad—the do's and don'ts—both of which were of marginal value. But I was fortunate that I had good officemates in New Delhi, who shared their experience and knowledge, not only insofar as the work was concerned, but with tips about how to live in a foreign country.

Harter: Do you think the State Department does all it should to recruit secretaries?

Slavik: I'm not familiar with the department's current recruitment program for secretaries, but I believe applicants should be made aware of the limited opportunities for advancement in the Foreign Service staff corps.

Harter: Did your education prepare you for life in the Foreign Service?

Slavik: No, and I'm not sure that formal education can do much here. I think experience is more important. Some people become peculiar when exposed to cultural shocks, and others adjust quickly. Perhaps adjustment is largely a function of personality.

Harter: What do you mean by cultural shock?

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Slavik: For example, soon after arriving in New Delhi, I came to the office one day and found I was almost the only one there. It had rained and almost all the staff had gone off to make sure their water reservoirs were functioning properly. Similarly, in Saigon in the mid- to late 1960s, a backfiring car was a signal to hit the floor. I quickly learned after arrival there that any explosive noise triggered this reaction, since one could not be sure it wasn't an attack or a bomb. These kinds of experiences can jolt one unaccustomed to them.

Harter: Did you suffer cultural shock in New Delhi?

Slavik: Yes, very much so. It was difficult for me to adjust psychologically to life in a country of "haves" and "have nots." I was appalled at the very concept of pariahs, and to salve my own conscience, I worked on weekends at a leper colony, to help atone for the attitude of my "have" Indian friends. I invited Indian friends to come with me to the leper colony, but they felt they could help more by contributing the money that would hire laborers.

Harter: Did you develop a tougher hide as a result?

Slavik: Yes, I did—and that stood me in good stead at my next post—Vietnam.

Harter: You went there in the fall of 1965—just as hundreds of thousands of Americans were streaming in. What was the embassy there like?

Slavik: It was extremely fragmented. It had outgrown its building some time earlier, and different sections were housed in different quarters—so a good deal of running around was necessary to get clearances or deliver classified materials. The administrative section, for example, was about three miles away from the main chancery building.

Harter: You went from there to Hamburg, Germany, in 1967. . . .

Slavik: Yes, but I didn't leave Vietnam behind. Students at the University of Hamburg, near the consulate, constantly demonstrated against the war. A lot of the consulate's reporting centered on German reactions to our involvement in Vietnam.

Harter: Your life was different there?

Slavik: Oh, yes—living in a modern

city again was a pleasure. Hamburg had everything—ballet, one of the world's best operas, museums, a lovely countryside, and wonderful people.

Harter: Did you learn German?

Slavik: Yes, I took German language classes at the consulate, and also night classes, at one of the German schools that specialized in teaching German to foreigners. The more German I learned, the more I enjoyed my life there.

Harter: You had many interesting assignments after that—Uganda, Pakistan, Turkey, and Israel, for example. But how about Moscow? You were there from 1975 to 1977. What was most memorable to you about that assignment?

Slavik: That was the height of détente, and so it was a good time to be in the Soviet Union. But it was also the time when the U.S. government decided to admit that for some twenty-odd years, the embassy and its employees had been bombarded with radiation.

Harter: Did you suffer from that?

Slavik: I don't know. The tests said I didn't, but who knows? But from that experience, I learned that even our government is not always forthright. Apparently the State Department had known of the radiation for some years—but it chose not to tell those who had been subjected to the radiation.

Harter: Did you meet many Russians?

Slavik: Yes, and I found them—like people everywhere—very fond of animals and children. I owned a little dog, and he helped me to meet many Russians. Once, when a friend and I took a train to Leningrad and were waiting for a connection, some people at the station took an interest in my dog. There were no places left on the benches, not any other place to sit, so they began to scrunch over and make room for us. Once settled, we noticed that little bags were being opened, and food was passed from hand to hand—not for my friend and me, but for my dog. Then someone produced a plate of water for the dog. Naturally, we all started to talk. My friend, who spoke Russian fairly well, answered their questions about the dog, about where we were going, and why, and eventually some of them invited us to their

homes. Unfortunately, Soviet travel restrictions made this impossible, and there was no way we could really explain that. So we simply said we didn't have the proper documentation, and that was accepted.

Harter: Did you ever encounter a negative or hostile reaction in the Soviet Union?

Slavik: Only once—when a man stopped me on the street to ask the time. This was before I learned enough Russian to answer, and I replied, in English. Then, in proper English, he asked if I was an American. When I said yes, he said, "Well, I can't speak with you," and off he went.

Harter: What was it like in Nairobi, where you were the ambassador's secretary?

Slavik: Nairobi is a beautiful city. And

"Some of my State Department supervisors have been too preoccupied to recognize me as a colleague, much less as an individual."

I went on some wonderful safaris. Having enjoyed Nairobi so much, I was very disappointed to learn in early 1980 that the ambassador would be leaving, and that the new one would bring his own secretary. But after learning this, I also learned through the grapevine that the position of ambassador's secretary in Poland would open about then, so I bid for the job, and got it. I arrived in Warsaw on June 30 and left October 10 of that year.

Harter: Why were you in and out of Warsaw so quickly?

Slavik: Ambassador Schaufele retired, and the new ambassador brought his own secretary, again leaving me jobless.

Harter: What did you do after that?

Slavik: I requested reassignment to the State Department, and went to work in the executive offices of the Bureau of

European Affairs. This was my first Washington assignment, after 17 years in the Foreign Service—and it lasted just one week. I was then reassigned to the Reagan transition team at State.

Harter: What is your reaction to being in the United States again?

Slavik: It's been wonderful to be back—to pick up the telephone and talk to my father, without going through international operators. And it's been sobering to work in the State Department. I don't know whether to characterize it as a maze or as a jungle—not speaking of the transition team, but rather of the life and work of a department secretary. Her lot is much worse than it is overseas—if that's possible—and so I decided, finally, to make a change and go into administrative work. This was easier said than done—but persistence, constant follow-up, and some luck contributed to my being granted an excursion tour at the Washington Finance Center.

Harter: What did you do there?

Slavik: I became a payroll analyst, basically calculating and preparing the salaries of U.S. embassy employees in the Dominican Republic, Surinam, and Brazil, on the basis of information submitted by our embassies in those countries. I am now an accounting specialist.

Harter: Can a good secretary make a difference in the quality of his or her supervisor's work?

Slavik: Certainly. By pointing out the correct format, and checking grammar, punctuation, and syntax, a secretary will help a lot. And a secretary can harm a supervisor by not doing so. A secretary also maintains the calendar, does research, and acts as office manager, especially when working with ambassadors and DCMs.

Harter: Should secretaries prepare efficiency reports on their bosses?

Slavik: No. But I do think secretaries have a useful viewpoint on the performance of their bosses—one that may differ substantially from those of their bosses' supervisors. Frankly, I think the Foreign Service evaluation system has a lot of problems.

Harter: Why?

Slavik: No rating officer can be com-

pletely objective. We're all human and suffer many frailties. If you like me, you'll write a much better report than if you don't—the chemistry between individuals is very important here. And if you happen to have a flair for the English language, it will also help. So the report may not really reflect the quality of the performance. I think a lot of harm is done to individuals if supervisors try to be "honest" in efficiency reports when they did not deal honestly with the individuals concerned before they wrote the reports. It's better when people openly point out shortcomings or things that annoy them as they occur, rather than wait until the end of the year to put them into a personnel document.

Harter: Do you think any supervisor or secretary should be able to terminate a relationship that either finds intolerable?

Slavik: Yes, but the initiative should rest with the principal parties concerned, and they should discuss the problem frankly with each other before that point is reached. Intermediaries sometimes magnify problems and further exacerbate the situation, so recourse to a third party should be a last resort. Openness and honesty are essential—and there is too little of either in the Foreign Service.

Harter: Is it true that a sort of underground enables secretaries around the world to communicate with one another about the strengths and weaknesses of officers?

Slavik: Yes, and it works, although it's not necessarily valid. The underground warned me not to take some of the best jobs I had.

Harter: Do secretaries generally relish or resent demanding work and overtime?

