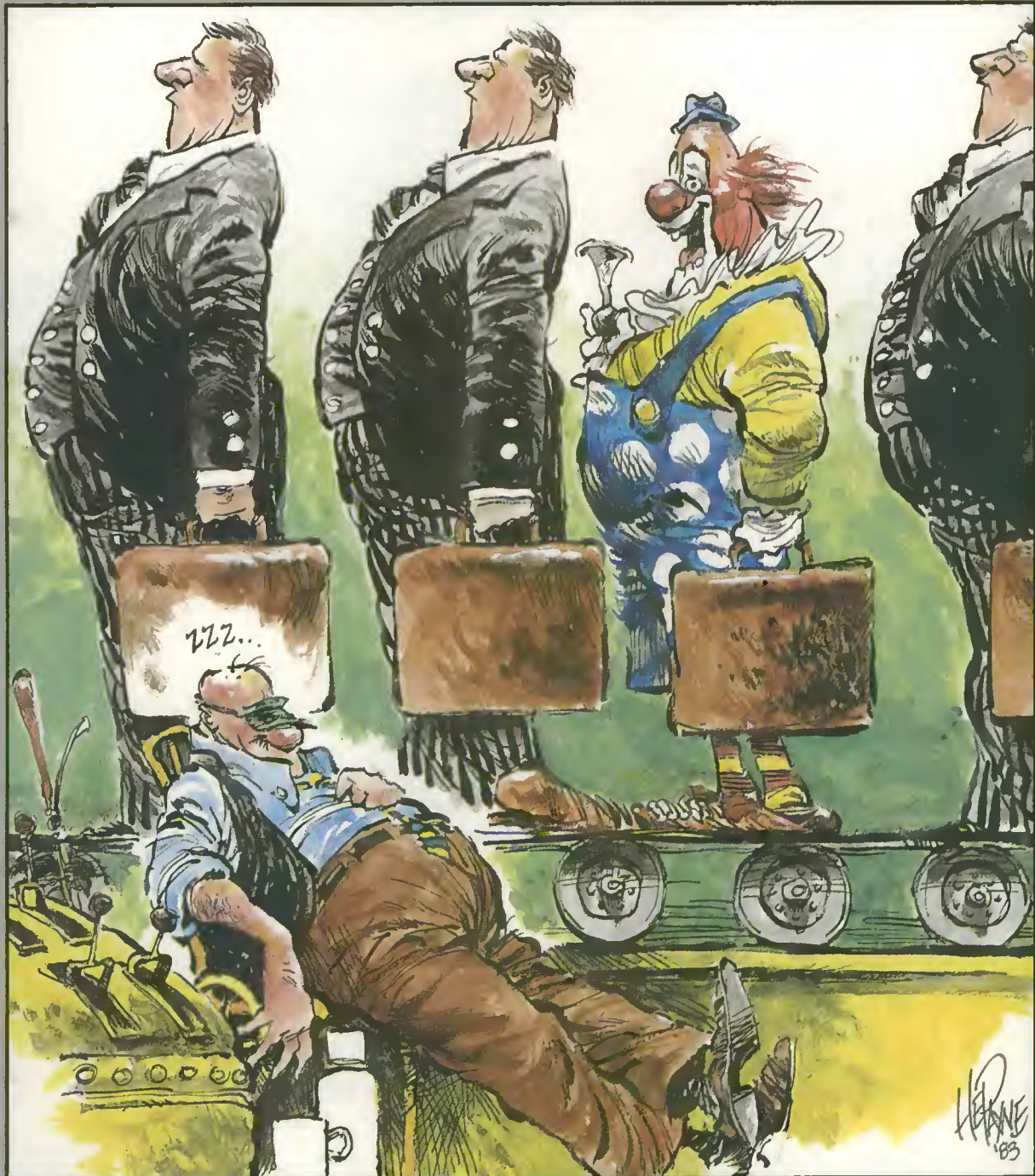


Accepting Nuclear Weapons

# Foreign Service Journal

1.25

SEPTEMBER 1983



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# Fact

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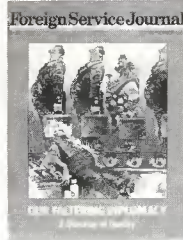
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COVER: *Quality control is not all that it could be when it comes to diplomacy and diplomats. In an article starting on page 24, retired Foreign Service Officer Smith Simpson discusses some generally accepted reasons for diplomatic ineffectiveness but adds that the State Department and the Foreign Service are not blameless—the recruitment, training, and management of Foreign Service officers does little to encourage effective diplomacy. Watercolor and ink by Henry Payne IV.*

**Accepting Nuclear Weapons.....18**

*The inventor of the neutron bomb argues that NATO has opted out of the Nuclear Age. Although the Soviets have accepted battlefield nuclear weapons as warfighting instruments, the Europeans and Americans have not done so. By Sam Cohen.*

**Counterpoint: The Secretarial Task Force ....22**

*Author Anthea S. de Rouville believes the State Department's Secretarial Task Force has an important purpose—to identify the department's needs and expectations. Only after this is done can secretaries begin to turn their jobs into careers.*

**Our Faltering Diplomacy .....24**

*The quality of our diplomacy has been adversely affected not only by the political tugs-of-war between Congress and the White House, but also by failures within the State Department and the Foreign Service. By Smith Simpson.*

**Journal: Weekend in Beirut .....30**

*An American family is trapped in their house as warring Lebanese factions besiege their street. By Nicole Prevost Logan.*

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

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Subscription to the *Journal*: one year (11 issues), \$10.00; two years, \$18.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add \$1.00 annually.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional post office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

The *Journal* welcomes manuscripts of 1500–4000 words for consideration by the Editorial Board. Author queries are strongly urged. Stamped envelope required for return.

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September 1983. Volume 60, No. 8. ISSN 0015-7279.

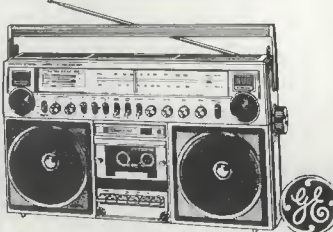


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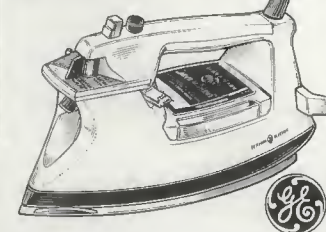
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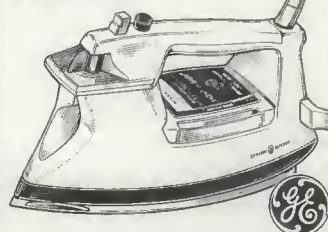
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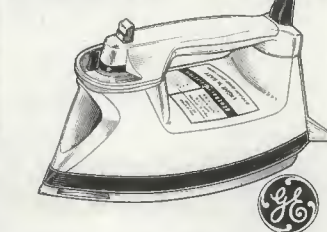
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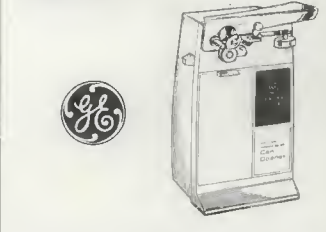
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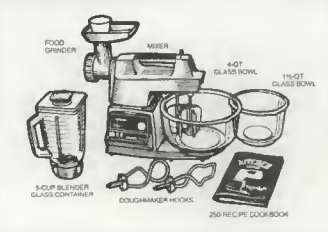
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### 10-SPEED "CYCLE BLEND" OSTERIZER BLENDER



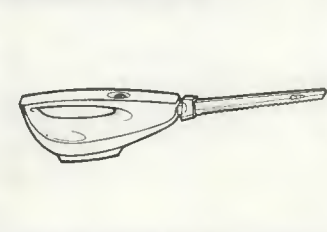
7 Push-button speeds plus grate, chop, and grind, w/5-cup container. (220v.) 847-44 \$85.00

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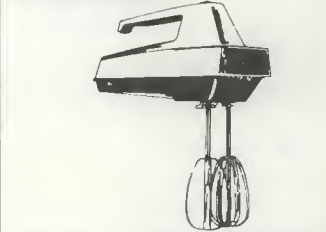
Blender, Mixer, Grinder, and Doughmaker all in one. (220v.) 980-98 \$203.80

### HAMILTON BEACH ELECTRIC KNIFE



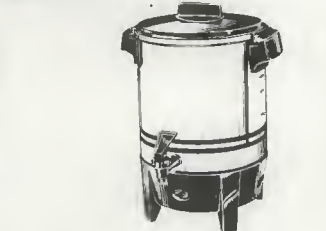
Honed stainless steel blades w/serrated edge. Lightweight, quick blade release. (220v.) 275A \$25.90

### HAMILTON BEACH HAND MIXER



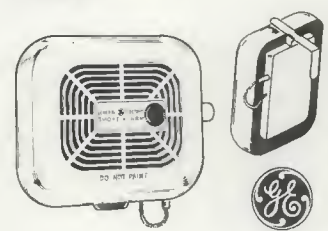
3-Speeds, non-splash chrome-plated beaters. (220v.) 107G \$21.00

### WEST BEND COFFEE MAKER



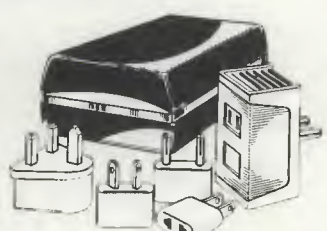
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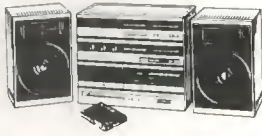
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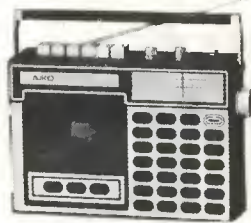
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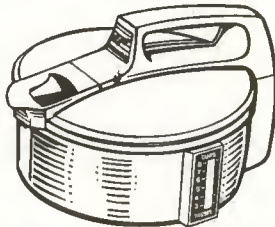
Sleep and wake-to-music w/"Touch Snooze" and more. (110/220v. 50/60) **RWF 104L \$38.50**

## GRAN TOUR 1200 WATT HAIR DRYER



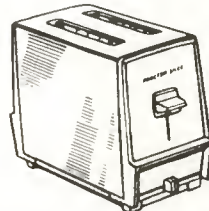
Dual voltage, mini dryer with adapter and durable travel case. (120/240v.) **PRO17 \$21.70**

## PROCTOR-SILEX 2-QT. ELECTRIC KETTLE



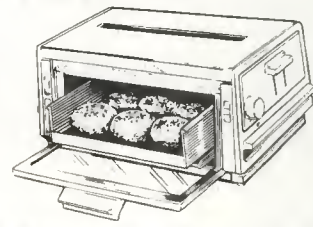
Stainless steel electric kettle w/water level indicator. (220v.) **K096W \$26.30**

## PROCTOR-SILEX AUTOMATIC TOASTER



2-slice toaster in white w/chrome finish. (220v.) **T295W \$29.40**

## PROCTOR-SILEX DELUXE TOASTER/OVEN



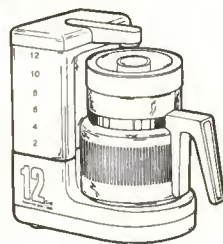
Deluxe oven/toaster/grill in white w/chrome finish. (220v.) **0295N \$84.70**

## HAMILTON BEACH 7-SPEED BLENDER



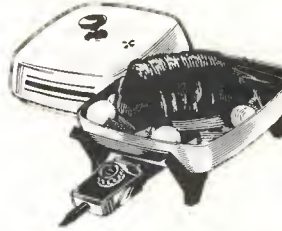
7 Push-button speeds w/40 oz. shatterproof container. (220v.) **626GK \$40.60**

## HAMILTON BEACH COFFEE MAKER



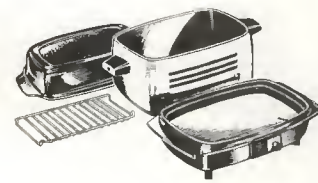
Brews 2-12 cups in minutes. (220v.) **791 \$34.70**

## WEST BEND ELECTRIC SKILLET



Porcelain-on-aluminum 11" electric skillet, acrylic-on-aluminum cover. (220v.) **1438M \$59.40**

## WEST BEND SLO-COOKER



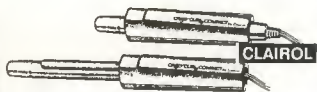
6 Qt. Multi-purpose cooker w/Silverstone interior. (220v.) **84136 \$62.60**

## CLAIROL DELUXE INSTANT HAIRSETTER



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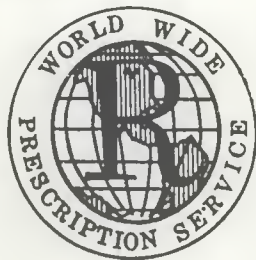
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# LETTERS

## Full Members

I was delighted to see the attention paid to the Foreign Service and other secretaries of the State Department in the May edition of the *Foreign Service Journal*. Having been a beneficiary of the efficiency, the dedication to their work, and their kindness to me by Foreign Service secretaries and State Department secretaries in Washington, Germany, Mexico, Venezuela, the OAS, New York, Geneva, and at numerous conferences from Montreal to Paris and Geneva, I have always considered them full members of the Foreign Service corps. Long hours of work and often rather lonely social lives in strange cities have been the lot of the secretaries. I do hope that the new task force comes up with practical means of recognizing their devotion to the government and the Foreign Service and to their efficient, hard work, without which I cannot imagine Foreign Service officers functioning.

JOHN M. CATES

*Foreign Service Officer, retired*  
London, United Kingdom

## Modest Correction

As always, Ambassador Herz's musings about the Foreign Service [June] are relevant, perceptive, and amusing. However, facts are facts, whether they deal with the intricacies of the START negotiations or our diplomatic representation in the mini- and micro-states of the South Pacific. The American ambassador to Tuvalu (which used to be known as the Ellice Islands) resides in Fiji. In addition to his accreditation to these two countries, he is our ambassador to Tonga, minister to Kiribati, and perhaps in the near future, will also be accredited to Vanuatu (which used to be known as the New Hebrides). The geographic area of his responsibility (granted, it is mostly water) is larger than that of almost any other American ambassador.

IRA WOLF

Tokyo, Japan

## Open to Question

At the outset of his review of Bernard Led-

widge's *De Gaulle* [May], Charles R. Foster states: "Retired U.S. ambassadors tend to write ponderous policy prescriptions read mainly by political science professors (Kennan, Herz, Davis, Garthoff)."

This is open to question. Certainly, where Martin Herz is concerned, nothing could be farther from the truth. Herz's book *215 Days in the Life of an American Ambassador*, published by the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, is the antithesis of ponderous and it presents no policy prescriptions. It is a delightfully readable, humorous, straightforward account of the everyday concerns and experiences of an American ambassador in what Herz calls an "unimportant" post. It recounts the pleasures (an evening with Zubin Mehta, conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra) and the aggravations (a near political incident, when the members of that orchestra refuse to continue their performance until a group of Bulgarian youths is allowed into the theater without tickets). It describes the frustrations of divided families, promised ambassadorial appointments that never materialize, battles with the department—which reveal that the latter not only often sees a problem in a different light from that of the post but that the problem itself is an entirely different one for those dealing with it in Washington. It describes the poignant mini-tragedy of the discarded address of a Bulgarian well-wisher, who cannot be thanked for his gifts.

It is the best and most charming account of life in the Foreign Service that I have encountered.

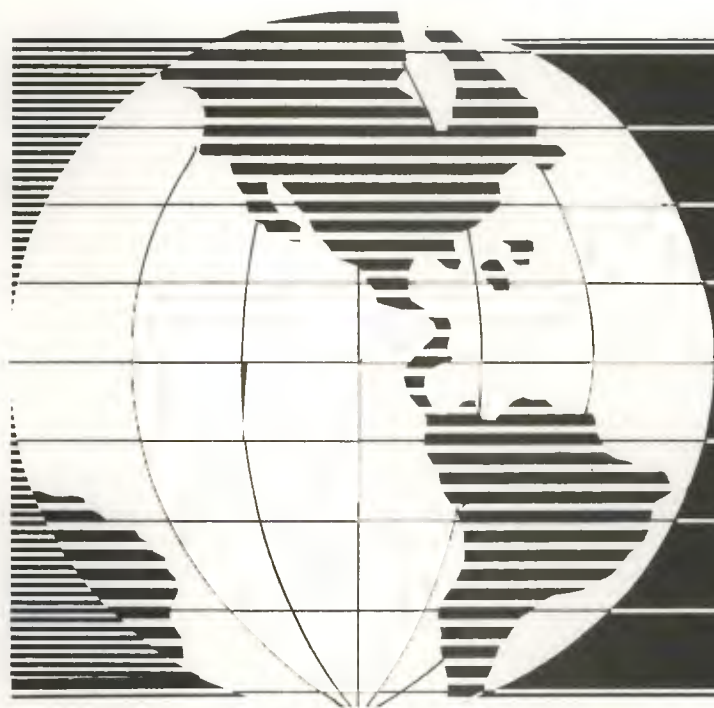
DWIGHT DICKINSON

Jamestown, Rhode Island

## Cutting Multilateral Aid

As I leave the Foreign Service after a 21-year career with AID, I do so with a certain feeling of regret. I am sure every Foreign Service officer does so.

Having spent my Foreign Service career administering AID development assistance programs, I leave with the recognition that, although the end of development assistance is not yet in sight, much has been accomplished. No matter what the particular predilections of succeeding political administrations may have been, a generally effective executive-legislative cooperation has enabled the American government to establish a sound development assistance program. It is a good program. It is recognized by developing countries as responsive to their essential needs in food production, rural health, basic



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education, energy-environment conservation, and family planning. Its program effectiveness is equally recognized by DAC donor countries. They view U.S. assistance as among the most innovative and they welcome AID's participation in cooperative programs.

Only one area seems to be receiving at present less U.S. support than it merits. This is our participation in multilateral development assistance under the aegis of the United Nations. Here the sharp cuts of the current administration's budget requests to the Congress and the insensitivity to development concerns shown by the U.S. mission to the U.N., where I most

recently served, undercut America's traditional involvement in multilateral programs. In budgetary matters it was left to the Congress to make good on this essential U.S. undertaking. The Reagan administration did not budget meaningful support to UNDP, UNICEF, and UNFPA. Fortunately, our Congress had the wisdom and experience to distinguish between necessary budget cutting and deliberate throat cutting.

As for the lack of sensitivity for multilateral development assistance shown by the mission, it is most unfortunate that it couches even sound decisions in anti-Third World jargon. Legitimate developing-

country concerns are too often viewed by the mission from the shadow of its pre-eminent preoccupation with anti-Sovietism. This can only tarnish the image Congress seeks to create by its reasonable appropriations. This situation will not change until suspicion of developing countries in the U.N. forum is replaced by at least an attempt at understanding. Happily, this "them against us" philosophy is not reflected in administration of our bilateral assistance, which continues to deserve high praise. It is only regrettable that over the last two decades the United States has been unable to arrive at a firm and enduring rationale for its mixed programs of bilateral and multilateral development assistance. Such a rationale would permit these two necessary and complimentary aid mechanisms to share resources on an equitable and predictable basis—a system now lacking.

Finally, as I leave the fold of the Foreign Service, I want to express my appreciation to the *Foreign Service Journal* for its candid examination of foreign affairs issues in a truly open forum which holds the "ins" and the "outs" together. I will continue to read it with pleasure.

JOHN A. HOSKINS  
Minister-Counselor, retired  
Washington, D.C.

### A Query

In June, the Presbyterian Church General Assembly "decided to continue to work for the establishment of a National Peace Academy in this country and press toward the establishment of an international/ecumenical peace academy 'free of any government control,' that would integrate the spiritual and political facets of peace and promote peaceful solutions to interpersonal and international problems."

As an active Presbyterian, I would be interested in hearing whether any current or retired departmental or Foreign Service personnel who are also Presbyterian were consulted in connection with the above decision concerning a peace academy.

DONALD A. WEHMEYER  
1014 Parkstead Drive  
Seabrook, Texas 77586

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### Containment Reconsidered

STRATEGIES OF CONTAINMENT: *A Critical Appraisal of Post-War American National Security Policy.* Oxford University Press, 1982. \$9.95 (paper).

John Lewis Gaddis is the acknowledged dean of experts on the origins of the cold war and on the strategies of containment. Therefore, his panorama of American post-World War II foreign policy, which postulates six distinct successive applications of containment, deserves the attention of every student of foreign affairs. Gaddis is a fervent admirer of George F. Kennan and seems to regard every qualification and criticism of the doctrine by the author to have been right. He believes that successive administrations have misapplied containment, each in its own distinct way. Implicit in this approach is of course the belief that however much an administration may have decried containment (as for instance under Eisenhower and Dulles), the basic doctrine has been followed because there was no reasonable alternative.

Containment has been challenged from the right and from the left: From the right on the grounds that it left the advantages of initiative to the Soviet Union and could promise nothing to the peoples enslaved by the Communists. And from the left the doctrine was, and continues to be, criticized as quintessentially counterrevolutionary, leading the United States into foolish commitments which were and are not in its national interest.

This reviewer was surprised that Gaddis considers the adoption in 1950 of NSC-68, which outlined U.S. policy goals vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, to have been an application of containment. The document reflected a spirit of truculence and militancy which marked not only a large distance from the views of Kennan but from any reasonable interpretation of containment which must, after all, be seen as an effort to parry and forestall, rather than to harry and push back, the expansive power of the Communist world. Gaddis very perceptively criticizes NSC-68 from a conceptual point of view: "The document paid obeisance to the balance of power, diversity, and freedom but nowhere did it

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set out the minimum requirements necessary to secure those interests. Instead it found the simple presence of a Soviet threat sufficient cause to deem the interests threatened vital." This is a conceptual weakness also found in some contemporary policy documents, and, as Gaddis remarks, "The consequences of this approach were more than procedural: They were nothing less than to transfer to the Russians control over what United States interests were at any given point."

Gaddis traces the application of containment through the Eisenhower years with its "massive retaliation" slogan; the

"flexible response" approach of the Kennedy/Johnson administrations; and chapters on Nixon, Kissinger, and détente and the efforts of Carter and Brzezinski to implement détente; efforts that collided with the Soviet action in Afghanistan. Although the United States had never set itself the purpose of defending Afghanistan, the eruption of raw Soviet power into a Third World country must surely require a rethinking of the applicability of containment to areas outside those of primary interest to the United States. The difficulty, however, is that a selective (Gaddis calls it "assymetrical") application of contain-

ment leaves the door open to piecemeal encroachments.

Gaddis—like Kennan—is a proponent of assymetry but his exposition of such an approach is unconvincing and he belittles the difficulties when he notes that selectivity in applying containment requires "steady nerves" and affords "little protection against psychological insecurities, always a problem in a democracy," resulting in over-reaction, crash programs and panic. This implies that merely with stronger nerves the policy could succeed.

—MARTIN F. HERZ

## The Resource War

THE STRATEGIC MATERIALS WAR. By James E. Sinclair and Robert Parker. Arlington House, 1983. \$17.50.

Although useful in pointing out the importance of strategic materials to the defense effort and to civilian industry, this book is based on a highly controversial thesis—the "resource war." According to proponents of this thesis, who include James Watt and Alexander Haig, the Soviets are engaged in a long-term effort to control major foreign sources of strategic materials in an attempt to cripple western defensive capabilities by limiting supply. Despite any firm evidence to support this theory, it has gained credence by the Soviet attempt to extend its influence in the Indian Ocean, the stationing of Soviet forces in the Horn of Africa, and the use of Cuban troops in Angola. Furthermore, the potential for political instability in much of southern and central Africa—the major supplier to the West of the most critical of the strategic materials (cobalt, manganese, chromium, and the platinum-group metals)—leaves the area vulnerable to outside influence.

The book reviews strategic-materials policy under past presidents and discusses efforts by the present administration to upgrade the National Defense Stockpile, as well as to encourage domestic production. Included also is a novel suggestion for the government to encourage private-sector stockpiling through tax credits.

Unfortunately, the oversimplification of complex issues may tend to mislead the reader. For example, the explanation of how U.S. and London metals exchanges operate is a useful summary, but, contrary to its claims, it is not thorough enough to guide a potential investigator. Also, statements such as that by London investment consultant Simon Hunt that there is a real risk Mexico will have a Communist government within a decade call into question the book's political assessments.

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Overall, the book attempts to do too much in too little space and adds little to the literature on the subject.

—GILBERT J. DONAHUE

## Gulf Absurdity

*THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR: Islam Embattled.* By Stephen R. Grummon. Center for Strategic and International Studies, Praeger Publishers, 1982. \$6.95.

Perhaps the subtitle, *Islam Embattled*, is the only thing one can find fault with in this well-organized and well-written little book—in fact, a volume in the Washington Papers series. Grummon has put the Iran-Iraq war clearly in perspective for us.

He establishes the historical roots of the tension between Iraq, the frontier of the Arab world, and the land of the alien Iranians. He then brings into closer focus the origins of the current conflict and reviews the nature and progress of the war itself. He examines the war's relationship to domestic politics in the two countries, then the responses of other countries in the region and the superpowers. This is all well done: brief, but comprehensive and fluent.

Grummon becomes somewhat more reflective in the closing chapters, portraying the Iran-Iraq conflict as one that has no resolution. Because of the persistence of the causes of tension, he says, "a negotiated settlement would be more like an armed truce than a prelude to peace." The gulf is now "yet another region with an almost intractable dispute," and about which the United States can do very little.

Grummon finally suggests, quite tentatively, a few steps the United States might try to take toward attaining a security policy in the region. He makes the cogent point that the perception of a power advantage was a primary factor influencing Iraq's original decision to move militarily against Iran. Therefore, the United States should work to foster a balance of power to avoid such outbreaks of adventurism. He does not carry this concept of balance so far as to suggest, as some Third-World writers have, that both superpowers find that the war serves their interests by bleeding the strength and monopolizing the attention of two normally troublesome states.

The policy Grummon espouses has been expressed more succinctly, and more calously, by an anonymous State Department official quoted in the July 25 issue of *Time* magazine: "We don't give a damn as long as the Iran-Iraq carnage doesn't affect our allies in the region or alter the balance of power."

While there is nothing in Grummon's book to suggest that he shares the uncaring

attitude of this anonymously frank official, the unexpected byproduct of his dispassionate and orderly analysis is that we see in stark relief the tragic absurdity of such wars—for it is not Islam, or some other abstraction, that is "embattled" here but the thousands upon thousands of hapless young Iranians and Iraqis that their posturing leaders send out into the wilderness to be brutalized and killed. And, in case we need background music for this grotesque theater of the absurd, we can contemplate the several thousand barrels of heavy crude which continue to pour out each day into the delicate ecosystem of the Persian Gulf.

—DAVID NALLE

## Chinese Codebreaking

*THE CHINESE BLACK CHAMBER.* By Herbert O. Yardley. Houghton Mifflin, 1983. \$13.95.

This long-suppressed and little-known manuscript by one of America's pioneer and maverick codebreakers is not a technical treatise on the art of "reading other gentlemen's mail"; instead, it is a sheer delight, a rollicking diary of Yardley's three years in wartime China. What emerges is an often hilarious, as well as caustic, observation of wartime Chungking and some of the characters who in-



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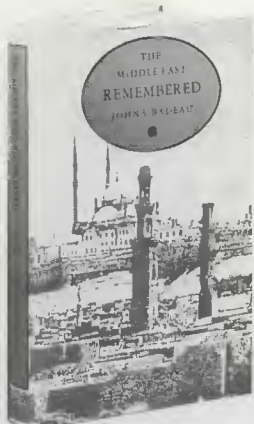
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habited it. China watchers will enjoy Yardley's deft descriptions of the hopelessly corrupt Nationalist government trying to fight a war within the constraints of Chinese traditions and customs.

However, Yardley's attempts to establish a Chinese message interception and codebreaking operation similar to the American one known as the "Black Chamber" meet with little success. He finds the number of intercept operators well below that promised and the twenty students assigned to him speak no English or Japanese. Nevertheless, Yardley quickly achieves a minor success by breaking the code of a daily radio transmission from within the city. He determines the Japanese spy is transmitting a daily weather forecast, which in turn determines the frequency of Japanese air attacks.

This book serves to illuminate one of this century's most unusual personalities. Yardley could well have served as a model for a character in one of Somerset Maugham's novels or in one by Graham Greene. Had he lived earlier, Mark Twain would have done him justice. If Yardley appeared today to apply for a job with the National Security Agency, he would surely be turned down. Modern intelligence institutions have little room for the likes of Huck Finn.

—MICHAEL F. SPEERS

### A Soviet Crisis

U.S.S.R. IN CRISIS: *The Failure of an Economic System.* By Marshall I. Goldman. W.W. Norton and Co., 1983. \$15.

PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET AGRICULTURE IN THE 1980's. By D. Gale Johnson and Karen McConnell Brooks. Indiana University Press, 1983. \$17.50 (cloth), \$8.95 (paperback).

If any of Dr. Goldman's old students from Moscow State University have access to his new book, they must find its reading a chilling experience. Most likely to be among the Soviet elite, they would face the prospect that the system that ensures their privileges is on the verge of sudden or at best gradual economic collapse. And, the policies that might save it could well unleash a flood of reform and turmoil, which would have the same effect for the Communist party's elite.

Goldman skillfully describes an economy frozen in a "Stalinist legacy" that has made mere survival an achievement for many Soviets. This legacy precludes the ability to make the gradual, self-correcting adjustments that citizens in Western economies take for granted. As a result, Soviet planners target more and more steel production while more sophisticated prod-

ucts—electronics, computers, chemicals—are in chronic short supply, new construction moves ahead while the backlog of unfinished buildings grows, and individual savings reach dizzying proportions for lack of goods in the stores.

Of course, the Politburo knows its problems, one assumes, even better than does Marshall Goldman. But, according to the thesis set forth in *U.S.S.R. in Crisis*, even modest changes cannot be taken without reflecting a change in priorities that could lead to economic disruption. This would release a long-suppressed appetite for political reform that could only lead, as it did in Poland, to a direct challenge to the party. Indeed, the current symptoms of failure indicate that a crucial point may have been reached. The Soviet people have been willing to sacrifice in the past for abundance in the future, but, after 65 years, that promise is getting shopworn. Public drunkenness, antagonism between ethnic groups, and resentment between the social classes in the "classless society" all suggest that Soviet morale is at a low point.

One cannot easily dismiss the possibility that reform would lead inevitably to an unravelling of the entire Soviet system. Still, the Soviets *have changed* priorities in the past and endured. The expansion into the Virgin Lands in 1954 might be one example. Though barely examined in the *U.S.S.R. in Crisis*, the 1982 Food Program could be today's test. This program seems to include at least the semblance of the very reforms—expanded incentives for private-plot output, an agricultural wage system tied more closely to harvest results, a wider scope for initiative at the local level and a more rational pricing policy—that could break Soviet agriculture out of the Stalinist mold. The challenge is whether the substance will be carried out.