Slavik: That depends. Personally, I don't object to necessary overtime, in response to true emergency situations—but I do object to overtime that results from the supervisor's inefficiency. No secretary likes to sit around for hours, simply because the supervisor won't learn the combination to the office safe, or won't accept the security consequences of locking up.

Harter: What qualities do you most appreciate in a supervisor?

Slavik: Honesty and reliability, a

genuine concern for those he or she supervises, and a willingness to help, whenever possible. Backbone is important—and unfortunately it is somewhat rare.

Harter: What do you mean?

Slavik: Let me give an example. In Saigon, I worked in the embassy's political section, where we were very busy. Secretaries there pulled weekend duty, and we in the political section drew this twice as often as the other secretaries did, and we resented that. I got my colleagues in the political section together and proposed that we point out officially that this was not fair. When the others agreed, I drafted a memorandum asking for more equitable rotation of weekend duty among embassy secretaries. This memorandum sat in the political counselor's In

"Secretaries have a useful viewpoint on the performance of their bosses—one that may differ substantially from those of their bosses' supervisors."

box for two weeks, and eventually, I pulled it out and brought it to his supervisor. He signed it and stuck his neck out for us—and on his recommendation, the embassy's weekend roster was changed. He won our admiration and respect, but the man who ignored the problem before him did not.

Harter: What type of training should the State Department provide for secretaries? Should there be more than the three-week indoctrination that you received before going to New Delhi?

Slavik: Ideally, I think all secretaries going overseas should have some language training and area studies, as well as specialized training designed to meet the requirements of a particular position. Secretaries assigned to work for ambassadors would also benefit from management courses and proto-

col courses focusing on the do's and don'ts of seating and scheduling arrangements, for example.

Harter: Could the personnel authorities do anything to improve the use of secretaries?

Slavik: We have a wealth of untapped resources here. A good number of our secretaries have college degrees and are definitely underemployed. They are not little dumb bunnies, and most of them could be much better employed than they are. When I was in Israel, I had the opportunity to research some issues. The better supervisors give their secretaries projects like this, but more usually secretaries are expected to concern themselves with trivial and routine details. They are simply not recognized as intelligent individuals competent to exercise imagination and independent judgment.

Harter: How could management encourage their more efficient use?

Slavik: I think it would help if junior officer training better addressed the proper treatment and use of secretaries. If inexperienced junior officers could be influenced at an early stage and have instilled in them the fact that they shouldn't treat secretaries as idiots and automatons, I think that could help. Too many officers learn bad habits on their first assignments that stay with them as their careers progress—and good initial training might curb some of that. As it is now, by the time they are mid-level officers they are really difficult supervisors—especially those who are not overly bright but are overly ambitious.

Harter: Should secretaries be promoted into other Foreign Service positions—in the administrative area for example?

Slavik: Yes, definitely, if they so desire and qualify—and many do.

Harter: In retrospect, and on balance, how do you feel about your 17 years as a Foreign Service secretary?

Slavik: On the whole, I enjoyed those years. I like to travel, see, and experience different cultures and meet new people—to help people whose situations are dire, absorb small parts of others' cultures, and be exposed to different kinds of foods—to learn and grow. As a Foreign Service employee I have had very fine opportunities for all this. □

Problems with the New Secretarial Task Force

A Staff Corps Member's View

By EILEEN QUINN

Many Foreign Service secretaries were pleased to see the recent notice announcing a new "Secretarial Task Force to examine the secretarial professional. . . to determine whether the needs of the [State] Department and the needs of secretarial employees are being met." The task force is to assess the department's approach to the secretarial workforce and to offer recommendations for addressing any problems. Management's acknowledgement that there is a so-called "secretarial problem" requiring investigation was welcome; the encouragement provided, however, did not last long.

Why the change? First, the director general of the Foreign Service, rather than the under secretary for management, convened the task force. It is being chaired not by the director general but by an assistant director of personnel. It was the under secretary for management who created a recent task force on paperflow, so why cannot the demonstrable concerns of secretarial employees be treated at the same level? Moreover, the new task force is dominated by personnel and administrative members. Senior political, economic, and consular officers are noticeably absent. No public member is included. Though it may produce a valuable report nonetheless, the task force has less

credibility than if it had been convened at a higher level and staffed by officers from all four cones and outside experts. As a result, many secretaries wonder if the task force report will carry any real weight with the political, economic, and consular officers who work with and supervise most Foreign Service secretaries. Management seems to have forgotten that the secretarial corps is more than a personnel/administrative problem. Rather, it is half of the for-

"Any solution should address secretaries' complaints of underutilization, lack of upward mobility, and lack of appreciation by supervisors and management."

ign affairs professional team at home and abroad.

Second, senior secretaries remember a similar task force in 1974 which, after a lengthy investigation, publication of its findings, and a *pro forma* implementation report by the department, quietly faded away leaving the problems it found relatively unchanged. Since there is no indication that the highest levels of management are prepared to support and to imple-

ment recommendations by this new task force, it seems doomed to the same fate.

Third, there is no indication the task force will review the department's implementation of the career development portion (Section 703) of the Foreign Service Act with regard to the secretarial corps. Congress asked the secretary of state "to assure that members of the Service obtain the skills and knowledge required at the various stages of their careers." Clearly, as members of the Service, secretaries, too, need training at different stages of their careers. For instance, the ambassador's and deputy chief of mission's secretaries need a broad spectrum of knowledge and understanding—seldom obtainable on the job—while the administrative counselor's secretary, for instance, needs more specialized knowledge relating directly to the administrative function. In addition, secretaries need courses in protocol; political, biographic, and economic reporting and analysis; consular and administrative functions as well as more specialized courses in office management and automation; interpersonal relations; standard administrative and personnel regulations, etc.

As noted above, history seems to be repeating itself. The 1974 Secretarial Task Force, also charged with identifying and assessing problems of the secretarial corps, made recommendations in 10 broad categories in its 1975 report. But a close look at these recommendations reveals that the majority have not been successfully implement-

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ed. More important, there is the perception—at least among Foreign Service secretaries—that management made no genuine effort to seek innovative and imaginative solutions to the problems raised.

For example, the task force recommended that bureaus inventory their domestic and foreign secretarial positions, reclassifying those that were more of a clerk-typist nature. Bureaus were also asked to determine what functions currently being done by junior officers could more effectively be done by qualified secretaries. The report went so far as to state that “the transfer of the functions of staff aide, performed currently by junior officers, to the senior secretaries in the mission or the bureau would result in better performance as well as a saving of officer personnel for other substantive work.”

Implementing the Report

But to what extent has the department implemented those two recommendations? In its November 1975 Summary of Actions Taken, the department said it was “in the process of reviewing position classifications in order to identify those that should be reclassified.” The department met the letter of this recommendation as reported in a 1978 airgram to the field, but not its spirit. Clearly, the task force report called for a more innovative inventory of positions so that those mid-level jobs that were primarily of a clerk-typist nature could be downgraded. Instead, 64 percent of all secretarial positions either remained the same or were *upgraded* one level. The 36 percent that were downgraded included *all* S-3 secretarial jobs; in other words, rather than downgrade those mid-level positions that were really filing and typing, the department removed from the career track the top position available to secretaries.

In addition, the department noted it was “in the process of examining all positions of a staff nature to determine those to which secretaries may aspire to provide an upward mobility ladder within the secretarial corps.” To date no meaningful enrichment program has been designed, let alone implemented.

Model Secretarial Career Ladder

FS-9, Clerk-Stenographer

ENTRY LEVEL. Eligible for promotion after one overseas tour. All new clerical employees must enter at this level.

FS-8, Stenographer

SECOND TOUR. Career status granted and eligible for promotion after completion of second tour.

FS-7, Secretarial Candidate

THIRD TOUR. Eligible for promotion after successful completion of management skills training and a writing course.

FS-6, Secretarial Assistant

FOURTH TOUR. Eligible for promotion after completion of a protocol course and language study.

FS-5, Secretary

SIXTH TOUR. Eligible for promotion after successful completion of an assignment as an ambassador's, deputy chief of mission's, or consul general's (at a consulate general) secretary, and service in at least two different embassy sections, in two geographic areas (including at least one hardship post), and attainment of S-2/R-2 level in at least one world language.

FS-4, Executive Secretary

EIGHTH TOUR. Eligible for promotion after successful completion of a supervisors' workshop, an administrative course, and one assignment as an executive secretary to an assistant secretary-level appointee.

FS-3, Administrative Assistant

NINTH TOUR. Temporary grade during assignment as administrative assistant to an ambassador at a Class I mission or an under secretary or above in the department. Employee would be given appropriate area and language studies prior to assignment. The AA would supervise the junior clerical employee in an ambassador's office and the ambassador's chauffeur and residence staff. Employee could revert to FS-4 or seek a skill code change in the administrative cone if no onward assignment to equivalent-level job were available.

The task force identified a need to improve job content—for instance, using administrative rather than strictly clerical skills—but individual supervisors nonetheless seem to have made little progress in motivating secretarial employees. It does not take a Harvard Business School graduate to recognize that an employee must have either financial or job satisfaction to be motivated. Most public servants realize that financial satisfaction is limited by the fact of government service. Job satisfaction, however, is determined primarily by sound management of resources, human and otherwise. Something *can* be done to increase job satisfaction in the secretarial corps. In fact, by convening this new task force, management acknowledged that something *must be done* to ensure the continued functioning of our missions abroad as well as our domestic offices during a period of reduced resources and increased responsibilities.

To those in the corridors and the missions, this lack of job satisfaction is called the "secretarial problem." Most senior secretaries blame the problem on management's underutilization of and lack of reward for the clerical employee's skills, knowledge, and abilities. Management's view of the problem may be different, but any solution clearly should address secretaries' complaints of underutilization, lack of upward mobility, lack of appreciation by supervisors and management, as well as the difficulty in hiring and retaining clerical employees.

In fact, the problem includes all these things and more. One Foreign Service secretary, for instance, resigned after two overseas tours to pursue other professional goals. She complained of underutilization, lamented the financial waste, and called for an investigation. Another, more senior secretary, who was frustrated with the lack of reward and job satisfaction but felt she had invested too many years with the department to resign, sought an excursion tour. After being given what she called "the royal run-around," she was finally successful in obtaining an excursion tour only after appealing personally to the then director general.

Any solution to the problem should

strive to improve both the efficiency and organization of the corps as well as employee morale. The department can do this by assuring realistic expectations on the part of all clerical employees, pacing promotions, increasing training and making it mandatory, rewarding professionalism, and ensuring equal opportunity. How?

Recommending Reforms

Reorganize and restructure the Foreign Service secretarial corps. The first change might be to rename it the clerical corps, for that more accurately embraces the many kinds of work performed. Only the more senior members with advanced skills and administrative roles should properly be called secretaries. Those new to the foreign affairs team and who perform more routine tasks are best distinguished as clerk-typist or clerk-stenographer. Just as an officer's rank and title denote achievement, so too should a secretary's. If "secretarial corps" is retained, some means must be found to differentiate between the junior and senior members of it. One such way, proposed by many secretaries, would be to call junior members "secretary," mid-level members "executive secretary," and senior members "administrative assistant."

Second, a source of serious misunderstanding on the part of employees and management—the lack of realistic expectations on both sides—should be cleared up. Clerical employees who enter the Service at the beginning of their working careers need clear-cut guidelines to help them define career expectations. Those entering the Service after work in the private sector or after raising families also need a career blueprint. All new employees need additional training to prepare them for increased responsibility within the Foreign Service. Few enter the Service with the specialized knowledge most will need as they assume positions of increased responsibility.

Last, along with restructuring the secretarial corps, the Service must define that term in the context of career ladders for the clerical staff. A career ladder would clearly define the predictable employment path from entry to senior level. It should include per-

formance standards, promotion precepts, and equal opportunity for advancement. It must provide a means for pacing promotions and for recognizing and rewarding outstanding performance. It should incorporate a professional development program, something not yet done by the department but mandated by the Congress in Section 703 of the Foreign Service Act. The new clerical employee should not be expected to acquire without adequate training the skills he or she will need to rise to the top of the career path. By setting standards and regularizing training, more equal opportunities will be afforded *all* clerical employees to prepare and compete for promotion and jobs. (For a suggested career ladder, see the box on the facing page.)

A career ladder is but one example of how the corps could be restructured. Any proposal should be subjected to intense debate and scrutiny by all members of the Foreign Service and negotiated with AFSA.

Automate embassies and consulates general. Reorganizing, restructuring, and training the clerical corps must go hand-in-hand with automation of overseas posts. The department has moved quickly to automate communications facilities and is just now starting to automate offices. Automation, especially word processing, would decrease the burden of clerical employees while increasing their efficiency. Word processing will make the work day easier and more efficient. It will relieve the tedium and reduce the time spent typing and retyping telegrams, airmails, and letters. It will also reduce much of the stress involved in producing a letter-perfect final product with a drafting officer breathing down one's neck! In addition, those tasks normally delayed (filing, cataloging outgoing telegrams or other important correspondence, ordering and inventorying supplies, etc.) or taken over by officers (making their own appointments, writing rather than dictating drafts, delivering drafts for clearance themselves, etc.) can again be undertaken by the secretary, thus freeing the officer for other, more important work.

Officer corps training. No reorganiza-

tion and restructuring of the clerical corps can be successful without a parallel training program for officers. Increased supervisory and development courses for Foreign Service officers at the entry, mid-, and senior levels must reinforce and support the training given to the clerical corps. Effective teamwork is a mutual responsibility, and supervisors must be taught how to work effectively with clerical colleagues. An informed and trained officer corps, sensitive to the problems and needs of the clerical corps, will enhance job performance by both. While officers at all levels are already receiving enhanced managerial training, more is needed at every step of the career ladder.

Service discipline. Many Foreign Service secretaries, who rightly consider themselves career professionals, feel angry and threatened by the influx of casual clerical employees, especially the part-time employment of spouses in clerical positions. These casual employees are frequently given the benefits of Foreign Service employment (status, pay, and in some cases participation in retirement plans) but accept few of the responsibilities (overtime and duty-roster service). Regardless of marital status, age, or employment category, all employees should meet the same performance standards. And standards should be clearly defined and discussed with the employee when duty commences.

Mutual Benefits

In sum, the new Secretarial Task Force should not conduct a survey of the clerical corps unless department management is prepared to follow through adequately to ensure that its recommendations are implemented. In addition, the task force should look for ways to make sure the expectations of employees and supervisors are realistic by defining a career ladder for the clerical corps. This career path should ensure equitable, paced promotions and career development supported by adequate training. Professionalism should be rewarded and equal opportunity for advancement provided to all members of the corps. If the task force is successful, both the Service and its employees will benefit. □

Cloudy Treaties

(Continued from page 19.)

behind it, widespread condemnation—even backed by heavy votes in the United Nations—has little effect if the condemned country believes its vital national interests are at stake. This is not to say that world opinion may not have had an effect on, say, Soviet policy in Eastern Europe, but the effect is hard to measure and is certainly not immediate. Over time the continuation of actions or behavior of which many countries disapprove may make it difficult for the offending state to achieve its political objectives. To be effective against regimes where the influence of public opinion is a weak force, condemnation must be almost universal—even then it cannot guarantee results. The ultimate sanction is of course withdrawal from the treaty, but the political pressure against such an action is powerful. In a democracy only a clear and present danger to the national security would normally be regarded as sufficient cause. Usually the situation will be much more ambiguous.

These difficulties have been amply illustrated in the specific case of the suspected use of chemical weapons in southeast Asia and Afghanistan. Whether one is convinced or not about the accuracy of the charges (and for the record the author is persuaded that toxic substances have been used in hostilities in the areas concerned), the experience has not been an encouraging one. The adamant refusal of the governments of Laos, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan, all of which are closely linked to the Soviet Union either directly or through the Vietnamese connection, to permit neutral investigators on their soil has left the atmosphere still clouded. As long as this situation remains unchanged the doubts will linger.