In *Prospects for Soviet Agriculture in the 1980's*, D. Gale Johnson and Karen Brooks take a closer look at this key sector. This book brings together much of the existing ideas on Soviet agricultural policies and performance along with an examination of productivity in Soviet agriculture.

The most interesting feature is the many comparisons Johnson draws between U.S. and Soviet agriculture. Why, for example, do the Soviets need some 15 percent of grain output each year as seed for the next season? In the United States the amount is probably less than 4 percent. Why does Soviet farm machinery wear out so fast? A windrower, a basically simple implement to cut grain and lay it in rows for further combining, lasts about 20 years in the United States; in the U.S.S.R. only about five.

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One is tempted to attribute these inefficiencies to the harsher, more-northerly climate, and it is on this topic that Karen Brooks makes her contribution. She examines Soviet input and output data against those for analogous climatic regions in North America. Essentially, she reports that the same bundle of resources—land, labor, machinery (horsepower), fertilizers, and animals—provides only half the agricultural output in the U.S.S.R.

Like the Goldman book, *Prospects for Soviet Agriculture* identifies the underlying cause of problems in Soviet agriculture as its excessive centralization, inappropriate price policies, and a defective incentive system. And like Goldman, Johnson concludes that whatever the penalty a centrally planned agriculture imposes on the rest of the economy, alternative possibilities have so far been rejected in favor of the present system. —ANTON F. MALISH

## Surviving as Hostage

OUR MAN IS INSIDE. By Diego and Nancy Asencio. *Atlantic Monthly Press*, 1982. \$17.50.

The Asencios' story of their ordeal in Bogata contains two simple truths crucial to

anyone concerned with diplomacy. First, each incident of political terrorism, be it assassination, bombing, or hostage-taking, is unique and requires a unique response to suit its particular circumstances. What may prevent one kind of attack may be worthless against another. Strengthening an American embassy's defenses against mob violence would have done little good in Bogata (or in Beirut, for that matter). Second, every diplomat—whether he or she works for the military, the State Department, or some other organization—is ultimately a hostage. A diplomat operates without physical protection, shielded only by the tattered, ancient tradition of the inviolability of envoys.

Readers will enjoy Ambassador Asencio's comments on the Foreign Service and the practice of diplomacy. He is a firm believer in the value of talk and negotiation and that, as he aptly puts it, "bullshit is cheaper than bullets." He notes the Service's apparent indifference to the very factors that helped him endure his captivity: foreign language and cultural awareness. He also notes the ongoing conflicts between embassy officers and those sending instructions from Washington.

The Asencios' book is a conversational, humane, readable, and sometimes dis-

jointed account of his 61 days' captivity at the Dominican Embassy in Bogata at the hands of the Colombian M-19 group. Any organization whose employees may face similar experiences should heed Diego Asencio's common-sense observations. He reminds us that the captive's primary goal is to survive—and to survive in such a way that one can live with oneself afterward. These two principles lie behind his excellent discussion of the so-called "Stockholm Syndrome," in which hostages become so psychologically dependent on their captors that they begin to identify and sympathize with them:

Passivity is to be consciously guarded against, but by this I do not mean antagonizing your captors, never a particularly healthy approach when the other fellow has the guns. Engage them in a discussion, find out what they really think. Attempt to establish a personal relationship, to emphasize your primacy as a human being with feelings, needs, and cares. . . . Above all, do not confuse cordiality with the Stockholm Syndrome. There is a tactical purpose behind your action. Essentially it is to avoid being killed.

The value of the Asencios' book lies in its teaching survival and preservation of

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dignity in this simple and direct language of experience. As such it should prove much more valuable than the abstract musings of mental health specialists and trendy experts on "international terrorism."  
—JOHN LIMBERT

## Books in Brief . . .

**AFRICAN POLITICAL FACTS SINCE 1945.** By Chris Cook and David Killingray. *Facts on File*, 1983. \$19.95. This book attempts to provide as many important facts and figures regarding Africa as is possible within a single volume. There is a wealth of information regarding the history and colonial legacy of each country, but be wary of using the material on political parties or statistics on economics, population, or social groups, as much of it is out of date.

—ROY A. HARRELL JR.

**THE AMERICAS AT THE CROSSROADS: Report of the Inter-American Dialogue.** Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, 1983. This brief monograph—the result of a series of meetings between leading Latin and North American individuals—presents a grim picture, with Latin America facing an economic depression as internal and external strife accelerates. But, argue the authors,

lengthening loan maturities, providing more aid to the poorest countries, and resisting protectionism can alleviate economic problems; a regional dialogue based on self-determination and non-intervention could help relieve the security problems.

**EMPEROR HIROHITO AND HIS CHIEF AIDE-DE-CAMP: The Honjō Diary, 1933–36.** Translated by Mikiso Hane. University of Tokyo Press, Columbia University Press, 1983. \$24.50. As the private diary of General Honjō Shigeru, the emperor's liaison with the military, this book records Hirohito's opinions and comments on some crucial international and domestic issues facing Japan in the 1930s.

**NEIGHBORS ACROSS THE PACIFIC: The Development of Economic and Political Relations Between Canada and Japan.** By Klaus H. Pringsheim. Greenwood Press, 1983. \$29.95. A workmanlike record of the good relations between two of our most important neighbors. Canada and Japan have the common goal of wanting to reduce what they see as their heavy dependence on the United States, but, according to the author, who knows all three countries well, steadily growing ties of trade and consultation between Japan and Can-

ada are not likely to substitute for the close relations each has with the United States.

—RICHARD B. FINN

**POLITICS IN AMERICA: Members of Congress in Washington and at Home, 1984.** Edited by Alan Ehrenhalt. *Congressional Quarterly*, 1983. \$29.95. Vital for anyone who deals with Congress, this annual publication contains brief sketches of each state and congressional district and profiles of each senator and representative, including data on campaign financing, voting records, and ratings by some interest groups.

**THE TWO YEMENS.** By Robin Bidwell. Westview Press, 1983. \$26. The author, a former British political officer in the Aden Protectorate and currently secretary librarian of the Middle East Center at Cambridge, England, had produced the best available history of the Yemen Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen. Covering the full sweep of events from the establishment of Christianity in Yemen in the fourth century to the sporadic attempts at unity between the two Yemens in the 1980s, it is extremely well written and is valuable for the specialist and general reader alike.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

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## BOOK ESSAY

### Vance at State

**HARD CHOICES:** *Critical Years in America's Foreign Policy.* By Cyrus Vance. Simon and Schuster, 1983. \$19.95.

The Vance era at the State Department was one of great achievements and great disappointments. During the relatively brief period between April and December 1978, there were three breakthroughs that profoundly affected the U.S. role in the world: the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties, the Camp David agreement, and the normalization of relations with China. But the luster of those achievements was dimmed by the setbacks of Vance's final 16 months in office—the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia, the Iran hostage crisis, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the demise of SALT II.

Vance recounts his experiences during these tumultuous years in *Hard Choices*, an apt title for a book which makes clear that, for all its perks, life for a secretary of state is a lot more drudgery than glamour. Accordingly, it is one of the book's major strengths that, for the most part, Vance stresses the facts rather than attempts to glorify his own role.

Nevertheless, his image as a man of honor, decency, and integrity is enhanced by this book. If Seymour Hersh ever tries to follow his book on Henry Kissinger with an exposé on the manipulative side of Cyrus Vance, he'll be wasting his time. Surely, Vance's reputation as a man who can be trusted served him well in his dealings with world leaders. Indeed, Vance is a difficult man to dislike. He puts in a plug for almost every U.S. ambassador he mentions and speaks well of such ideologically diverse personalities as Menachem Begin and Hafez Assad. Vance seems to like everybody—except Zbigniew Brzezinski.

During their tenure in office, there were occasional hints of policy differences between Vance and Brzezinski, but the book makes clear Vance's view that the national security adviser resorted to underhanded tactics in order to get his way. As Vance describes it, Brzezinski frequently leaked stories to the press to discredit Vance's position on key issues and used his privileged access to President Carter for the

same purpose. Perhaps the most damning indictment of Brzezinski stems from an event that occurred shortly before the fall of the Shah, when Vance claimed he learned from "impeccable sources" that Brzezinski had opened a back channel of communications to the Iranians, thus bypassing the State Department. Brzezinski denied the allegation when Vance confronted him, but, Vance claimed, the activity ceased after he took it up, in Brzezinski's presence, with Carter.

As for his relations with Carter himself, Vance is extremely deferential, admitting he disagreed with his boss from time to time but never criticizing him. In so doing, Vance chooses to ignore those occasions when Carter criticized him publicly. After Vance resigned, Carter said he thought Edmund Muskie would make a stronger secretary of state. Carter also once credited Brzezinski with the China breakthrough, implying that he turned to his national security adviser for that task after Vance's initial effort in 1977 failed to make headway. Vance suggests that Brzezinski's visit to China in the spring of 1978 was helpful, but that he—Vance—was responsible for the strategy in the secret normalization talks that ultimately led to the breakthrough.

Vance makes clear he did not intend the book to be a diplomatic history or even a personal memoir. It is, rather, a description of a "few key events" that occurred between 1977 and 1980. There are few surprises; almost all of what Vance writes is already on the public record. To say the least, this book does not have a "now it can be told" quality, although Vance's attempts to present the unfolding of events in an objective manner will make it useful to historians of the period. And, one of the book's problems is the general absence of retrospective analysis. By the time he wrote the book, Vance did have the benefit of hindsight, but he made little use of it. Nor are there many occasions when Vance reveals any emotional response to events of high drama.

One exception was when Anwar Sadat, after 11 days of intense negotiations with Carter and Begin at Camp David in September 1978, informed Vance he was going home because agreement was beyond reach. Vance describes his "leadensome feeling of despair" as he went to tell Carter of Sadat's decision. Carter then met with Sadat to try to change his mind. While he awaited the outcome of the meeting, Vance recalled, "the minutes ticked by with agonizing slowness. It was like waiting outside an operating room. Finally, the door opened and the President came in. He said simply, 'Sadat will stay.' It was

as though the sun had burst through the clouds. My spirits soared. I felt that the last big river had been crossed." Two days later, the Camp David agreement was signed.

Carter had saved the day but, of course, it was Sadat who had saved it for Vance 10 months earlier when he went to Jerusalem. Vance reminds us he frittered away almost all of 1977 attempting to reconvene the 1973 Geneva Conference for the purpose of negotiating a comprehensive Mideast settlement. The more Vance struggled to bring the parties together, the more quixotic that effort became. Sadat's trip to Jerusalem spared Vance any further waste of time and enabled him to devote his energies to more productive pursuits, such as helping Israel and Egypt achieve their accommodation.

Carter's main concern about Vance when he recruited him after the 1976 election was whether Vance was tough enough to be secretary of state. After Vance's tenure at State, many conservatives feel that Carter's reservations about Vance were well-founded. Vance did tend to downplay the East-West component of global hot-spots and seemed to have a more benign view of Soviet intentions than his critics. But the book suggests that Vance's reputation among conservatives as a pro-détente zealot is at least somewhat exaggerated. As Vance reminds us, it was during the Carter administration, after all, that NATO agreed to an across-the-board three percent real increase in defense spending and to the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe. In addition, the sanctions the administration imposed against the Soviets after the invasion of Afghanistan were excessive even by the standards of the Reagan administration. Three months after taking office, for instance, Reagan lifted the grain embargo against the Soviets.

One of the most controversial aspects of the Vance era was the radical departure from the policies of the previous administration in a number of areas. During its first year, the administration, among other things, proposed to remove all American combat troops from South Korea, sought to normalize relations with Vietnam and Cuba, loosened ties with military dictatorships as part of a newly aggressive human rights policy, declared that the United States no longer need have an "inordinate" fear of communism, identified weapons exports as an "exceptional" rather than a routine instrument of foreign policy, and tried to negotiate limits on conventional arms sales with the Soviet Union.

Most of these objectives were abandoned sooner or later as unrealistic. Vance

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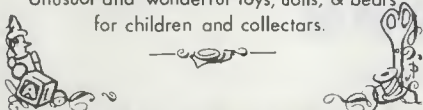
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pays attention, usually cursory, to only a few of these issues, leaving the reader wondering what his thoughts are on the wisdom of sharp policy shifts from one administration to the next. Alas, he does not address this in a comprehensive way. The Reagan administration tried the same tactic in 1981, scrapping many of the policies held dear by Carter and making a decided swing to the right. Much as Carter did after his first year in office, Reagan is now moving toward the center. Is there no lesson in all this? Vance's book does not offer his insights. Its scope is too modest, concentrated on only a handful of issues.

The human rights issue, for example, on which the Carter years left an indelible stamp, barely merits a mention by Vance. That policy was first applied with vigor in Central America in 1977 as the administration disassociated itself from military and military-dominated regimes in that region. Vance does not discuss what impact that policy may have had on future developments in Central America, an area that has now moved to the forefront of U.S. foreign policy concerns.

Vance also ignores the Nicaraguan revolution, which occurred during his last year in office. He could possibly have offered some valuable insights into the abortive U.S. effort to persuade Anastasio Somoza to hold a plebiscite to determine whether he would remain in power. If that effort in the winter of 1978-79 had been successful, the bloody history of Central America since then might have been different.

From the viewpoint of the Foreign Service, the Vance years appear to have been an improvement over what came before and after. Vance laments the diminished importance of ambassadors and believes they should be given more responsibility in policy formulation. When he entered office, Vance writes,

The Foreign Service was suffering one of its perennial crises of morale. Foreign Service officers, from top to bottom, knew something had to be done to prevent a steady erosion of the sense of identity and purpose of this small but distinguished service.

Laboring under antiquated personnel practices, some dating from the 1920s, and attempting to carry out reporting and representational functions designed for a slower, less complicated era, the Foreign Service was in danger of becoming stultified. The growing reluctance of Foreign Service officers to serve abroad—the very *raison d'être* of the Foreign Service—had many causes, among which were the declining value of the dollar and the reluctance of spouses to forgo their careers. But it was also symptomatic of the spreading conviction that our posts abroad were becoming

peripheral to making and carrying out foreign policy.

Vance credits Benjamin Read, his undersecretary for management, with a long and courageous struggle to make the Service a more attractive occupation and also comments that the Foreign Service Act of 1980 overcame a number of the inequities of the career.

Vance's sympathy and affection for the Foreign Service are obvious. Thus it is something of an anomaly to find that one of the FSOs elevated to assistant secretary during Vance's tenure had his name mangled almost beyond recognition in the book. Viron P. Vaky, who spent a year and a half in charge of the Latin America bureau, comes out as "Myron P. Viron." Compounding the error, Vance has Vaky heading the "international American affairs" bureau instead of inter-American affairs.

The book does refer briefly to one highly sensitive issue concerning the Foreign Service—the affirmative action program. Vance acknowledges that some were concerned that the program might dilute the quality and competitiveness of the Service. He nonetheless points with pride to the results of the program: during Carter's four years, the percentage of minorities in the Foreign Service increased from 6.3 per cent to 10.5 per cent and women from 9.9 to 14 per cent. Vance neglects to mention that the program caused considerable grumbling among mid-level officials who had their eye on higher positions but found themselves crowded out by minorities and women.

Vance's finest hours as secretary may have come during his final weeks, when he demonstrated good judgment and unusual courage with his solitary opposition to the failed effort to rescue the Iranian hostages in April 1980. The easy course for Vance would have been to support the plan once the President had decided to go ahead. But Vance's objections were so strong that he decided to hand in his resignation beforehand rather than await the outcome of the operation. The disaster which ensued vindicated Vance's judgment. His resignation was an all too rare example of a man sticking to his principles even at the cost of losing his office. —GEORGE GEDDA

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—AFSA EDITORIAL

*Foreign Service Journal*, September 1958: "It is significant that while legislation involving the State Department or foreign aid always causes considerable controversy in the House, Foreign Service legislation always goes rather smoothly. . . . This may also be a tribute to the diplomacy of the Service: they know how to handle Congressmen! While we still hear references to the striped pants cookie pushers in foreign policy debates, that does not happen when Congress considers bills involving the dreary and dangerous, the exacting and expensive aspects of life in the Foreign Service. For a group that has no lobby, no pressure group support, the Foreign Service does very well."

—REPRESENTATIVE JOHN M. VORYS

*Foreign Service Journal*, September 1933: "An alien woman returning to the United States on a Re-entry Permit recently presented herself at the Naples Consulate General with a large and rather inactive appearing husband and requested that the husband be examined 'to see if he had too much alcohol in him to be admitted to the United States.' The employee to whom the inquiry was addressed spared her the all-too-obvious reply as to the legal alcoholic content for a husband." —C.B.H.

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

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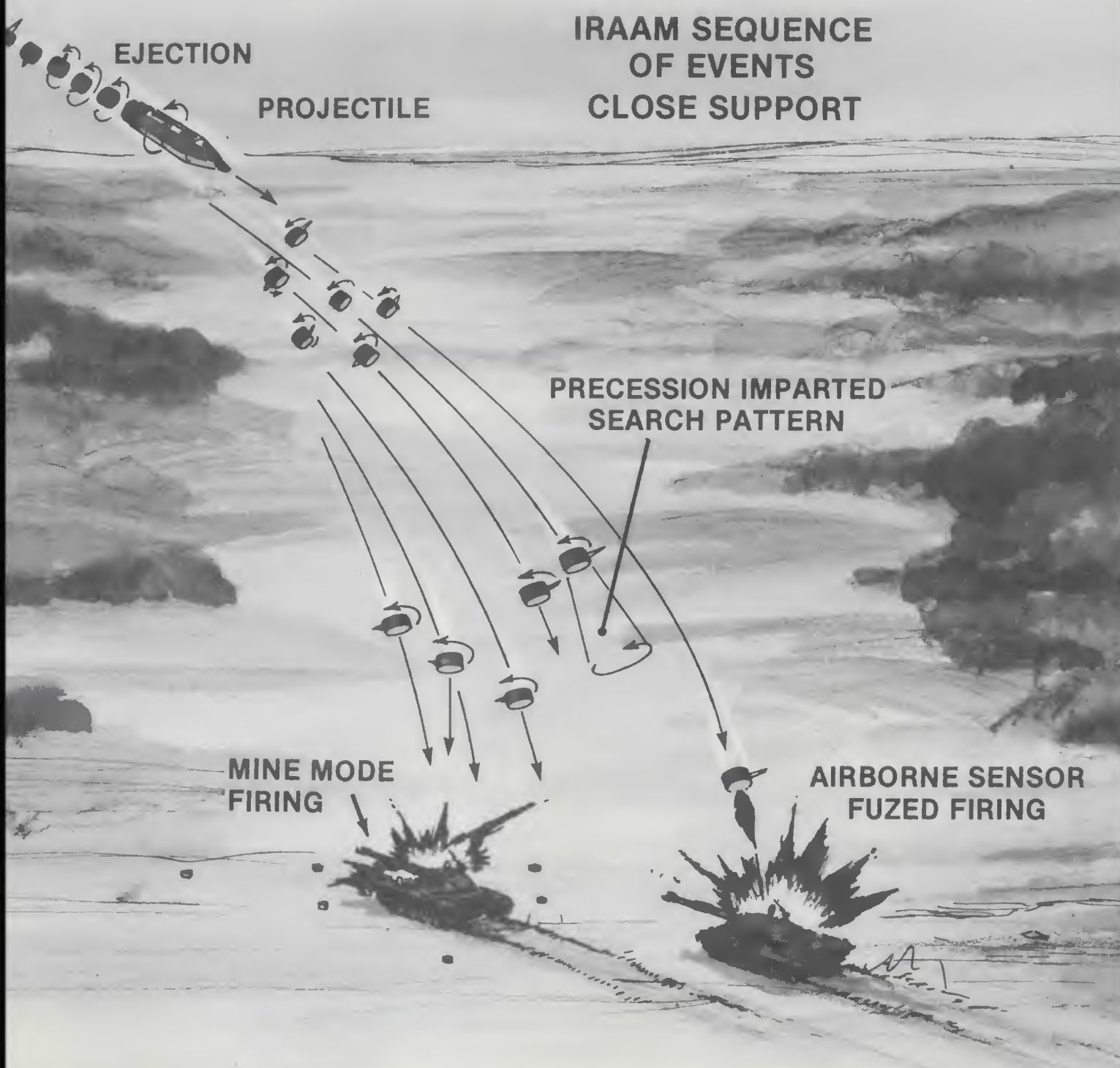
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# Accepting Nuclear Weapons

In 1975, the Department of Defense revealed for the first time how the Soviet Union planned to use its theater nuclear weapons in the event of a war with NATO. In a report to Congress entitled "The Theater Nuclear Force Posture in Europe," Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said something that should have badly shaken the legislators. He said, in effect, that they were spending perhaps half the defense budget to prepare for a type of war in Europe that most likely would not happen.

For more than a dozen years, NATO had been spending most of its money and structuring its forces for a conventional defense against a conventional attack by the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies. Western alliance policy assumed that the Soviets would prefer to keep the war conventional and, if possible, effect a settlement without having to use nuclear weapons. NATO recognized the first use of nuclear weapons only as a western option, not a Soviet option. Even then, it would come only if NATO's defenses were on the verge of collapse after days or weeks of conventional battle.

Since the alliance's official position was and still is that the pact conventional forces are far more powerful than those of the West, NATO anticipated that its nuclear option would have to be exercised in the event of an attack. At the time of his report, Schlesinger

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*Sam Cohen, a weapons analyst in California who has consulted with the Pentagon and U.S. weapons laboratories, is the inventor of the neutron bomb.*

LEFT: Schematic drawing of Avco Systems Division "Skeet" anti-tank submunition system. One of several "smart" area munitions that could be deployed by NATO, the Skeet uses infrared target sensing after release.

## *Is NATO's Shift to Advanced Conventional Defenses Just Another Act of Self-Deception?*

By SAM COHEN

already had ordered the development of neutron warheads to make the battlefield nuclear weapons the allies envisioned using more effective and discriminate. But it was clearly understood, in terms of alliance policy, that battlefield nuclear weapons were only a last resort to avoid conventional defeat. They were not regarded as a serious nuclear response to a Soviet first use of nuclear weapons; NATO policy had ruled out such an attack by the pact.

### **Pre-emptive Attack**

Unfortunately, Soviet military doctrine was not at all obliging of NATO's policy. As Schlesinger told Congress: "While there are indications that Warsaw Pact strategists have accepted the concept of a possible initial conventional phase, Warsaw Pact forces are in fact postured and trained for theater-wide nuclear strikes against NATO nuclear and conventional military forces and for follow-on attacks by their armored conventional forces to exploit the nuclear attack and rapidly seize NATO territory." In other words, the pact was geared to fight a nuclear war in Europe and expected to use its nuclear weapons early—perhaps at the very beginning, in accordance with the emphasis its doctrine places on nuclear surprise and pre-emptive attack.

Accordingly, Schlesinger directed a long-overdue program of moderniza-

tion to give more credence to NATO's theater nuclear capabilities. These weapons, which include the battlefield weapons, were to be made more survivable against possible nuclear attack; their command and control, should they have to be used in numbers over a period of time, was to be substantially improved; and a priority was given to achieving more discriminate means of nuclear attack.

Nothing of real substance has been accomplished in the first two categories since these directives were issued. The weapons are just as vulnerable today as they were in 1975 and just as weak in command and control. Which is not an oversight, since NATO's regard for nuclear weapons to be used in actual combat has eroded consistently over the past eight years. In the third category, greater discrimination, only one improvement was made—the neutron bomb. This weapon can disable a tank unit without leveling and contaminating the terrain it is crossing. But consider the sad story of this single improvement.

Writing to Senator John Stennis (D.-Mississippi) in July 1977, President Jimmy Carter declared the neutron bomb to be "in this nation's security interest. I therefore urge Congress to approve the current funding request." Congress, by a large majority, gave the President the support he asked for. But not our allies. Over much of Europe, the U.S. attempt to force neutron warheads on NATO touched off widespread popular demonstrations and political debate. In the end, even though there was a begrudging acceptance by most Western European nations, Carter chose to back away and defer production.

Shortly after taking office, the Reagan administration served notice of its intention to reverse the Carter policy. Said Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger: "When you look at the

number of Russian tanks and the other items, the [neutron] warhead would do quite a lot to restore some kind of balance there." The State Department, however, feared neutron bomb production would ruffle our allies' feathers, and when President Ronald Reagan formally announced his decision, in August 1981, to produce the new warheads, our allies already had made clear that they would not allow them to be stockpiled in Europe. This rejection helped make apparent the fact that the Europeans for some time had rejected *all* battlefield weapons as a meaningful response to an overwhelming conventional attack. They simply were not interested in nuclear war being fought on their territory.

Because of the rejection of neutron warheads, the fate of all battlefield weapons, particularly the shorter range ones, which most likely would land on Western European soil, appeared to be hanging in the balance. Since the United States planned to use battlefield weapons if conventional defenses broke down, which it expected if a war actually did occur, the fate of Europe also appeared to be hanging in the balance. Not a very satisfactory situation and one, if allowed to persist, that might very well endanger the alliance.

### Military Viability

As a result, concern began to mount about maintaining NATO's military viability. Was there any way in which longer-range nuclear weapons might be used against Warsaw pact forces in Eastern Europe in a manner which would have a decisive impact on slowing or even halting the conventional advance into Western Europe? If this could be accomplished, our NATO allies, especially the West Germans, could be assured that battlefield nuclear weapons would not have to be used on their soil. An impending crisis

## *The Warsaw Pact is geared to fight a nuclear war in Europe and to use its nuclear weapons early*

could be dealt with; the alliance could be saved.

For some years prior to the time this question was addressed, pact field exercises had been observed. Soviet doctrine for ground armored attack is based on successive waves of all-out blitzkrieg attacks against NATO defenses. When the first wave has been slowed down or seriously diminished, the next wave, coming from the "second echelon" forces to the rear, will move up to continue the assault. If and when the second echelon becomes bogged down, the third echelon, originally based further to the rear, would move up to join the fray.

The Soviets, it was argued by many who had analyzed the field exercises, had cast their strategy in concrete by repeating this pattern of attack time after time. They would find it extremely difficult to change it without seriously disrupting their operational effectiveness. Apparently without knowing it, they had become potentially vulnerable to a revised NATO strategy based on finding and destroying these rear-echelon forces. (Never mind the U.S. assumption that the Soviets would be willing to stand by and watch this happen.)

This second-echelon attack strategy could only work by locating tank units far to the rear of the front lines. In the past, gaining such a target-acquisition capability had posed an enormous

technical challenge which never had been met. As a result, U.S. strategy for battlefield nuclear weapons had been based mainly on finding the front-line pact forces so close they could be "eyeballed" and attacked by nuclear artillery. But now a technical breakthrough seemed at hand. A new airborne radar had been developed that could detect moving armored units up to a hundred miles away. This meant that the second-echelon units could be found and attacked by longer-range nuclear weapons (such as cruise missiles) on *enemy* soil.

### Nuclear Fears

This nuclear solution, however, had come too late. By now Western Europeans, especially the Germans, were beginning to get restive over any kind of battlefield nuclear weapons fired from their soil, regardless of where they might land. Their fears of nuclear war waged in Europe—exacerbated by Reagan's remark that a limited theater nuclear war was possible—were mounting. At the same time, a burgeoning peace movement was demanding the removal of *all* nuclear weapons from Europe. It began to look as though no nuclear solution would be acceptable in European eyes. Once again, NATO seemed in jeopardy.

During the late 1970s a group of military analysts and technologists who favored removing U.S. battlefield nuclear weapons from Europe began to examine possibilities for using conventional weapons for attacking second-echelon armored forces as they advanced toward the front lines. They wondered about the effectiveness of advanced conventional munitions having very precise guidance. They envisioned a sophisticated bomb or missile warhead that would disperse a large number of bomblets, called sub-munitions, over the area believed to be occupied by an enemy tank unit. Each

bomblet would have heat-seeking guidance equipment to steer it toward a tank. In contrast to precision-guided anti-tank weapons thus far developed, where one weapon is directed toward one target, these weapons were designed to cover an area occupied by a number of targets—"area munitions." It was estimated that area munitions could lower the tonnage of weapons previously required by perhaps as much as ten-fold. The planners claimed that a ton of these area munitions could be almost as effective in neutralizing a Soviet tank formation as a neutron warhead.

By last year, alliance officials had become extremely worried about NATO's political and military problems. They decided on a new doctrine, embracing the proposed new conventional weapons, hoping to neutralize the Warsaw Pact's large conventional advantage and quiet the anti-nuclear movement. Moving away from NATO's fixed-battle-line conventional war strategy that stemmed from World War II, they advanced a strategy emphasizing tactics of maneuver, concealment, and surprise. Added to this was the intensive attack of enemy second-echelon units by using the new technologies.

### **Budget Increase**

Were NATO, they claimed, to commit a mere one percent more to the three-percent real budget increase it had pledged to undertake, it could incorporate this new technology and strategy, pulling even with the pact's conventional forces. The West thereby could achieve its long-sought goal of conventional deterrence. If this were to be accomplished, the need to use NATO's battlefield nuclear weapons would diminish greatly.

Europeans and Americans alike hailed the new strategy. Said General Bernard Rogers, supreme allied com-

## *In contrast to the Soviets, the alliance has done essentially nothing to prepare itself for nuclear warfare*

mander in Europe: "The provision of such a robust conventional capability for NATO not only would enhance deterrence and raise the nuclear threshold, but would face the Warsaw Pact—should it attack conventionally and its attack be frustrated—with either having to be the first to escalate to theater nuclear weapons or withdrawing its forces. Faced with that prospect, I do not believe Soviet leaders would initiate aggression. I believe they are no more anxious than NATO to escalate and cross the nuclear threshold." Rogers was joined by a number of key congressmen and the West Germans, who would be expected to bear the brunt of the battle in the event of a Soviet invasion.

But Rogers and the other supporters of the new strategy failed to question whether its underlying technology will really work as well as claimed and, if it will, whether it will really make a significant difference in NATO's defenses.

One is given cause to wonder if perhaps they did secretly question the new weapons' effectiveness. Rogers had said with respect to this technology that, while troop strengths in Europe did need to be increased, "far more important to success is the enhancement of our ability to do better with our forces in being and to carry out the essential modernization of our forces." Why, then, should not NATO even fur-

ther exploit the new technology and thus be able to reduce the force size? The cost of providing the alliance's troops, especially U.S. troops, is much greater than the cost of providing new high technology weapons. One should, in theory, therefore be able to ease military budget pressures and enhance the strength of NATO's defense forces by deploying the new technology as much as possible. But the fact that Rogers and the other advocates of advanced conventional defenses have not proposed this leads one to conclude that either they have less faith in these weapons than they claim or that they are just generally reluctant to reduce the size of the military.