While the failure of the Soviets and their clients to be cooperative on the question of compliance procedures is a matter for serious concern, the picture is not entirely bleak. The support of the majority of countries in the General Assembly for more effective verification is encouraging. This general sup-

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The First

In 1784 Samuel Shaw arrived in Canton to break the British grip on the tea trade. His reward was the first consular commission given under the Constitution

By BRIAN V. EVANS

China Hand—the words evoke images of American Foreign Service officers devoting their professional lives to the promotion of U.S. interests in Republican China (1912–49) and bring to mind such names as Clarence Gauss, Edmund Clubb, and John Service. But long before these men arrived on the scene, long before John Hay issued his Open Door notes at the turn of the century, even before Caleb Cushing assumed his post as the first U.S. commissioner to the Celestial Empire in 1844, a succession of American consuls at Canton (Guangzhou) represented U.S. interests in China. Our first consul at Canton, and the first person to receive a consular commission under the Constitution, was also the first Yankee trader to do business in the Middle Kingdom—Samuel Shaw, America's original China Hand.

Brian V. Evans is now at the U.S. consul general in Guangzhou. He has served in the State Department and with the Taipei and Kaohsiung offices of the American Institute in Taiwan. Evans recently completed studies of Mandarin and Cantonese at AIT's Chinese Language and Area Studies School.

The third son of a Boston merchant, Shaw was nearly 21 years of age and ready to pursue a commercial career of his own when the American Revolution broke out. He volunteered his services and in the next eight years saw action as an artillery officer in almost every major campaign. Shaw left the Army with the rank of major in 1784 and soon became the cargo supervisor and commercial agent—also known as the factor—aboard the *Empress of China*, a 360-ton former privateer, making the first American voyage to Canton, the only Chinese city open to Western merchants.

Underwritten by revolutionary financier Robert Morris and the New York firm of Daniel Parker & Company, the voyage of the *Empress* represented the young nation's dream of breaking the British monopoly on the Sino-American tea trade. More than ten years had passed since the Boston Tea Party, and Americans were still dependent on the hated East India Company for their tea. The *Empress*, it was hoped, would show the way to economic independence for the American states as well as reap handsome profits for its backers.

Ginseng for Tea

The expense of the prolonged war for independence left American merchants without the financial resources to follow the East India Company's practice of trading gold and silver bullion for Chinese tea, cotton goods, silk, and porcelain. New England's forests, however, abounded in a natural resource regarded by the Chinese as more desirable than gold: the legendary restorer of virility, ginseng.

Thus, the *Empress* set sail from New York on February 22, 1784, laden with thirty tons of ginseng and sizable quantities of furs, raw cotton, and lead carefully chosen to whet the Chinese appetite for American goods. The

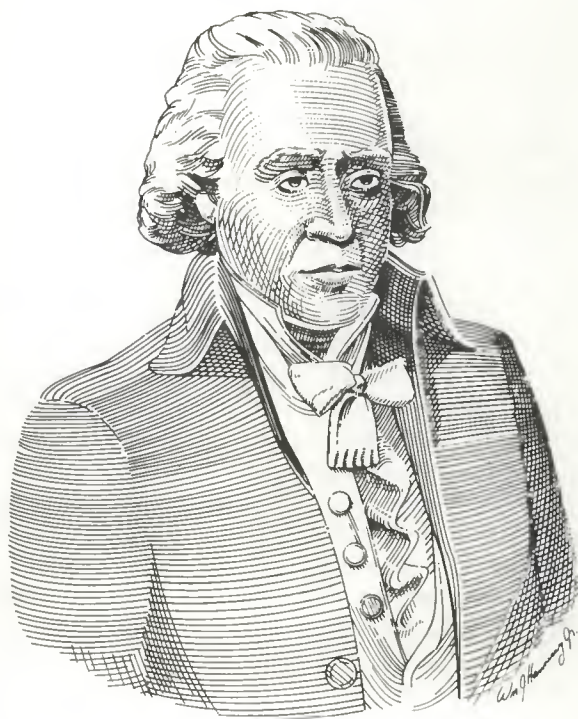
18,000-mile voyage out took six months. Upon their arrival in Macao, where the European factors took up residence between visits to Canton, the Americans were warmly welcomed by the French consul and introduced to their Portuguese hosts and the French, Swedish, and "Imperial" (German) factors. After presenting the factors with copies of the treaties of friendship with their countries, the Americans sailed up the Pearl River (Zhu Jiang) toward Canton to join the Dutch, Danish, and British factors, whose ships were already in port at Canton's anchorage of Whampoa (Huangpu).

The *Empress* arrived in Whampoa on August 28, proudly exchanging 13-gun salutes with her European sisters. Two days later the Americans made the 14-mile journey upriver to the foreign trading enclave on Shameen (Shamian) Island just outside the walls of Canton.

The Americans received a delegation of Chinese merchants representing the *Cohong* (*Gonghang*), the guild responsible for handling trade with the West, on their first day in Canton. Writing in his journal, Shaw proudly noted that the Chinese "styled us the New People, and when, by the map, we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were not a little pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of their own empire."

The trading procedure that Shaw was to follow in Canton was the culmination of centuries of Chinese experience in dealing with foreign merchants. Although regarded as lucrative sources of income, foreign traders were also considered a threat to the social and cultural fabric of Chinese society. As such, they were kept isolated from everyone but the "barbarian handlers" of the *Cohong*. The *Cohong* managed all aspects of foreign trade, first desig-

China Hand



nating a guarantor who assumed complete responsibility for the ship, its crew, its cargo, and the payment of all customs duties. This responsibility included "recommending" broker-accountants, translators, clerks, and servants from the staff of the Cohong to the China trader. As for the cargo, no more than half could be kept by the guarantor, the rest was resold to his fellow Chinese merchants.

Shaw quickly learned the subtleties of doing business with the Chinese and soon grew to respect the Cohong merchants as "intelligent, exact accountants, punctual to their engagements, [who], though not the worse for being well looked after, value themselves much upon maintaining a fair character." In sharp contrast with these merchants, however, were the small traders, whom he regarded as "rogues" bearing close watching. Yet even with

them Shaw was careful to observe the Chinese practice of displaying a patient and serene mien when they continually quoted unacceptably low bids on his goods. Once after unsuccessfully trying to bargain with Shaw for several days, a minor trader complimented Shaw on how much more pleasant his disposition was than that of the typical Englishman in Canton but warned him that "all men come first time China very good gentlemen, all same you. I think two three time more you come Canton, you make all same Englishman too."

In their efforts to isolate the China traders from the mainstream of Chinese society and to discourage them from considering China a permanent home, the Canton authorities set down a number of restrictive regulations. Foreigners were prohibited from bringing foreign women or firearms

into the factories, wandering more than a hundred yards from the factories, employing maids in the factories, communicating with Chinese officials except through the Cohong, riding in sedan chairs, anchoring their ships anywhere but Whampoa, buying Chinese books or learning the language, and loitering in Canton after their ships were laden.

Limits on Liberty

As an American who had just fought a long war in the name of liberty, Shaw found these regulations particularly frustrating and lamented in his journal that "in a country where the jealousy of the government confines all intercourse between its subjects and the foreigners who visit it to very narrow limits, in the suburbs of a single city, the opportunities of gaining information respecting its constitution, or the manners and customs generally of its inhabitants, can neither be frequent nor extensive." Shaw did not envy his European colleagues and concluded, in a classic description of a hardship post, that "considering the length of time they reside in this country, the restrictions to which they must submit, the great distance they are at from their connections, the want of society, and of almost every amusement, it must be allowed that they dearly earn their money."

In late 1784, however, a tragic incident known locally as the Canton War demonstrated to the Westerners that their exclusion from Chinese society perhaps was not such a bad idea after all. One night, a British ship, the *Lady Hughes*, fired a salute in honor of its captain's departing dinner guests. Unfortunately, the salute accidentally wounded three mandarins, two of them mortally, in a sampan moored alongside the ship.

In accordance with the Chinese legal principle of "a life for a life," the Can-

tonese authorities demanded that the offending gunner be given over to them for trial and possible execution. The senior British factor in Canton was not prepared to do this, for the deaths of the two mandarins, while to be regretted, had been entirely accidental. But the head of the Cohong was unimpressed by this response and the two sides remained at an impasse for two days until the Chinese accepted a British claim that the gunner had absconded and declared the incident closed. Life in the factories returned to normal—for the moment.