### **Cheap Countermeasures**

The very extensive literature proclaiming the effectiveness of the advanced technology underlying NATO's new conventional doctrine curiously omits any mention of what countermeasures the Soviets might take to negate it. Surely one would not expect the pact planners to observe this barrage of claims and yet do nothing. Perhaps the simplest way to thwart the detection and location of targets by radar—essential to the new strategy—is to deploy large numbers of cheap decoys. What is to prevent the Soviets from producing tens of thousands of small, cheap vehicles having reflectors that would give the same radar signal as the armored vehicles? The decoys could move forward along with the armor formations, but in different locations. NATO's target-acquisition would be hopelessly confused. Not being able to locate the real targets reliably, the NATO forces would have the almost insuperable problem of having to attack vastly larger numbers of targets than they had bargained for. The expense of using so many of these costly new munitions would be prohibitive.

*(Continued on page 32.)*

# Don't Dismiss the Secretarial Task Force

By ANTHEA S. DE ROUVILLE

**T**he opinions expressed by Eileen Quinn in her article "Problems with the Secretarial Task Force" (May) should not come to represent the desires of Foreign Service secretaries as a group. My own experience of more than a quarter-century in the staff corps and numerous bargaining sessions with management has led me to adopt substantially different positions on these issues.

Quinn's criticisms of the secretarial task force seem to be based on two assumptions. First, the task force is seriously flawed because of its composition. She appears to believe that secretaries have somehow been demeaned because the director general rather than the under secretary for management has convened the task force. She seems to fear that since the group is dominated by administrative and personnel members and lacks political or economic officers or public members, it will carry no weight. Further, "since there is no indication that the highest levels of management are prepared to support and to implement the recommendations . . . it is doomed to the same fate [as earlier task forces]." But the director general is "a high level of management"; she is also a career officer. She is the director of personnel, and is actively involved in the task

force. Why should anyone doubt her commitment or that of the others on the task force? Top management is interested and involved, the implementing levels are actively participating, and high-ranking personnel officers are traveling to most missions. The September 17 group, with AFSA, is also involved. Why would the director general devote the time, resources, and money to this task force and then ignore the results? The under secretary for management, however, is not even a career officer. As Quinn notes, he did convene a task force on paper work, but I somehow doubt it takes up a major part of his day.

## Self-fulfilling Prophecy

Second, Quinn seems to assume that, because of its composition, the task force cannot succeed and secretaries therefore should not expect any changes. And indeed, if the task force is expected to issue edicts that "all secretaries must be respected," then it will have no effect, regardless of who is on it. It should instead be judged by whether it comes up with concrete results. To tell someone he or she should grant you a benefit or refrain from doing something because it is not right or fair is useless. The way to ensure success is to be able to point to rules and regulations that spell out your rights and responsibilities. This task force is not an elaborate charade to fool the secretarial corps; no one has the time or money for such games. If we treat it as being doomed to failure and react, as many did to the 1974 task

force, by shrugging our shoulders and refusing to cooperate, it then may become a self-fulfilling prophecy. A dozen task forces may have failed for a hundred different reasons, but we can learn from them. It would be a pity, for example, to forget that the most devastating report ever done on the staff corps was the Hay study, done by those very "outside experts" Quinn is so anxious to have join this new group.

To forsake this task force because of its composition and the history of such studies would be unfortunate, and would indicate a monumental misconception of its role and purpose. The first job of the task force is to decide what the Service needs and expects from its secretaries. We are, after all, hired and paid to do a job, just like an architect or an accountant. What is the job? What is expected of us? What is *not* expected or even wanted from us? The department has never bitten this particular bullet and the resulting uncertainty is one of the main components of what Quinn calls "the secretarial problem." To resolve this confusion, career people with experience in Washington and abroad must be involved in the task force. It must also include those who will implement the results and those who will feel the effect of the new policies. Otherwise, we will get another Mustang program: the seventh floor loves it, the second floor hates it, and guess who loses—we do.

The second job for the task force is to identify the going market rate for

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secretarial personnel. It can then determine what the department will have to provide to recruit and retain those it needs.

The last and hardest part is to meld the two—not just with lip service, but with programs, laws, and regulations, into a rational, workable personnel policy, so that both parties are reasonably content and there is a basis for further negotiation. Only when both secretaries and management know the rules can we play the game. Then, and only then, can other subjects be dealt with—tandem couples, working spouses, junior officers, training, etc.

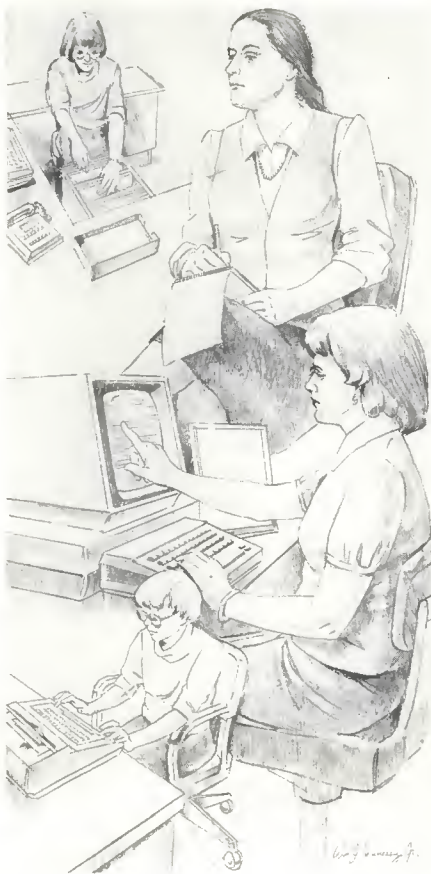
However, Quinn does not believe any of this will come to pass, and even if it does, it won't work. Therefore, she lists a series of recommendations of her own. While I disagree with them almost totally, Quinn is one of the few secretaries to come forward with concrete recommendations, and for that she deserves tremendous credit. Unfortunately, her reactions are almost all negative, and her recommendations, in my opinion, would do great harm to those she wants to help.

### Mistaken Changes

She believes the staff corps should be renamed the clerical corps and appears to advocate downgrading mid-level positions that are really no more than filing or typing. The rationale for both, she claims, is to reflect more accurately the work performed and, incidentally, to use the downgrading to create more of a gap between junior and senior ranks. Yet simply changing a name does nothing, and "clerical corps" certainly does not project the image I want to have. As for the downgrading recommendation, it will bring joy to the hearts of OMB and OPM, since she advocates precisely what these agencies submitted to Congress in 1980 and what was defeated only with great difficulty by AFSA, September 17, and management. And even though we held the line, many secretaries felt betrayed because we couldn't achieve more. Has the situation changed so much that we should now advocate what we fought in 1980? Downgrading would mean lower salaries and benefits in the future. And, if one part of a career ladder is downgrad-

ed, the rest of the grades must be brought into line.

Quinn suggests in her model career ladder that all persons at the 9 and 8 level be designated clerk stenographers. But this simply isn't practical. The average age of the secretary entering the Service is now 37. Few people of the experience that age implies would accept a clerk-steno job. Also, a secretary may be designated a 9, but the Beirut and Teherans of this world certainly are not the mere "learning experience" a clerk-steno might expect. The Foreign Service needs staff



persons at all levels with the potential to handle unusual, unexpected, and possibly dangerous situations. Otherwise, only a relatively few mid- and high-level secretaries will serve in those posts, dealing with crisis after crisis and taking all the stress. Therefore, entry-level secretaries, recruited for their potential to cope with crisis, may find that they do not use all of their skills all of the time, and in fact that they are sometimes bored. If this is unacceptable, the Foreign Service is not for them.

Nor does Quinn's model career lad-

der adequately provide for promotions. Those who enter the Service as clerk-stenos would not become secretaries until they reached FS-5. Assuming that promotions continue at the same rate as they have been, it would take about 14 years to reach that level. Someone who enters the Service at age 30 would finally become a secretary at 44. Quinn suggests pacing promotions and tying training to promotion eligibility, but under the Foreign Service Act all promotions are supposed to be based on merit.

Requiring training for promotion eligibility is tempting because it's at least quantifiable but again it's contrary to the merit principle, and passing a course doesn't necessarily mean someone is more valuable. Ticket punching as a way of qualifying for promotion has been suggested unofficially in the past by management, and AFSA's answer has always been the same: When it's required of officers, we'll at least talk about it, not before.

### Misplaced Burden

Quinn has put the burdens accompanying attempts to solve the secretarial problem squarely on the shoulders of the secretaries. We are to be downgraded and called clerk typists, we will have to take courses to qualify for promotion, we will be forcibly trained, since "few enter the Service with the specialized knowledge most will need." We are to sit back and tell management that we want to be appreciated, that we want a career ladder, upward mobility, and more financial rewards. And, we want the restoration of the FS-3.

The FS-3 should be re-established, somewhat analogous to the career-minister or career ambassador rank. It can be justified. But if given a choice between a ceiling at the 4 level, where pay is good, or downgrading 6s and 7s, where the pay is far from good and the work is hard, any sense of fairness and justice, not to mention any hope of retaining good employees, rules out downgrading.

If secretaries adopt the approach suggested by Quinn's article, there will be few changes in the status and welfare of the staff corps. Those

*(Continued on page 33.)*

# Our Faltering



*The State Department and the Foreign Service cannot escape some of the blame for the declining quality of our diplomacy*

By SMITH SIMPSON

Diplomacy today is endangered as an effective instrument of civilized international intercourse and as an alternative to war. The declining quality of governments and diplomatic performance are as responsible for this as is terrorism or any other non-diplomatic factor. The international effectiveness of the United States has been eroded by the incapacities of presidents and their advisers on national security affairs, by the meddling of Congress, and the financial limitations imposed by the Office of Management and Budget. But no less important has been the failure of the State Department to conceptualize diplomacy and identify the resources its enormous tasks demand of a diplomatic organization.

The quality of a government's performance in international affairs depends upon a nation's culture and its political institutions and processes. There was a time in American history when the president—our chief executive and commander-in-chief of the military as well as our leading diplomat and appointer of overseas representatives—was chosen from a reservoir of statesmen-diplomats possessing not only a profound culture and a political philosophy, but both national and international experience. From 1801 to 1829, the United States had four presidents who had previously served as secretary of state, and three of these had seen diplomatic service abroad. And, from 1797 to 1801, we had a president, John Adams, who had had extensive diplomatic experience. But as the nation expanded beyond the Appalachians, it became preoccupied with subduing a wilderness at home and acquired quite a different mentality with respect to events abroad. Di-

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# Diplomacy

plomacy came to be viewed as something taking place "over there" in Europe and as a contrivance of monarchies, strongly embroidered with aristocratic socializing and anti-republican conniving.

## Negligible Experience

Today, our presidents enter office with negligible international experience. Indeed, the last two had little more than provincial gubernatorial experience and an itch for the office. This has been both a symptom and a cause of a decline in the quality of the national debate on foreign affairs and of the persons such presidents appoint to advise them on those affairs. It has caused the general public and other governments to view them and their advisers with dwindling respect.

This dwindling begins with the very process of choosing a president. The election process is excessively prolonged, flamboyant, and costly. When the Thatcher government called for an election last spring, it was held within a month. Our campaigns ramble on for up to two years. The confetti-and-balloon-strewn national political conventions are not unlike circuses. Other countries regard this process with stupefaction and view the candidates who emerge more as curiosities than as serious contenders for international leadership.

If the presidential incumbent falls by the wayside, there ensues from the November election an interregnum of ten weeks. With no "shadow cabinet" at hand, a president-elect does need time to assemble a cabinet, but so extended an interval does damage the nation diplomatically, depriving it of any ability to take the initiative and exposing it to the maneuvers of others who seek to confront a new president with a *fait accompli*. Even after a cabinet is assembled, delays and misjudgments occur as officials who have never worked together before and may not

even know each other adjust to the new chief executive and one another. Further complications may set in if cabinet and other appointees are foreign policy amateurs whose first priority is burnishing their president's image rather than conducting effective diplomatic relations.

The president's adviser on national security affairs should be a helpful and stabilizing factor in all of this. Unfortunately, he has become not the least source of confusion in our diplomacy. The post was conceived as precisely what its title states: an adviser to the president. It was seen as a staff, not a line, position. It was converted into a line position by Henry Kissinger, who engaged in all sorts of operational activities. He dealt secretly with foreign ambassadors in Washington, traveled abroad for discussions with other governments without keeping the secretary of state or relevant ambassadors informed, and gave background briefings to the media. These are not appropriate activities for a presidential *adviser*. They are particularly awkward if not coordinated with the secretary of state.

All of this makes it increasingly difficult for our diplomats abroad to work creatively with Washington. They are finding, as did William Sullivan, a veteran diplomat who served as our last ambassador to Iran, that it is next to impossible to make a White House staffed with amateurs understand the nuances and requirements of diplomacy. However intellectually equipped, they lack a sense of reality and sound international political instinct and judgment. We are witnessing a replay of this in Central America.

The separation of powers that characterizes our government is also proving a diplomatic liability. Congress, considering itself misinformed, even lied to, by presidents, is now inordinately distrustful of them. The inexperience of chief executives in foreign af-

fairs has intensified this distrust. As a result, Congress no longer seeks to assist and support presidents in a bipartisan spirit but instead attempts to hobble them by creating all manner of legislative restrictions. It also engages in unnecessarily prolonged and acrimonious debate on every foreign policy initiative, even those that should be easily resolved through leadership and party discipline. The sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia in the first year of the present administration is an example of the long, drawn-out, cliff-hanging experiences which our system produces. The Carter administration suffered through a similar experience when it sought ratification of the Panama Canal treaties. All this delays effective executive action and creates doubt abroad as to whether the nation has the degree of unity or political discipline to pursue a consistent and reliable course in world affairs. Thus, the longstanding fracture between the executive and Congress has widened appreciably, providing further *lebensraum* for pressure groups and lobbyists, some of whom are in the pay of foreign governments.

## Starvation Rations

The superordinates—presidents, senators, representatives, national security advisers, various cabinet officers, and heads of powerful interest groups—may dominate critical foreign policy issues, such as SALT or aid to El Salvador, but the responsibility for providing and interpreting much of the information and insights needed for the formulation of sound policies on these issues—above all to warn in advance of festering conditions which may incubate crises—rests upon the Foreign Service. But for decades, administrations—and primarily the Office of Management and Budget—have kept our diplomatic establishment on starvation rations. The Foreign Service today is no larger than it



*Officers are accepted into the Foreign Service without being required to know anything about diplomacy, about international law, about the goals, procedures, and problems of international organizations*

was in 1961, despite the multiplication of international problems and their growing complexity. Our diplomatic staffing pattern has been too lean to permit the establishment of adequate educational and training programs, the development of officers by well-trained supervisors, or self-development through individual reading and sabbaticals. Presidents, their advisers on national security, and others frequently complain about the absence of reflective and creative thinking in our diplomatic establishment. But overly stringent staffing keeps officers working with their minds glued to the daily grindstones and even, in some posts, performing clerical duties. This, of course, has an effect on our ability to implement our foreign policies vigorously. Understaffing at our embassy in Teheran was one reason it did not function adequately as an observation, reporting, or advisory post. There were simply not enough political officers in touch with a sufficiently broad spectrum of Iranian society to know what was going on or to exert any influence. Even linguistically, they were not adequately equipped. This has also been true of other embassies, like that in Cairo, where in 1981 there were too few Arabic language officers to provide awareness of the emerging radical Islamic groups, such as those involved in the assassination of Anwar Sadat. This stinginess affects everything we try to do diplomatically and causes other governments to question the sincerity of our policy statements and professions.

In any discussion of quality, the professional diplomat is tempted to dwell exclusively upon the crippling effects of inexperienced presidents and their equally inexperienced advisers, along with the rewarding of campaign workers with ambassadorships. But let me, as a professional, suggest that we too have failed to measure up to the rigorous demands of diplomacy.

This failure has many sources, but it begins in the initial process of recruitment and training. We recruit officers according to general rather than professional criteria. Anyone is admissible who can pass our written and oral examinations, but those examinations are not professionally oriented. Officers are thus accepted without being required to know anything about diplomacy and the diplomatic process, about international law, about the goals, procedures, and problems of international organizations, much less about the political processes required to make these organizations effective instrumentalities. Officers are not required to be familiar with substantial areas of increasing international concern such as environmental problems, nor of diplomatic methods that could effectively address these issues.

### Poor Screening

The oral interview was once used to test the candidate's ability to withstand stress, but is now made as comfortable and relaxed as possible. This change, ironically, has occurred at a time when diplomacy is subject to greater stresses and dangers than ever. The brief, comfortable interview is supplemented by an "assessment procedure" borrowed from major corporations, simulating a "day on the job." The candidate is given a stack of material with which he or she might expect to be confronted on a typical work day, and must dispose of this by deciding the questions posed. Lacking tutelage in international law and politics, he or she will of course come up with some superficial and even cock-eyed decisions. While this test eliminates indecisive and unimaginative candidates, the essential nature of diplomacy is not to keep in-box contents flowing into the out-box. Rather, it is to keep a political process flowing—and not in an American office, but in a foreign culture, as many crises, including

those engineered by the Ayatollah Khomeini, have demonstrated. This desk-job test is one more indication of the widespread anti-humanist, culture-blind, managerial belief that papers, desks, and "decisions" are more important than people and cultures, human psychologies, histories, and religions. It reinforces the debilitating conceptualization of the diplomatic process as a mere collection of in-boxes and out-boxes, offices, bureaus, "jobs," and "cones," rather than as a political dynamic of global proportions intended, above all else, to achieve certain strategic goals.

The same "make them feel at ease," philosophy that has come to characterize the oral screening pervades the six-week orientation served up to all newly commissioned officers in the basic course. Officers are commissioned before, not after, completing this course and no examinations are given to test the degree to which material has been absorbed. Indeed, this is not an educational course at all but a fleeting, superficial exposure to a melange of largely bureaucratic topics, most of which are not synthesized with either the substance or any concept of the diplomatic process. Thus, the State Department propagates the false conception that diplomacy is something remote and hazy, so individual and instinctive as to be unsuitable for analysis, and something officers practice by the seat of their pants. In reality, diplomacy is anything but that, being a brisk interplay of political, economic, cultural, and military factors, of moves and counter-moves, of jockeying for position and influence—a process that demands of its practitioners the highest degree of preparation, alertness, political instinct, and teamwork.

Equally damaging, the course propagates the notion that past experience and reflection are of no relevance, since officers are not required to study any critical analyses of the department and

the Foreign Service. No effort is made to create an awareness of the breadth and depth of the organization they are entering, of its inadequacies and possible means of compensating for or changing its shortcomings. The excuse is given that these studies are "out of date," although in fact they constitute a stimulating range of American thinking on foreign policy-making and diplomacy, providing shafts of light on perennial problems. Thus, the basic officer course induces a passive, irresponsible attitude toward the organization as a whole and its problems and an ignorance of past efforts of reform.

### Poor Training

As another indication of this non-professional approach to policymaking and diplomacy, the course does not require the reading of biographies or memoirs of successful diplomats. These could stimulate a search for clues to the nature of diplomacy, its functions as related to national security, and its perennial troublespots and might also provide some guidance as to steps to take or avoid in one's own career to achieve a satisfactory quality of performance as quickly as possible. It would transfer experience and ideas from officer to officer and generation to generation, something that is badly needed in a system wracked by constant rotation. It would nurture an institutional memory and thus a consistency and continuity in our foreign policies and diplomatic performance which are now sadly lacking. It would help develop professional attitudes and concepts.

The State Department orientation thus provides a fertile soil for the realization of Santayana's prediction that those unaware of the past are condemned to repeat it. It is also an opportunity for the realization of the complementary axiom that those ignorant of the past do not know what good

things to perpetuate. It reinforces the American insistence on living in an illusory paradise of the present, content with history chopped into little daily bits of headlines and television news briefs, wholly oblivious of the continuity of human experience. This is in part responsible for our failure to understand and thus attract support in the many countries that respect and even revere the past. The State Department's orientation of our diplomatic officers is thus aimed away from understanding a substantial part of the human family, although some tempering of this occurs in area studies programs pursued by the officers.

It was precisely this kind of slack, unprofessional orientation which led the China-born officers who became the China Hands of the 1930s to run afoul of the State Department and the Nixon crowd. For all their intimate knowledge of China, they were not adequately trained for their exacting profession, and their freewheeling attitude as expressed in their cables helped to end their careers. Though many others have been blamed for the humiliating experiences of the China Hands, we professionals must face up to our own failure to prepare officers for their difficult tasks. Only those China Hands who played it safe, raised no basic questions, and made no waves came through unscathed. But it is not timidity the Foreign Service should encourage, but balance and perceptive judgment. If diplomats owe their government loyalty, their government owes them the decency of preparing them adequately for their hazardous calling. It is not fair either to officers or to the nation—and certainly serves no hope of avoiding war—to fail to provide every incoming officer with the best possible preparation and discipline, so that the risks of committing errors will be reduced to a minimum.

The conditions under which our



*The conditions under which our diplomats work frequently accentuate what the selection procedure and orientation begin: the creation of a frustrated, rather than a dynamic, political mind*

diplomats work frequently accentuate what the selection procedure and orientation begin: the creation of a frustrated, rather than a dynamic, political mind. Preoccupied by daily tasks, officers tend to lose sight of the large ends toward which their efforts are supposed to be directed. Indeed, this even frustrates the identification of those ends and the development of plans to attain them. Elliot Richardson, in "The State of State" [*Journal*, September 1981], argues that one of the basic weaknesses of Foreign Service officers is that "they instinctively avoid long-range planning, including the formulation of objectives, the selection of priorities, and the allocation of resources." But it is not so much instinct that should be blamed as the orientation they receive at the inception of their careers and the nose-to-the-in-box type of life to which they are subjected afterwards.

The rotation principle makes it even more difficult for our diplomats to perform effectively. This decrees that an officer be reassigned as often as every two years and no less than every four or five. Moreover, if a violinist, he must serve for awhile as a flutist; if a flutist, as a drummer. This system is intended to develop generalists, and indeed it produces officers who are familiar with many subject areas, but all too often masters of none. Some officers avoid becoming superficial and emerge with a good grasp of our global interests and the strategies and tactics needed to protect them. But they are exceptional, far too few in number, and are left in positions for too little time to ensure the continuity and drive which the diplomacy of a world power demands. Thus, since 1962 we have had seven different ambassadors to the Soviet Union while the Soviet Union has had but one to the United States. Furthermore, the Soviet ambassador is a member of the Kremlin's Central Committee. Ours is not a member of the president's cabinet and even has diffi-

culty in keeping informed of what his own government is thinking and doing—one reason he often has difficulty in seeing Kremlin leaders.

When political interests lead an administration to jump on this diplomatic carousel, the effect can be almost psychedelic. When the Carter administration sought to create the impression of a break with the Ford-Kissinger policy on Africa, it eased out the assistant secretary for African affairs, who, as a career Foreign Service officer, was familiar with the continent and its leaders. It replaced him with a former staff assistant of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who had only the most migratory acquaintance with a few African countries. Other African experts were rotated out of the National Security Council and the Policy Planning staff and replaced by people who were not experts and lacked any diplomatic experience. Not surprisingly, these changes produced a decline in Washington's capacity to make the very creative changes in our African policies and diplomacy that the administration was seeking. But the changes did not stop there.

### Poor Assigning

When the astute, knowledgeable, and experienced director of the State Department's office of Southern African affairs was elevated to deputy assistant secretary for African affairs, his replacement was drawn not from Africa but from Belgrade, simply because the officer in Belgrade was due re-assignment and a berth had to be found for him somewhere. He did not pan out, embarrassing the department, and was transferred. The position was then vacant for a long period because the department is understaffed and sound personnel shifts are difficult to work out. In the midst of all this, the Rhodesian crisis intensified and the experienced and able Rhodesian desk officer, being due re-assignment, was

routinely transferred to a congressman's staff and replaced with an officer with no prior background on Rhodesian affairs. The absurdity of this merry-go-round would make anyone wonder how the State Department can contribute to the United States' objectives in foreign affairs or to the needs of the world community. It virtually ensures that Washington will be unable to do anything other than react to the moves of others.

The management of an organization—including the recruitment, training, and handling of the people involved—is crucial to effective performance, especially so when the organization includes a far-flung diplomatic corps subject to perpetual rotation. A poorly managed diplomatic organization cannot achieve the institutional memory, the forward planning, and the meshing of policies to resources and vice versa which can minimize the risks of U.S. involvement in such disasters as Vietnam. The quality of diplomacy required by the country and the international community simply cannot be delivered when the organization that must produce it is victimized by piece-meal, ramshackle management.

To correct this situation, the State Department should have a permanent general manager, someone who is experienced in diplomacy, familiar with the full range of foreign affairs, trained in diplomatic strategies and tactics, and who has the clear responsibility of matching resources with policy. A permanent general manager could contribute immeasurably to keeping our posts abroad more adequately informed, not only of discussions in Washington pertaining to their countries and regions but of global strategies and tactics. The actions and thinking of posts could then be synchronized with our overall strategic effort. It could be reasonably expected, also, that such an official would pro-

vide one more route by which the warnings and recommendations of overseas posts could reach the highest levels of the department. Furthermore, this person would be a positive assurance to the rest of the world of the seriousness with which we take diplomacy and our intention to pursue it consistently, as an instrument of international consultation, cooperation, and peace.

Some will say that no president would accept such a concept, for to do so would restrict his own ability to shape our foreign relations. Other governments, however, recognizing how crucial is the need for experience and continuity, have already appointed such a permanent manager—witness the British and the French. And even in our own government, here and there, as in the Tennessee Valley Authority, this device has been resorted to in the interest of operational effectiveness.

### What to Look For

The quality of our diplomacy could be appreciably improved by shaping recruitment of foreign affairs officers to the talents and skills demanded by contemporary diplomacy. Among these are:

- *An ability to mix and work with all kinds of people.* Neither the cold-blooded intellectual nor the studious recluse is suitable for a process which, while intellectually demanding and requiring considerable erudition, is also a political process involving a great variety of peoples and cultures. A politico-cultural code is much too complex to be deciphered by recourse only to printed materials or a political or social elite.

- *Political instinct and capacity.* A modern diplomatic establishment should be recruiting among political office holders of all levels, from local elected officials to congressmen and congressional staffs.

- *Negotiating ability,* particularly in the resolution-of-conflict area. Active recruitment should be conducted in the labor-relations sector and other occupations involved in conflict resolution, such as integration of school systems.

- *Resourcefulness and initiative.* Recruiters should seek a resourceful, activist mentality, which draws attention again to the aforementioned sectors of the population in which recruitment should be concentrated.

Since diplomacy demands both a broad and a highly integrated education covering many fields, and this kind of breadth and synthesis is not generally provided by our educational system, it must be provided for our diplomatic and consular officers by the State Department. If this requires the establishment of a graduate-level foreign affairs academy, so be it. Such an academy should also be used to prepare those civil servants in other departments and agencies of the government who deal with foreign affairs. This would, incidentally, help to build that *esprit de corps* in our government which is badly needed and abate unnecessary inter-agency conflicts over turf.

Of course, some of the Foreign Service's problems—understaffing, inadequate training—will require substantial funding to be corrected. The entire blame for long-standing deficiencies should not be placed on the Office of Management and Budget and on Congress. We professionals must assume some part of it, for we have never presented our appropriation requests as though they had any relation to our national defense. We have not conceptualized diplomacy in such terms. How, then, can we expect either OMB or Congress to take a profound or imaginative view when they review State Department budget requests?

Underlying all our deficiencies is this failure to conceptualize diploma-

(Continued on page 32.)

# Weekend

*An embassy family is caught in a crossfire between warring Lebanese factions*

By NICOLE PREVOST LOGAN

The whole house shook at each tremendous explosion from the tanks just outside our front door. The children, bewildered by the noise and smoke, clung to me for comfort. I held the baby and felt sick to my stomach. One of the maids started crying, the other turned pale. When the reports subsided for a moment, my husband, Alan, started to crawl below window level to the telephone in the study so he could notify the embassy.

Our house was on a hill in Beirut away from the sector where most of the foreigners live. One street down from us was the house the rebels had turned into a stronghold. Government soldiers had made a sand dug-out behind us. In between stood our pleasant two-story home with its garden, which we had chosen because of the peacefulness of the neighborhood.

It had started out as a routine Saturday. I bustled about making formula and starting dinner for when Alan came back from work. Leaving the baby in the care of the nursemaid, I took Philip and Sylvia, three and two years old, to the beach. The weather was lovely and we had an enjoyable morning. On the way home the chil-

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dren lay exhausted in the back seat while I navigated the car through new stands of barbed wire. I thought nothing of it nor of the sight of tanks and soldiers. For the past few months in Beirut, tanks and barbed wire were commonplace. One would hear several distant explosions each day and sometimes heavy shooting at night. We had become accustomed to walking past street corners piled with sandbags screening armed soldiers. Despite the signs of the hostilities, life had returned almost to normal in the city and people went about their business seemingly unconcerned by the war.

I noticed a strange quiet as I drove up to the house. A man stopped me a block from home. "Do not drive there," he said. "It is not safe with the car; they are shooting." What could I do with the children? The man noticed my bewildered look and offered to ride with me to the house. I let him in and we approached the house through a back street. I could hear shooting. I grabbed Sylvia, he Philip, and we ran down the wide stairs toward the cover of our backyard.

## Atmosphere of Siege

In the house I found an atmosphere of siege. It was dark and hot. All the shutters were closed. Bullets could be heard whizzing around. Guns roared nearby. The baby was upstairs crying, the maids downstairs cowering. I went up to the nursery and grabbed the infant. We all settled in the living room, the best-protected in the house. The children did not want to sleep even though their nap times had passed. At that point the phone rang. Alan was on the line, relieved that we had made it home safely. He said he would come on foot from the embassy, about a half hour's walk up from the waterfront. But it took him more than three hours to reach us. He made slow progress inching along walls, hiding in door-

ways, studying each corner before proceeding to the next. "It was rugged," were his first words upon reaching the house.

Finally, the children went to sleep. I piled furniture around them to protect them from the windows. "Quite silly," said Alan when he saw my makeshift barricade. "Bullets would go through this like butter." Still, it offered some protection. The shooting outside rose in intensity and fell throughout the afternoon. At one point I had to go upstairs to get some more formula. Halfway up the exposed steps I heard the staccato of weapons fire. A bullet thudded into our study and broken glass splashed on the floor. I saw a man run down the street holding his wounded arm and shouting, "Abi! Abi!" My father! My father!

The hot afternoon dragged slowly by as we huddled in the dark, stifling living room. I tried hopelessly to read a newspaper in the dim light. My mind raced with thoughts of what could happen. I had visions of armed men swarming their way down the hill to the stronghold, flattening our little house on the way.