A few days later, the cargo supervisor of the *Lady Hughes* received a summons from the head of the Cohong to visit his house on business. Upon his arrival the trader was seized, the Chinese employees in the factories withdrawn, all trade brought to an abrupt halt, and Chinese warships drawn up opposite the foreign enclave in an effort to impress upon the traders the necessity of finding the missing gunner and delivering him into Chinese hands so that imperial justice could be served. The factors then called in reinforcements in the form of armed boats, one of which the Chinese fired upon because it passed a fort after sunset in contravention of local law.

The gravity of the situation became apparent the next day when the *fuen*, or imperial magistrate of Canton, eschewed the normal practice of communicating with foreign traders only through the Cohong and requested a personal meeting with a delegation of Westerners, excluding the British. The factors of the other nations agreed to accept the invitation with the understanding that the delegation convey to the *fuen* the foreign community's solidarity with the British in this matter.

Shaw and the Fuen

The delegation, which included Shaw on behalf of the Americans, met with the *fuen* that evening. The meeting was more an audience than a negotiating session, with the *fuen* making it clear to his guests that they were there to receive his ultimatum rather than to discuss the issue as equals. He demanded that the gunner be surrendered into Chinese hands within three

days for determination of punishment. Until the gunner was handed over, British trade would remain suspended. The other countries, however, could resume their trading activities immediately.

The *fuen*'s tactic worked. Over the next two days the European factors one by one sent their reinforcement boats back to Whampoa until finally only the British and the American boats were left. At last, the British gave in and surrendered the gunner to the Chinese. British trade was restored and the *fuen* promised the Westerners that they would be able to air their grievances in monthly audiences with one of his mandarins instead of having to rely solely upon the Cohong for communication with the Chinese authorities. As for the unfortunate gunner, he was given a speedy hearing and promptly sentenced to death by strangulation.

"Thus ended a very troublesome affair," wrote Shaw, "which commenced in confusion, was carried on without order, and terminated disgracefully. Had that spirit of union among the Europeans taken place which the rights of humanity demanded, and could private interest have been for a moment sacrificed to the general good, the conclusion of the matter must have been honorable, and probably some additional privileges would have been obtained. But as it did terminate, we can only apply to it the observation of the Chinese themselves, 'Truly, all *Fanquois* [a contemptuous term, applied indiscriminately to Europeans] have much lose his face in this business.' "

By December 27, the *Empress* was fully loaded and ready to sail for home. Shaw had done well for his employers; the original cargo of ginseng, furs, raw cotton, and lead had been traded for 200 tons of tea, 64 tons of chinaware, one and a half tons of nankeen cloth, and 490 pieces of silk.

Sailing back by way of Batavia (Jakarta), and the Cape of Good Hope, the *Empress* bettered its time out by nearly two months and arrived in New York in May 1785. The 25 percent profit realized by the ship's backers was not as much as had been hoped for, but it nonetheless proved that Americans could compete on an equal footing

with Europeans and the East India Company in the China trade. Americans were in China to stay.

Displaying a flair for reporting and a keen appreciation of the natural link between trade and politics, Shaw soon after his return wrote Secretary for Foreign Affairs John Jay a long letter describing his impressions of Canton, the Chinese, and the Canton War. Jay brought Shaw's letter to the attention of the Congress, which in turn expressed its "peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of this first effort of the citizens of America to establish a direct link with China" and decided to encourage the nascent American-China trade by allowing postponements in the payment of custom duties on tea.

Mark of Confidence

As for Shaw, on the eve of his second voyage to China in early 1786, Congress named him and his long-time friend Thomas Randall as consul and vice consul, respectively, of the United States at Canton. Carrying "neither salary nor perquisites," Jay explained in a letter to Shaw, the appointment reflected the sense of the Congress that "so distinguished a mark of the confidence and esteem of the United States will naturally give you a degree of weight and respectability which the highest personal merit cannot very soon obtain for a stranger in a foreign land." It was hoped that such a move would assist Shaw in establishing his and the country's position among his European competitors in Canton.

Shaw once described his consulship as being "rather honorary to the person vested with it than essential to the commerce of the country." The historical record of his nearly eight years as consul at Canton belies that assessment. Shaw produced annual reports that provided the United States with valuable commercial intelligence on the intricacies of the Canton system of trade and the state of each European country's trade with China. Equally if not more important, his reputation for integrity and kindness among his European colleagues in Canton brought honor to America at a time when it was struggling to establish itself as a respected member of the community of nations. □

Cloudy Treaties

(Continued from page 27.)

port now needs to be harnessed to practical measures similar to those which have been developed in the many arms control negotiations conducted over the last two decades. The Standing Consultative Committee established to consider compliance problems arising out of SALT I and the ABM treaty has considerable relevance to compliance mechanisms for multilateral treaties. The techniques being investigated by a group of seismic experts, under the aegis of the Committee on Disarmament, for the international exchange of seismic data and the effort by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.N. International Atomic Energy Agency to develop a remote sensing system to monitor peaceful nuclear installations (Project Recover) show what can be done in the way of international cooperation in verification. A group of chemical experts has been meeting under the auspices of the Committee on Disarmament to work on technical problems relating to the effective functioning of a future U.N. treaty that would ban chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union and other Communist countries have been participating in all these efforts. Granted that cooperation in more or less theoretical exercises is not the same as cooperating in an investigation when violation of an agreement is at issue, the signs still indicate that the Soviets are not oblivious to the importance of being seen to be cooperative in these areas of arms control.

Also relevant to the matter of ensuring compliance with international agreements is the Soviet tendency to prefer arrangements negotiated in confidence on a bilateral basis to those in which the whole world is involved. In the still unratified U.S.-Soviet treaty governing peaceful nuclear explosions, for example, they agreed to some rather elaborate procedures for verifying the location and size of such explosions. It is unlikely that they would have accepted similar provisions in a multilaterally negotiated agreement. In the field of chemical weapons, the United States and the Soviet Union

negotiated intensively for more than three years on a treaty banning the development, production, and stockpiling of lethal and highly toxic chemical weapons. (The Geneva Protocol applies only to use, not to possession of chemical weapons.) These bilateral negotiations, which have been suspended since 1980, did not achieve agreement on the problem of verification but did resolve some other issues. In fact, the Committee on Disarmament, which has been considering the chemical warfare problem for some time and is now charged with drafting a treaty, has drawn heavily on the joint U.S.-Soviet progress report submitted to the committee in August 1980. Vice President Bush announced U.S. support for this effort when he spoke before the committee in February, and the U.S. delegation has tabled detailed views on the contents of a chemical weapons ban.

Facts of Life

It is a fact of life, although one not always enthusiastically embraced by the non-aligned countries, that the *sine qua non* for progress on multilateral treaties in the field of arms control and disarmament is prior agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union on its major provisions. While the fact that the Committee on Disarmament has now started negotiations on a chemical warfare treaty is a welcome development, the prospects for success are tied to the ability of the United States and U.S.S.R. to work out mutually acceptable verification procedures regarding the destruction of stockpiles and the non-production of prohibited chemicals.

A realistic assessment would not rate the chances of early agreement as very high. The kinds of activities involved will require highly intrusive verification measures. The Soviet position on this point in the bilateral talks was rather rigid, but it does not enjoy general approbation, as the discussions in the Committee on Disarmament demonstrate. Nearly all the non-aligned countries as well as the western delegations have come down on the side of some sort of international inspection mechanism—a possibility that the Soviets have resisted. The Soviet position has been made even less

comfortable by the evidence that they have been providing chemical weapons to be used against people in underdeveloped countries. Thus the pressure is on them to move toward a position that will make an agreement banning chemical weapons possible, an agreement that is overwhelmingly desired by the world community.

In these circumstances a renewal of private discussions between the United States and Soviet Union is both necessary and inevitable. Such discussions need not be in the form of formal negotiations, but they should be conducted in a manner which could lead to an agreement. The United States, with the backing of its allies and many other influential countries, would be in a strong position in such discussions. If the Soviets were unwilling to moderate their position, this would soon become apparent. If no progress occurred at the bilateral level, the reason would be well understood by the rest of the countries involved in the multilateral negotiations.