Suddenly the phone rang. Alan crept into the study, an airy room with seven unshuttered Arabic windows offering no protection. He crouched under the desk and mumbled into the receiver. He was to keep this awkward position for most of the afternoon, making and receiving calls and talking in a fierce whisper. Conversations ranged from casual inquiries by friends who lived in quiet parts of the city to exciting accounts that sounded like war stories—which they were. At one point a call came from the embassy asking us to deliver a message to an American family in our neighborhood. Just walk across the street, the caller suggested. "I can't even walk freely in my own house, to say nothing of walking in the street!" was Alan's reply.

# in Beirut



We heard later that some friends of ours chose that afternoon to play tennis but instead spent it lying down in the hedges as bullets flew around them. Another friend had managed to nap. He was awakened by three young men pointing tommy guns at him. "Where is the pistol?" they demanded. He did not know. He had just been sleeping. They searched his apartment and took all the cigarettes.

During a brief quiet spell we looked

out the window down the hill. From our vantage point the house that was the rebel base seemed terribly near. We could hear yelling and screaming from the parts of town held by the opposition. Dusk came and then the night. The long hours of darkness were surprisingly silent. But the shooting started fresh the next morning, Sunday. When the initial barrage subsided, our children took over the job of making the noise. At about nine

o'clock I heard the familiar sound of the garbage truck coming down the street. What reassurance that homely sound held. I went to the window to look out. No truck was in sight but two tanks were coming up the street. One drove to the end of the street, the other stopped in front of our house. They leveled their guns at the rebels and opened fire. Concussions shook the house as barrage after barrage was loosed. Silence came crashing down when they stopped. The tanks left as quickly as they came. I feared it was a retreat by the government forces and that the rebels would soon chase them down our street. Instead, as Alan explained to me later, the soldiers were being prudent and trying to avoid return fire.

## Climate of Fear

That was too much for our neighbors. Several packed and fled as the shooting continued throughout the day. Toward late afternoon the fire on the ground was replaced by the tearing noise of low-flying jets streaking over our heads. By evening the shooting again stopped.

As I write this, everything is silent—ominously so. Our street looks deserted. In the market, life apparently goes on as normal. Women are hanging clothes on the rooftops. Four old men are playing cards down the street. One Arab newspaper questioned the quiet, noting the inhabitants of Beirut are now more worried by the silence than by the soldiers. Should we move out? Somehow the vision of our family evacuating, three babies, a bottle sterilizer, a pail of diapers, seems more nerve-wracking than the street fighting. We shall wait and hope that peace comes back to this lovely and hospitable country. Our family's plight is but one episode in this stormy season in Beirut, just one weekend in 1958. □

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## Nuclear Weapons

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*(Continued from page 21.)*

Another class of decoys could confuse the heat-seeking guidance equipment in the sub-munitions. During the Israeli air attacks against the PLO in West Beirut, the jets released flares as they came in to bomb, drawing off the PLO's small heat-seeking missiles. Not one Israeli jet was lost. There is no reason why the radar-decoy vehicles could not be fitted with devices to give an even more powerful heat signature than a Soviet tank to draw away fire. For that matter, similar to the Israeli jets, Soviet armored vehicles themselves could dispense heat decoys at the time they come under attack, at but a few yards away. To kill a tank these sub-munitions must hit it; a near miss is as good as a mile.

### Alliance Vulnerability

Although the Soviets may indeed develop these or similar countermeasures, they seem to have had in mind all along other means of defeating NATO nuclear weapons. Practically all major Warsaw Pact exercises involve the use of nuclear weapons. Were the Soviets to adhere to their basic nuclear doctrine and capitalize on the nuclear training of their troops, to what avail would NATO's new conventional look be?

In contrast to the Soviets, the alliance has done essentially nothing to prepare itself for nuclear warfare. Even were its conventional firepower to be made equivalent in effectiveness to nuclear defenses, the disposition of the forces providing this capability presents a posture that is highly vulnerable to nuclear attack. The aircraft doing the second-echelon target surveillance and conducting a substantial share of the conventional weapon delivery operations against these targets all fly out of a limited number of fixed bases that could be wiped out by Soviet nuclear attacks. The ground forces capable of waging strikes against the rearward pact echelons consist of large, relatively immobile units that can be spotted readily and destroyed by nuclear weapons. And in large measure this vulnerability holds for the rest of NATO's forces.

Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld once dwelt on the threat posed by Soviet theater nuclear doctrine and capabilities: "Observations indicate that a major danger lies in a massive Warsaw Pact advance into Western Europe characterized by surprise, shock, and rapid air and ground exploitation." Were this danger to materialize one day in the form of a surprise nuclear attack on a NATO force which had effected its heralded new conventional posture, this achievement would have gone for naught.

Is there any reason to believe that the Soviets would not capitalize on the enormous military advantage that goes with first nuclear use? Or would they instead choose to attack with conventional weapons, possibly setting themselves up for the kill by NATO's new conventional defense or its theater nuclear weapons already in place? As Henry Kissinger once said: "Regardless of what we may decide, the Soviets may introduce nuclear weapons first; in fact, if they have not lost their senses, they almost have to use nuclear weapons first."

NATO's central military problem is that it has opted out of the Nuclear Age, while the Soviets have unhesitatingly accepted it. Neither Americans nor Europeans have been willing to contemplate nuclear weapons seriously as warfighting instruments. The Soviets always have. This fundamental doctrinal disparity has placed the alliance in an untenable position regarding realistically defending itself. The West's dilemma is that it will have to change its views and accept nuclear weapons to survive, but it believes it cannot survive by accepting them.

So long as this quandry persists, there is no way for NATO to come up with a realistic defense. And perhaps the most dangerously unrealistic thing it can do is to concoct new conventional panaceas to calm down the increasing political discontent over an alliance that now seems headed for oblivion. If the West seriously wishes to defend itself, it will have to resolve its nuclear dilemma rather than displaying new conventional looks that ignore nuclear realities. This can only be self-deception; it certainly will not fool the Soviets. □

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## Our Faltering Diplomacy

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*(Continued from page 29.)*

cy. Exactly what is diplomacy and what is its relationship to national security and peace? How can it be effectively pursued and what resources does it require? We will never rise to the challenges and opportunities presented by diplomacy until we identify and analyze it clearly.

There are those who insist that our diplomatic service is the best in the world. Having some knowledge of the services of some other countries, such as the Swiss and the West German, I cannot indulge in this kind of patriotic fantasizing. However, this is not the real issue. The real issue is whether the Foreign Service is good enough to cope with the world we live in. No one, I believe, can truly claim that it is. This is not because individual officers are not gifted; it is because we are simply not using all of the nation's available resources—or anything like it—to recruit, select, educate and train, promote, assign, and otherwise utilize our diplomatic officers. We are pouring billions of dollars into a gigantic military build-up while keeping our diplomatic establishment on such limited rations it cannot function effectively as our first line of defense. The consequence of this militarization of our relations with the rest of the world community has been a growing anti-military protest at home and abroad.

It is clear that we face formidable difficulties in attaining an effective diplomacy, one that is consistent with coherent and well-designed strategies. Instead, our diplomacy today is constantly victimized by protracted electioneering for the presidency, by senior administration officials who are inexperienced in foreign affairs, by a suspicious and undisciplined Congress, by an OMB which has no real comprehension of diplomacy and the resources it demands, and, finally, by a diplomatic establishment which has not adequately conceptualized its mission and professionalized its officer corps. Thus, the problem before us is a profound one. The basic question is one of how highly we prize international respect, our national security, and indeed the survival of humanity. □

## Secretarial Task Force

(Continued from page 23.)

changes that do occur may well impose substantial burdens on some of us. Instead, we should consider the following suggestions:

### Defining the Job

- Service discipline should be fairly applied, but management should have the guts to do it. It is management which should apply the same standards to working spouses and tandem couples. It is management that must release people for training amid the howls of anguish from the post or bureau.

- Recruiters must make clear the special nature of the Foreign Service—the “boredom factor” if you will. I don’t believe that will ever change. It also must be emphasized by recruiters that older secretaries will not get preferential treatment over those who are younger but have years of experience in the Service. This shows signs of becoming a major problem, but it needn’t be if it is made clear that regulations will be applied across the board—entering the Service at a later age with more experience does not entitle anyone to preferential treatment. FS-8s, even those with much experience, should not expect their likes and dislikes to be treated with particular deference; 35-year old FS-6s and FS-5s with 10–14 years experience should not be forced to take whatever is left over.

- Training should not be mandatory other than that required for upward mobility programs, or language or area studies. And in fact, very few secretaries need, or even want, courses in biographic reporting and economic analysis. However, if a secretary feels a need for training or if an efficiency report indicates a lack which can be corrected by training, then granting a request for such training at the first available time should be mandatory. Training cannot and should not be tied to eligibility for promotion.

- As part of the process of setting up the rules and any career ladder within the secretarial field, stretch assignments should be curtailed, just as they have been for officers. 6s and 7s

should not be holding 4- or 5-level jobs while qualified persons of those ranks can’t find anything to bid on.

- A career mobility program should be implemented. Such a program has been negotiated, with September 17’s participation, and should be on its way to the field. This was an essential task of the committee.

- Above all, the task force must decide what it wants from secretaries and what it is prepared to give to get and retain such secretaries. It then should establish guidelines and do a serious public relations job—not on how secretaries should be appreciated, but on who we are and what we do, just as in the case of other specialist categories. A good portion of the frustration of secretaries comes from a combination of having to prove oneself every time to every boss; never really knowing what the job is; and too many officers who continually switch gears and force their secretary to do so too. One day a secretary is told how to address an envelope and treated as if suffering from brain damage, and the next day that same person is expected to take on a delicate task requiring tact, initiative, authority, and judgment.

Everyone works better when the area of responsibility is defined. There will always be crises, of course, but basically a secretary should be able to move freely within certain boundaries. The problem here is not really one of job descriptions—“types, takes shorthand, other duties as specified.” This is more a matter of authority, trust, and expectations—whether one will be backed up in public even if later rent asunder in private. This exists in private industry and some of us have been lucky enough to work under such circumstances for most of our careers. It requires openness, discipline, responsibility, respect, and above all tolerance *on both sides*.

It’s nice to be appreciated, but no one can achieve that for us. The only people who would listen are those already converted. For secretaries to win this battle, they need to take a leaf from the officers’ book. Officers manipulate, finagle, scheme, plan ahead, whatever you want to call it. Secretaries, myself included, tend to let things happen to us. Officers negotiate their efficiency

reports. We, as a rule, don’t. Unless it is so bad there will never be another promotion, we sulk, walk away, and complain to our friends. Officers make choices. If they badly need a promotion they take the post that is most likely to get them one. If they’d rather have Western Europe or the Bahamas and the heck with the promotion, then so be it. Most of us don’t tend to look at assignments this way. Officers plan ahead. They know what positions will come open in two or three years, and they make contacts, drop in on the desk, talk to their counselors. We don’t. We somehow feel it’s not right. Officers on the whole don’t worry about whether they are appreciated or not. And before you howl that “they don’t have to, they’re officers,” tell me how many FSO-6s are loved and coddled. Not by most of us, certainly! Most do work any one of us could do with one hand tied behind us. Don’t you think they know that? But they work at it. They smile and try to pick up some tiny corner of indispensability, to be noticed, to be remembered. They’re as bored as any of us, but it doesn’t show when it counts. Officers use all their resources—contacts in the department, AFSA, efficiency reports, CDC files—to get what they want.

### Making a Career

Of course, not every officer works this way, not succeeds if he or she does. A now departed and unlamented senior management official once remarked that officers have careers, staff have jobs. As president of September 17 at the time, I was (and still am) infuriated, but I’ve come to believe that he was also trying to get a message across. While working with AFSA, I’ve talked to literally hundreds of staff corps personnel and the pattern shows clearly. We are hired to do a job—we have to make the career. But management has a part in this too. Once the department defines the job—what it must have to operate—and what it expects from someone who wants to rise in the Service, then we will have something to work with, to put into regulations and policies and programs. Then it will be the staff corps’ responsibility to use what it has been given to its best advantage. □

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# FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

## Deaths

GEORGE BERKLEY, retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer on April 9 in St. Petersburg, Florida. He was 67 years old. He is survived by his wife, Lisa, and four children.

EDITH NELL JONES HENRY, wife of retired Foreign Service officer J. William Henry, died April 22 in Tucson, Arizona. The Henrys lived in Tucson for several years in retirement, the same place they had first met attending the University of Arizona in the 1930s.

Over the years, Henry accompanied her husband to posts in Europe, Africa, Canada, South America, the Caribbean, and the Far East. This included a stint in Lisbon, Portugal, during World War II, when it was considered a hotbed of foreign intrigue. Henry enjoyed a growing reputation in the Southwest as an artist of imagination and talent. Her works have been featured in shows throughout the region.

She is survived by her husband and two daughters, Alice and Helen.

DONALD DWIGHT KENNEDY, a retired Foreign Service officer, died in Portland, Oregon, on June 14. He was 83 years old.

Kennedy, who retired from his World Bank position as financial adviser for Indus Basin Affairs and moved to Oregon in 1969, was born in Lewistown, Pennsylvania, on June 9, 1900. He was educated at the University of Pittsburgh and held a doctorate in economics from the Wharton School. After World War II, he entered the State Department, first as specialist in international trade and commodities, and then as deputy director and director of the Office of South Asian Affairs. He represented the United States in many trade and economic negotiations and participated in the formation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

As a Foreign Service officer, Kennedy was minister-counselor in New Delhi, consul general in Sydney, and deputy assistant secretary for economic affairs in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. He received the department's Meritorious Service Award on his retirement in 1960.

Kennedy is survived by his wife, Agnes Jeanne Foley Kennedy of Portland, Oregon. The family has suggested that any expressions of sympathy take the form of contributions to the American Heart Association or the DACOR Scholarship Fund.

AVERY F. PETERSON, editor of the *Foreign Service Journal* from 1950-53, died on April 7 while visiting his daughter in Wisconsin. He was 78.

Peterson was born in Boise, Idaho, and graduated from Georgetown University in 1929. He began his career as assistant trade commissioner in Toronto in 1930 and later became trade commissioner in Ottawa. He was appointed a Foreign Service officer in 1939 and subsequently he served in London and Stockholm. After attending the National War College and an extended tour in Washington, he was assigned to Canberra and later became consul general in Singapore. He returned to Washington as deputy assistant secretary for Far Eastern economic affairs in 1959 and in 1963 became consul general in Vancouver.

After retirement in 1965, Peterson returned to Boise and joined the faculty of Boise State University.

He is survived by a son, John, of 18 Camino Sobrante, Orinda, California 94563; two daughters, Ellen P. Leggett of Stoughton, Wisconsin, and Virginia P. Tilden of Lake Oswego, Oregon; and seven grandchildren.

ANTHONY CLINTON SWEZEY, a retired Foreign Service officer, died April 16 in London. He was 69.

Born in New Jersey, Swezey did his undergraduate work at the University of Nancy and at Princeton, receiving a bachelor's and then a master's from the latter; he also studied at the universities of Brussels and Louvain. He was an instructor of French and history in a private school and served in the Navy in 1942-46. Attaining the rank of lieutenant commander, his last military posting was as assistant naval attaché in Brussels. The following year he was special assistant at the U.S. mission to the United Nations.