Eliminating the scourge of chemical warfare is as difficult a test as any the world faces in the realm of arms control. Success is by no means a certainty, but if it is to be achieved, a broad range of actions will be required. First, the United States and other countries, such as Thailand, that have undertaken independent investigations of chemical weapons use will have to make their case more effectively to generate the kind of pressure that might produce a change in the actions and attitudes of the governments implicated by the evidence. Second, more resources will have to be devoted in the United States and elsewhere to the search for better verification techniques relating to the destruction and non-production of chemical weapons. And, finally, U.S. policies will have to be geared to take advantage of the synergistic relationship between multilateral negotiations within the Committee on Disarmament and bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Union as a way of trying to break the deadlock on verification. It is that deadlock that stands as the main obstacle to the achievement of a satisfactory agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons. □

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FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

Deaths

CECEILE MURPHY CROMWELL, a former aide at the State and Justice departments and the wife of a Foreign Service officer, died of cancer March 13 at Anne Arundel General Hospital in Annapolis, Maryland. She was 56.

Cromwell, who had lived in Annapolis since 1981, was born in Minneapolis. She was graduated from the University of Minnesota and moved to Washington, D.C., in 1949. She went to work at State the following year. In 1953, she worked as a legislative aide to Representative John F. Shelley (D.-California), and in 1954 she worked at the Justice Department. She then moved to California.

In 1958, she married Foreign Service Officer W. Kennedy Cromwell III, and accompanied him to posts in Uganda, Botswana, and Somalia. Upon returning to the United States, the couple lived in the Washington area before moving to Annapolis.

In addition to her husband, of Annapolis, survivors include two sons, W. Kennedy IV of Crofton, Maryland, and Francis M. of Annapolis, and a brother, Dr. J. Peter Murphy of Bethesda, Maryland.

JEAN HEISLER DESMOND, widow of Foreign Service Officer Richard C. Desmond, died January 30 at Washington Adventist Hospital in Takoma Park, Maryland, after suffering for a year from cancer.

A native of Ravenna, Ohio, Desmond was graduated from Mount Union College in Alliance, Ohio, in 1939. She served in the Rome, Arno, and Rhineland campaigns during World War II as a captain in the Signal Corps. In 1946 she joined the staff of the State Department's Division of Training Services, resigning her position as a training technician shortly after to marry Richard C. Desmond.

Over the next 20 years, she shared her husband's duties in Paris, Algiers, San Salvador, Ciudad Trujillo (now Santo Domingo), Buenos Aires, and São Paulo. The two were also stationed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Washington, D.C. Widowed in 1973, Desmond moved from New York City to West Hyattsville, Maryland.

She is survived by her mother, Bernice B. Heisler of Black Mountain, North Carolina; her sister, Gloria H. Stanley of Adelphi, Maryland; and her son, Peter H. Desmond of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

DAVID H. HUTCHISON, chief of the diplomatic liaison division of the State Department's visa office and a Foreign Service officer since 1966, died of cancer March 23 at the National Institutes of Health. He was 45.

Hutchison's overseas assignments included posts in Latin America, the Netherlands, South Africa, and New Zealand. He was the author of an article published in the March issue of the *Journal*, "Post Report: 2083."

A native of Bethany, Missouri, Hutchison was a resident of Falls Church, Virginia. After he was graduated from the University of Kansas, he spent five years in the Air Force and attained the rank of captain before joining the Foreign Service.

Survivors include his wife, Eva P., a son, John, and a daughter, Rachel, all of Falls Church; his mother, Norma Hutchison of Overland Park, Kansas, and two sisters, Martha Elterman of Indian Head Park, Illinois, and Lou Bell of Fairway, Kansas.

RENWICK SLOANE MCNIECE, a former consul and consul general, died February 3. He was 96.

McNiece was born in Salt Lake City, Utah. He was graduated from Princeton University in 1907. In 1917 he joined the military and served as a first lieutenant in the field artillery. While enroute to Europe, he survived the sinking of his troopship, the *S.S. Tuscania*. Later, he served in

France in the Fourth Section of the General Staff at Tours. As a captain, he served at Tours and St. Nazaire until 1918.

In 1920, McNiece entered the Foreign Service and was posted to Malaysia, Britain, India, Spain, Chile, Venezuela, and Italy. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1948.

McNiece's first wife, Ruth, died in 1948. Returning to the United States, he made his home in Los Angeles, where he married Hazel Morse Hartley, who died in 1973. His third wife, Caroline Mathews Kelly, survives him.

BARBARA M. WATSON, former ambassador to Malaysia and assistant secretary of state for consular affairs, died of pneumonia February 17 at George Washington University Hospital. She was 64.

Watson joined the State Department in 1966 as deputy administrator in the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. In 1968 she was named administrator of the bureau, with the rank of assistant secretary. Except for the years 1975-77, when she practiced law in Washington, she continued this work until 1980, when she was appointed ambassador to Malaysia. After resigning in 1981 she again practiced law in Washington. She also was a senior associate of von Kloborg & Associates, international consultants.

Watson was born in New York City. She graduated from Barnard College and earned a law degree at New York University Law School. She was an attorney with New York City from 1962-64, when she was appointed executive director of the New York City Commission to the United Nations. She received honorary doctorates from the University of Maryland and Mount St. Mary's College. In 1974 she received the State Department's Luther I. Replogle Award for outstanding management in foreign affairs.

Watson was a member of the boards of Fordham University, Barnard College, the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe, and the Wolf Trap Foundation for the Performing Arts. Survivors include two brothers, Douglas C. Watson and Samuel Watson, both of New York City, and a sister, Grace Elizabeth Watson of Washington.

KATHERINE NEALE ZIRKLE, a former State Department aide and the widow of Foreign Service Officer Vernon B. Zirkle, died of cancer March 13 at the Army Distaff Hall. She was 80.

Zirkle was born in Washington. She joined State in 1920 and remained there

Books on Sale at AAFSW Bookroom Now

The Bookfair workroom is now open daily except Wednesday, from 2-3 p.m., for direct sales to walk-in customers.

Readers are invited to browse through the stacks and purchase books before they are packed away for Bookfair '83 in October. Since sorting, pricing, and packing are continuous activities, new volumes reach the shelves each day.

The Bookfair workroom is located in room 1524 next to the cafeteria in the State Department. Further information may be obtained by calling Maggy Morse at 223-5796.

until 1932, when she married and accompanied her husband to posts in South America, Australia, Canada, and Europe.

Survivors include a son, Michael N. of Arlington, Virginia, a daughter, Dorothy L. of New York City, and two grandchildren.

Birth

PAUL CONLEY KLINE JR. was born January 17 to Consul PAUL CONLEY KLINE and MARTHA MORALES KLINE. The Klines are currently assigned to the Consulate General at Hamilton, Bermuda.

Marriage

SUSAN LEE POVENMIRE, daughter of Foreign Service officers Dale M. and Marilyn Ross Povenmire, was married on February 12 to JOHN WEISMAN. The couple will make their home in Georgetown.

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

In accordance with AFSA Bylaws, and pursuant to the terms of the 1983 AFSA Election Call, the following AFSA members have been duly nominated and have accepted their candidacies for the positions indicated below in the 1983 election of State, AID, and USIA Constituency Representatives of the AFSA Governing Board.

STATE CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES

1. Francis X. Cunningham
2. JoAnn McMahon Jenkins (Unity Slate)
3. Thomas J. Miller (Unity Slate) (Choose Four)
4. James W. Spain (Unity Slate)
5. James A. Williamson (Unity Slate)
6. John T. Sheely

AID CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES

1. Herbert L. Woods
2. Richard J. Delaney (Unity Slate) (Choose Two)
3. Juanita Nofflet (Unity Slate)

USIA CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVE

1. Jaroslav J. Verner (Unity Slate) (Choose One)

It is each AFSA member's responsibility to see to it that his or her proper address and constituency are on record with AFSA. Ballots will be mailed on or about May 15, 1983, and marked Ballots must be returned by 5 P.M., June 30, 1983. If you have not received your Ballot by June 7, 1983, notify the Chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee IMMEDIATELY in writing at P.O. Box 57121, West End Branch, Washington, D.C. 20037, or by "AFSA Channel" cable marked for delivery to AFSA Elections Committee.

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

FRANCIS X. CUNNINGHAM

State Constituency (Independent)

AFSA is very effective in protecting member interests. For example, the increased pay provisions included in the 1980 Foreign Service Act resulted from AFSA's negotiating skill and political contacts. But the current political and economic climate is such that many detrimental changes are being proposed for government personnel. We all fear possible attempts to include the Foreign Service in these changes; I'd like to help defeat them.

If elected as a State representative to the Board my top priorities will be:

—improvements in living, working and family conditions for our members serving overseas. Foreign Service is our middle name; conditions of foreign service life must be our main concern.

—fair, professional, and objective processes for selection, retention, and promotion of personnel.

—to press for a larger membership base; a more concerned membership. Membership and activism are keys to AFSA political clout.

I would appreciate your support in this election.

HERBERT L. WOODS

AID Constituency (Independent)

As an AFSA Standing Committee Member I have noticed that some agreements we have negotiated with AID management would have been more relevant and useful had the negotiations been infused with more insight from more of the employees to be affected by these agreements. This year's agreement changing the PER system is perhaps a case in point; the selection-out agreement is a painful case-in-point. I hope there need not be another Thomas-like suicide before thoughtful changes are made in these two systems. We must find ways of increasing and taking into account more of your views if management decisions affecting you are to improve.

As a second step towards fundamental resolution of our situation, I feel we should add perhaps four full-time professionals to the AFSA staff to represent AID members interests adequately on matters of retirement, tandem employment of spouses, creative change in regs for family moves, career development, the Joint Commission Corps. Please vote for me so that we might move in these directions. And please write me.

STATEMENT OF THE UNITY SLATE

The Unity Slate selected its candidates for the constituency elections based on one criterion—demonstrated commitment to the Foreign Service and to the Association. If we are to survive the present series of assaults on the federal worker and the expanded threats to the integrity of our profession we must have a Foreign Service Association that is dynamic and ever vigilant. Proven, experienced leadership is required.

The challenges which face the Association in the coming year are formidable:

- Administration proposals on retirement could destroy the Foreign Service as we know it and take away up to two-thirds of your pension.

- Further OPM proposals may gut the Health Insurance program, radically alter the way pay comparability is determined, and restrict many of the allowances which form the basis of equitable compensation for dedication to a career of service overseas.

- Political appointments of unqualified individuals continue to be made—worse yet—appointments have not been limited to Ambassadorships, but extend to the middle and even junior ranks. The problem is particularly acute in AID and USIA.

- Flagrant violations of the open assignment process continue.

- The letter and spirit of the Obey amendment is repeatedly violated in AID.

- There remains resistance to the implementation of certain beneficial provisions of the FS Act.

- A host of new issues affecting the SFS, including LCE's and Performance Pay have to be negotiated.

- Standby Pay and Danger Pay remain only half obtained.

In last month's issue we explained who we were, why we believe AFSA must have broad representation from all of the groups in the Service, and what had been accomplished in the past year. At this time we would like to address the future:

- The Slate will devote all its resources to defeating the proposed changes to retirement.

- We will continue to insist that the high standards of our profession be respected and that unqualified nominees at all levels be rejected.

- We believe AFSA must speak out on the Hill and in the media to educate legislators and the public as to the role of the FS and its contribution to National Security.

- We will insist on administrative comparability for all members of the Service, regardless of rank or cone.

- The keyperson network can play a vital role in the field and in Washington—it must be revitalized.

- We will continue to place emphasis on AFSA/W's responsiveness to problems and proposals sent in from the field.

The Unity Slate asks for your support in working to improve the Service we have all dedicated ourselves to. Now is the time for the FS to speak with one strong voice.

Vote for experience—Vote for proven performance

VOTE FOR THE UNITY SLATE

JOHN T. SHEELY

State Constituency (Independent)

I have served in Mexico City and Santiago as the Regional Security Officer and in the Department as the Area Operation Officer (Office of Security) for East Asia. My most recent assignment was to the Foreign Service Institute as GSO.

I hold a BA in History from the Virginia Military Institute and a MPA from the University of Northern Colorado. I am a Major in the Army Reserve attached to the U.S. Army Institute for Military Assistance, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, where I serve as Director of the Latin American Seminar, Foreign Area Officers Program.

Of major interest to me are the inequities of the personnel assignment system. As your representative, I would like your input so that I may address the issues surrounding individual career development versus the "needs of the service." A continuing issue of concern is the protection of retirement and benefits for active and retired FS personnel.

Please contact me through AFSA or at my home (922-8199) to express your views. Please support me in the elections.

Association News

Shakespeare on Stage at FS Club



Former Director of USIA and current Chairman of the International Broadcasting Corporation Frank Shakespeare (left) accepts a certificate of appreciation from AFSA President Dennis K. Hays after remarks at the Foreign Service Club as part of the USIA Standing Committee's lunchtime lecture series "Public Diplomacy in the '80s."

AFSA Sues to Force Release of Envoy Competency Reports

The Association filed a suit in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia last March seeking an order that would require the State Department to provide AFSA with a copy of its report on the demonstrated competence of each nominee for appointment as a chief of mission. The reports are required under a provision of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which calls for the department to prepare them and transmit them to the Senate.

The action came after the Association had filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the department that sought release of the reports. State denied the request and AFSA appealed. The Association decided to file suit in the courts when the statutory limit of 30 working days to reach a determination on such an appeal had expired. At press time the department still had not made a decision.

AFSA is seeking the release of the reports for use in its testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which must approve presidential appointments of ambassadors. Said AFSA President Dennis K. Hays, "The American people have a right to know the qualifications of their representatives overseas."

Membership Level Approaches All-Time High

As a result of recent recruitment efforts, the Association enrolled 408 new members in the months of February and March, ending the period with a membership total of 7287. AFSA expects to exceed its previous record of 7316, set in 1975, at any time.

The Governing Board kicked off its membership drive late last year, when AFSA President Dennis K. Hays convened a special committee to determine recruitment strategies. Enrollment efforts have included a special mailing to the retired constituency emphasizing proposed administration changes in Foreign Service annuities; meetings with all new employees; and briefings for State, AID, and USIA employees on Association actions to protect retirement benefits.

HAPPY HOUR

drinks at special prices
free hors d'oeuvres

EVERY FRIDAY
5-7:30pm

Foreign Service Club
2101 E St. NW

State, AFSA Settle Special Incentive Differential ULP

The Association and the State Department signed an agreement proposed by the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board last month that settles an unfair labor practice charge filed by AFSA in December charging the department with failing to negotiate on implementation of the Special Incentive Differential. The agreement provides that State must negotiate with the Association on implementing the differential and that the department must post notices to that effect at all its facilities employing Foreign Service personnel.

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 posts determined to have especially adverse conditions of environment that therefore warrant additional pay as a recruitment-and-retention incentive for filling positions at the posts. AFSA had made a proposal to implement the differential in February 1982 and, failing to receive a response, filed the unfair labor practice charge 10 months later. The settlement came three days before an administrative law judge of the FSLRB was to hear the complaint.

AID Offers Plan to Commission Some Agency FSOs

AFSA has received a formal proposal from AID management to commission the agency's higher-ranking regular Foreign Service employees. Though the plan is still to be negotiated, said AFSA's AID Standing Committee, "At first inspection management seems to be very forthcoming." AID's Senior Foreign Service is already commissioned, and the new proposal would extend commissioning to all personnel ranked FS-1 to FS-3. Commissioning has been a sore point in AID-AFSA relations for many years, the standing committee noted.

Retirement Literature Hot Item at Lunch



The most popular item at the State Department cafeteria during lunch one day last March was AFSA "Redtop" analyses of proposed administration retirement changes. Some 2000 pieces were distributed in less than two hours. Text of Redtops has been cabled to the field.

Agreement Reached on Personal Property Sales

After months of negotiations, AFSA has reached agreement with management on new regulations covering the sale of personal property overseas. Management's initial proposal had not been acceptable to the Association because it was too preoccupied with how much profit might be made. It would have put the employee in the position of having to prove there was no "abuse" of the regulations and have given the chief of mission at each post too much latitude in defining abuse. AFSA believes the agreement that was reached, on the other hand, is fair and respects the integrity of Foreign Service employees.

Effective April 17, Foreign Service employees will once again be able to retain the profits from the sale of personal property abroad, with certain restrictions. First, the property to be sold must have been brought into the country for the bona fide personal use of the employee and/or dependents. Second, the sale must comply with bilateral agreements, international treaties, and host-country laws. The chief of mission in each country will establish procedures to assure compliance.

The question of abuse is one that has run through most of AFSA's negotiations on allowances and benefits. In the Association's view, management seems to see employees as automatically suspect and tries to make regulations as restrictive and cumbersome as possible, with every imaginable safeguard built into the system. While AFSA also wants to avoid abuses because they hurt us all, it feels the best defense against them are good, clear regulations, fairly administered.

Judge Cites AFSA in Performance Pay Dispute

In a recent decision concerning USIA's refusal to negotiate with the exclusive representative of its employees over performance pay for agency Senior Foreign Service (SFS) employees, an administrative law judge of the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board quoted extensively from AFSA's *amicus curiae* brief. The judge cited the Association's statement that, because of USIA's refusal to abide by a previous order by the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel mandating the pay, "Employees in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development . . . have never received presidential awards which they would have otherwise received, as provided in Section 405 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 [ellipsis in original]." The department in turn has made it clear that it has indefinitely deferred proceedings for making presidential awards for State and AID employees pending the outcome of the dispute between USIA and its employees' representative.

The Foreign Service Act provides that the President may grant awards to up to six percent of the members of the SFS. The value of each award may be as high as \$10,000. In addition, up to one percent of the SFS may be granted awards of as much as \$20,000.

The judge determined as a remedy that, to the extent that the Impasse Disputes Panel Decision related to procedures for making presidential award nominations to the Interagency Selection Board, USIA will be required to comply with the panel's decision. It is not known at this time what effect the judge's order will have on State and AID employees.

AID Standing Asks Agency for Surface Travel

AFSA's AID Standing Committee has asked agency management to rescind its restrictions on surface travel. Current regulations permit such travel but stipulate that employees must use annual leave. "These regulations have effectively eliminated surface travel as an option for AID employees while State's Foreign Service is allowed to take administrative leave instead," the committee said.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 mandates as much conformity as possible in administrative regulations among the foreign affairs agencies, the committee noted. "We think the rule on surface travel therefore is a prime candidate for rectification." The committee asked that what it called "discriminatory treatment" be revised during the joint negotiations among the five agencies and the unions. The committee feels that AID intends to resist change, however, despite the new act's intent. "The aspect that appears to gall management the most is the proposed use of administrative travel time for ship travel," the committee said while noting the agency is also concerned with per diem costs and the cost of ship tickets in excess of air fare.

AFSA Requests Revenue Ruling on Sale of Residence

AFSA's general counsel has requested a revenue ruling from the Internal Revenue Service regarding exclusion of gain from the sale of property by individuals over 55 years of age. Section 121 (a) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code permits a one-time exclusion of such a gain provided the individual has used the property as his or her principal residence for three of the five years preceding the sale. Because of overseas service, however, most Foreign Service employees are unable to meet the residency requirement.

On behalf of a number of affected employees, the Association has asked the IRS to issue a ruling exempting Foreign Service members from the requirement. If issued, the ruling would apply to all Foreign Service employees who fail to meet the residency test but are otherwise eligible for exclusion of gain.

Security Order To Affect Many FS Employees

In a move designed to prevent unauthorized disclosures of classified information, President Reagan issued a National Security Directive last March that places several new strictures on all federal employees with access to national security information. Among its many provisions, the directive will require all employees who handle such information to sign a non-disclosure agreement; require pre-publication review of all writings by officials with access to information on intelligence methods and sources; and permit lie detector tests of suspected leakers during the course of security investigations which, for the first time, can be conducted by the FBI. Government employees who are found to have revealed classified information or who refuse the polygraph tests will be subject to sanctions that could include dismissal.

In its reaction to the directive, the AFSA Governing Board emphasized that national security information must be protected but questioned whether some of the provisions, particularly the use of lie detectors, could be abused by investigators. The board noted that all Foreign Service employees handling classified information have always signed non-disclosure agreements and observed that pre-publication review, which would cover even fiction or poetry and would extend years after a person left the government, could also be abused. State Department management, which is drafting the regulations implementing the order, has assured the Association that polygraphs will not be used indiscriminately and will only be authorized when an investigation has narrowed a field of suspects to a single person. In addition, a senior reporter covering the State Department told the *ASSOCIATION NEWS* that a department official revealed to him that the draft regulations said that foreign affairs employees had a duty to discuss U.S. foreign policy with the public and the press while noting that they were obliged to protect classified information.

Reaction in the press to the directive has been largely negative. The order is "startling in its sweep," said the *Washington Post*. "It makes the nation not one whit safer," said the *New York Times*. "It only increases the danger that questions of war and peace won't be debated as fully

as they might be." Both newspapers called on Congress to take a look at the President's order. Syndicated columnist David Broder observed that "the most sweeping secrecy edict in the history of the Civil Service" is designed to prevent only those leaks that "bug a president." He noted that presidential aides leaked "like crazy" when it suited the administration. Congress began hearing the issue at press time in April.

Broder's distinction between official and unofficial leaks was also made by AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. "I realize there is a need to have information classified," he told National Public Radio. "But when you get into the area of who is making these 'leaks' you find much of this information is given out by officials of federal agencies on a more or less official basis." He also expressed concern that the department provide appropriate safeguards in its polygraph regulations. AFSA Vice President Anthea S. de Rouville told ABC *Nightline* reporter James Walker that "the directive won't accomplish its purpose. The leaks don't come from the professionals. They come from cabinet-level appointees." She added that, at least in the Foreign Service, the means already exist to express disagreement with a policy. "It's called the dissent channel. We express dissent within the Service, not outside it." Means to protect secrets are also already in place, she said.

According to the Justice Department, which wrote the directive, the use of sanctions is now necessary because existing criminal penalties have never worked. "There has never been a successful prosecution," the department said.

According to AFSA, the problem with the new policy is that it removes the process of penalizing employees from the court system, where due process protections and rights of appeal are greater. In addition, the new policy allows the use of polygraphs, which are not permitted in federal courts.

The problem with the polygraph is that it is "not a lie detector," said Paul Samuels, director of the Legal Action Center in New York. Because they are often inaccurate, he said, "I am in favor of a ban on use of polygraphs by employers." According to David T. Lykken, a psychology professor and polygraph expert at University of Minnesota, "There is no such thing as a lie detector. They do a little better than flipping a coin, but not much." Even proponents of the machines' use cannot claim complete accuracy.

According to *Time* magazine, horror stories about the polygraph are legion. In 1980 the publication reported the story of a Los Angeles supermarket clerk who was dismissed after a questioner determined he had lied in denying giving his mother a discount at the checkout. It was learned later that his mother had been dead for five years. An Ohio man was imprisoned for the murder of a friend in 1978 after failing a polygraph test until police caught the real killers two years later.

The directive is "a thinly disguised insurance policy for keeping political security secrets," concluded Keith Sinsinger in the *Federal Times*. "It's a recipe for harassing federal workers with access to secrets that counter the official line."



AFSA Vice President Anthea S. de Rouville answers questions from ABC-TV Nightline reporter James Walker on the White House's recent national security directive intended to prevent unauthorized disclosure of classified information through "leaks."

Legislative Action Fund Donations Near \$14,000

Donations to AFSA's new Legislative Action Fund stood at \$13,832 from 241 donors on April 13. The fund is designed to help defray AFSA's expenses in carrying out a lobbying effort on Capitol Hill to oppose administration proposals which, in the Association's belief, would ultimately dismantle the present Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. These proposals may only represent the first salvo in an upcoming barrage of recommendations that could drastically overhaul the entire federal personnel system. Recent ideas floated by the administration, for instance, have included the elimination of automatic step increases, an end to seniority protections in RIFs, and a government-wide pay freeze.

Persons wishing to assist in AFSA's lobbying efforts should contribute to the fund. Monies collected will be used exclusively to defray the costs of seeking to preserve the present structure of the Foreign Service personnel system by actively opposing legislation that would undermine or compromise its basic components.

Several IRS examiners have indicated that contributions to the fund are tax deductible. We are awaiting a ruling on the issue.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION FUND
AFSA
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

or
Room 3644
Department
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