Swezey entered the Foreign Service in 1947 as an FSO-4 and served in Paris, Leopoldville, and Luxembourg. Save for an assignment in Bern, most of the rest of his diplomatic career was focused on Southeast Asia. He had tours in Phnom Penh, Saigon, Vientiane, and Penang. He was the officer in charge of Malayan affairs in 1958-59 and Thai affairs in 1959-63. His last assignment in the Foreign Service was as first secretary (political) in Paris.

He retired in 1964 and settled in

London. He is to be buried in a family cemetery plot in Ontario.

ALBERT NICHOLSON VOTAW, a housing and urban development expert in AID, died in the terrorist bombing of the embassy in Beirut on April 18. He was 57 years old.

Votaw was graduated from University of Chicago and practiced urban planning until he joined the Foreign Service in 1966. His assignments with AID included several posts in Africa and Thailand. He arrived in Beirut for a new assignment less than two weeks before he was killed.

Votaw's name has been engraved on the memorial plaque maintained by AFSA in the Department of State honoring "those Americans who have lost their lives under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving the government abroad in foreign affairs."

He is survived by his wife, Estera, of Washington, D.C.; four daughters, Claire-Louise, of Arlington, Catherine, of Philadelphia, Susan, of New York City, and Marianne, of Boston; his parents, Ernest and Galja Votaw, of Philadelphia; and a brother, Gregory, of Bethesda.

## Marriage

C. DAVID WELCH was married to GRETCHEN A. GERWE on May 14 in Santa Clara, California. The groom is in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs.

## Birth

MATTHEW JOSEPH POPADIUK was born September 2, 1982, to ROMAN and JUDITH A. POPADIUK in Mexico City. The father is a Foreign Service officer stationed in Mexico City.

## Bookfair '83

As the Association of American Foreign Service Women gears up for this year's Bookfair, which benefits in part the AFSA Scholarship Fund, it has requested more book donations and additional volunteer help to sort and process. In particular, there are shortages of picture books for children, pottery, music, records, etchings, sculpture, and stamps. Prospective volunteers for before or during the fair should call Volunteer Chairman Audrey Mertens (533-9521) or Bookroom Supervisor Maggy Morse (233-5796). Bookfair '83 will run October 22 to October 29, except for October 25 and 26. Family night is October 21 from 5 till 8 p.m. Thereafter, fair hours are 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily.

## 1983 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Winners

*We present brief biographies and pictures of the 22 winners of the 1983 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards, given in May for academic excellence and outstanding extracurricular activities and leadership. Volunteer review panelists evaluated 108 applications from dependent Foreign Service Juniors who graduated from high school in 1983, either at home or abroad. These awards, of \$500 each, were named this year in memory of the late Ambassador Clare H. Timberlake, long-time friend and supporter of the AFSA scholarship programs. The competition was extremely close and the winners on these pages deserve our congratulations for their outstanding academic achievements.*

*Interested applicants who will be graduating from high school in 1984, and who are qualified dependents of career Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad in foreign affairs agencies of the U.S. government operating under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, are encouraged to apply. Write to Dawn Cuthell, AFSA Scholarship Program administrator, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, for applications and information in October. Financial aid grant information for full-time undergraduate education in the U.S. may also be requested at the same time. Merit Awards are based solely on academic excellence; financial aid grants are based solely on need. Deadline for completion of all program materials is February 15, 1984.*



**Peter L. Barry**, son of Robert L. and Margaret C. Barry, State. Peter has lived in the Soviet Union, New Zealand, and Bulgaria, where his father is ambassador. He has attended St. Anselm's School in Washington and St. Stephen's School in Rome. He will enter the freshman class at Yale University this fall, and is undecided on his area of concentration.



**Gillian Burlingham**, daughter of Lloyd and Helen Burlingham, USIA (retired). Julie has lived in Thailand and Argentina. A graduate of Perry Central High School in upstate New York, where her father is retired, she has penpals in Japan, Bangladesh, and a nearby prison. She is a National Merit Scholarship finalist and won a Bausch & Lomb science award. Her major interest is computer programming. She plans to attend Oberlin College this fall.



**Anthony A. Diggle**, son of Arthur and Artesmisa Diggle, USIA (retired). Anthony has lived in Brazil, Uruguay, Spain, Argentina, and Mexico. A graduate of the American School Foundation in Mexico City, he is a track athlete and a National Honor Society member. His hobbies include drawing, graphic design, and writing. A plebe at the Naval Academy, he plans to study oceanography, aerospace engineering, or naval architecture with an eye toward becoming a navy pilot.



**Diana L. Edensword**, daughter of Jon Goodwin Edensword, State. Diana has lived in Martinique, Haiti, Liberia, Jordan, and France. A graduate of Miss Hall's School, she was school president, edited the literary magazine, and was on the newspaper. She received a German award and cum laude status as a junior. A National Merit honorable mention winner, she plans to attend Brown University to study English and international relations.



**Catherine J. Edwards**, daughter of Gary Maxwell and Irene Wilson Edwards, USIA. Catherine has lived in Niger, Morocco, Britain, and Greece. A winner of a National Merit Letter of Commendation at TASSIS Hellenic International School in Athens, she was also the recipient of an award for outstanding achievement in the social sciences. Her interests include acting, writing, and reading. Catherine is entering Yale University this fall, where she plans to major in history.



**Michael J. Goff**, son of Dr. Paul and Ellen Goff, State. Michael has lived in Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Panama, and Bangladesh. A graduate of Mercersburg Academy, he is a National Merit Scholarship commendation winner and a member of the Cum Laude Society. His interests include photography, languages, writing, dramatics, and the trombone. Michael is a prospective economics or international relations major at Stanford University.



**Ralph W. Falzone**, son of the late Michael A. and Mary G. Falzone, State. Ralph has lived in Italy and Britain. Interested in foreign languages, travel, and athletics, he is a member of the National Honor Society and a recipient of a French award. Ralph graduated from Swampscott (Mass.) High School and is a prospective international economics major at Columbia College.



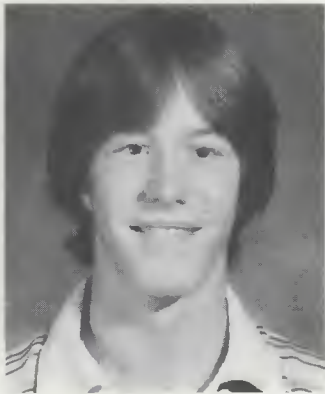
**Kristin Hoganson**, daughter of Jerome Linden and Barbara F. Hoganson, State. Kristin has lived in Mexico, the Philippines, and Laos. At Washington-Lee High School she rowed on the crew, was in student government, and was on the newspaper. Other interests include sailing, spelunking, and ceramics. A recipient of several civic and scholastic awards, Kristin will attend Yale University this fall to take up American studies and political science.



**Jeffrey D. Giese**, son of the late Arthur Martin and Leslye Baltzer Giese, State. Jeffrey has lived in Iran, Cyprus, Turkey, and Brazil. A graduate of McLean High School, he is a National Merit Finalist and was on the varsity tennis team. A skier, rock climber, philatelist, gourmet, pianist, and frisbee player, he plans to attend Wesleyan University, where he may major in political science.



**Liane Hirabayashi**, daughter of Edward and Nicole Crémieu-Alcan Hirabayashi, AID. Liane has lived in Ecuador, Brazil, Ethiopia, and Zaire. A National Merit Commended Student, she is a two-year member of the National Honor Society and an attendee of the Presidential Classroom for Young Americans. Liane's hobbies are reading, writing, swimming, volleyball, and softball. She plans to attend Reed College this fall and major in mathematics and philosophy.



**Stephen F. Howland**, son of Richard C. and Anne F. Howland, State. Steve has lived in Laos and Indonesia. A varsity tennis and squash player at the Kent School, he was a high honors student and received an Echols Scholarship from the University of Virginia, which he plans to attend this fall with a view toward majoring in government and foreign affairs.



**Mark Kockler**, son of Norbert and Cecilia Kockler, AID (retired). Mark has lived in Nicaragua and Honduras. At T.C. Williams Senior High School he was in the Honor Society and won a National Merit Scholarship letter of commendation. He was a Boys' State Delegate and a high finisher in national and state science fairs. He has rowed crew and played tennis, and collects baseball memorabilia. This fall he will be attending Harvard College.



**Michael A. Jones**, son of George F. and Maria R. Jones, State. Michael has lived in Venezuela, Austria, Guatemala, and Costa Rica. A graduate of Fairfax High School, he attended the Virginia Governor's School for the Gifted and won a National Merit Scholarship and several others. A member of the National Honor Society and the Model United Nations, Michael will be attending Rice University this fall as an international affairs or journalism major.



**Jana S. Lee**, daughter of Joseph Elson and June Lee, State. Jana has lived in Surinam, Thailand, Bulgaria, Colombia, El Salvador, Venezuela, and the Philippines. At the International School in Manila, she won outstanding student awards in English, biology, and physics. She is a member of the National Honor Society and is interested in scuba diving and playing the clarinet. A prospective electrical engineering major at Stevens Institute of Technology, she worked for AID as a researcher last summer.



**Trevor Kienzle**, son of Don Roland and Monika Steinhorst Keinzle, State. Trevor has lived in Australia, the Soviet Union, West Germany, Thailand, Denmark, Israel, and the United Kingdom. A graduate of Walworth Barbour American International School in Israel, he is a member of the National Honor Society, a recipient of the Embassy Women's Group 1983 Merit Scholarship, and most valuable player on his varsity basketball and softball teams. He will study at Middlebury College.



**Anne Lorimer**, daughter of Matthew Thornton and Lois Lorimer, State. Anne has lived in Britain, Germany, Zambia, Finland, and Denmark. A winner of junior and senior scholarships at Cranborne Chase School in England, she took second prize in a national video competition. Her special interests include art, film, and literature. Anne will be studying at Wesleyan University or Harvard College this fall, where she plans to major in English or art.



**Jeffrey S. Moeller**, son of Clifford and Charlene Mecklenburg, State. Jeffrey has lived in France, Germany, and Ivory Coast. A graduate of Finneytown High School in Ohio, he is a National Merit Commended Student and a member of the National Honor Society. He is a soccer player and enjoys science fiction, musical concerts, and collecting. He is attending Miami University this fall and plans to major in political science.



**Catherine S. Teare**, daughter of Richard W. and Jeanie W. Teare, State. Catherine has lived in the Philippines, Mexico, and Laos. She graduated from Woodrow Wilson High School and placed third nationally in the American Association of Teachers of French Contest for Level 5. She is a National Merit Finalist and won a Georgetown University Book Award for top class rank. Catherine is interested in piano, jazz dance, skiing, and writing. She will attend Yale University next fall.



**Nancy P. Nenno**, daughter of Dr. William C. and Shirley E. Nenno, State (retired). Nancy has lived in Australia and East Germany. At Georgetown Visitation Preparatory School she won a General Excellence Medal in her freshman and junior years and was named a National Merit Commended Student. Her interests include drawing and Vietnamese history. Nancy will be attending Brown University this fall, where she will major in English and history.



**Hilary A. Wilkinson**, daughter of M. James and Anne C. Wilkinson, State. Hilary has lived in Germany, Thailand, and the Soviet Union. At the International School in Bangkok she was named a National Merit Commended Scholar and a member of the National Honor Society. She is interested in horseback riding, computers, drama, and the Model United Nations. She will be attending Massachusetts Institute of Technology this fall, majoring in biochemistry.



**James W. O'Brien**, son of Joseph T. and Joan O'Brien, State. James has lived in Italy, India, Sweden, and the Netherlands. He won first prize in poetry in each of the last three years, the Ambassador's First Prize for Best All-round Student in 1980, and was named valedictorian of his class at the American School of the Hague this year. He will be at Brown University in a seven-year medical education program, with plans of becoming a Foreign Service doctor.



**Thomas E. Williams Jr.**, son of Thomas E. and Judith K. Williams, State. Thomas has lived in Nigeria, Turkey, South Africa, and Canada. He is a graduate of Walt Whitman High School and is a National Merit Finalist. He won second place in the Maryland State Competition in Student Congress Debate. His interests include politics, international relations, sailing, new wave music, and electronics. He will attend Williams College.

# FOREIGN EXCHANGE

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## PHOTOS

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## GRIEVANCES

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GRIEVANCE COUNSELING: Retired Senior Foreign Service officer attorney who served on Grievance Board staff will assist grievance presentation. Richard Greene, 161 Laurel Rd., Princeton, NJ 08540. (609) 921-1422.

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## EXCHANGE RATES

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# Association News

## Shultz, Gemayel Honor Beirut Dead



Secretary of State George Shultz and Lebanese President Amin Gemayel stand in honor at AFSA's Memorial Plaque before Gemayel placed a wreath there in ceremony last July.



## Journal Wins Two National Editorial Awards

The *Foreign Service Journal* received two Gold Awards for editorial excellence from the Society of National Association Publications at its annual conference, held in Arlington last June. The *Journal* was the only magazine to receive more than one award.

The first award was given for the article "The Foreign Service and the National Interest—A Conversation with Malcolm Toon," which appeared in the April 1982 issue. "Rarely does a single magazine article have the impact not only in its own field but beyond that the *Foreign Service Journal* achieved with this skillful interview," said the awards committee. "The combination of choices, interviewee, interviewing skill, and impact was most impressive." The interview has been cited by dozens of publications, radio stations, and television networks, including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Time* magazine, and NBC News.

The second award cited the single-topic issue on "The Press and Foreign Policy," July/August 1982. The awards committee noted the issue's "excellent focus on special topic, timely selection, good use of guest writers, and good how-to approach on dealing with the press."

## Performance Pay Starts for AID Senior Officers

Following an agreement with AFSA on performance pay precepts, AID's Performance Pay Boards have met and issued awards for the 1981-82 rating cycle. As a result of Association insistence during the negotiations, board recommendations are binding at the agency level, though not for Presidential Awards.

Payments will be made in the amounts of \$10,000, \$9000, and \$6500. Recipients of the last amount will be pleased to note that they are \$500 richer because AFSA spotted an agency mechanical error that had lowered the award to \$6000.

## 100,000 Books on the Wall at Bookfair '83

The 23rd annual AAFSW Bookfair will open its doors at 5 p.m. on Friday, October 21, for a week-long engagement at the 23rd Street Lobby of the Department of State. That first evening is Family Night for employees and their families. The fair will be open to the public from 10 to 4 daily from October 22 to 29, except for October 25-26. Proceeds in part benefit the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

## Unity Slate Candidates Sweep Constituency Seats

The seven Unity Slate candidates running for seats on the AFSA Governing Board to represent the State Department, AID, and USIA constituencies were all elected by the membership and took office July 15. With the five board officers and three retired constituency representatives elected in 1982, all board positions are now held by the slate. Under AFSA's new election procedure, ratified by the membership in 1981, State, AID, and USIA representatives are elected in odd-numbered years.

"The Unity Slate is gratified by this vote of confidence in our program," said AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. "We stand committed to continue working with all groups within the Foreign Service on both labor-management and professional issues."

Elected to the four State seats were Jo Ann Jenkins (813 votes), James Spain (773), Thomas Miller (725), and James Williamson (667). Francis X. Cunningham (290) and John T. Sheely (182) were not elected. Elected to the two AID seats were Richard Delaney (297) and Juanita Nofflet (294), while Herbert L. Woods (181) was not elected. Jaroslav Verner (54), running unopposed, won the USIA seat. Of the 1470 ballots received, 19 were judged to be invalid. Write-in candidates received 28 votes for State seats and 7 for AID seats.

Because of an error on the part of First American Bank, N.A., the ballots were counted in two separate stages. All ballots were addressed to the lock box department of the bank. The bank was supposed to have turned over all ballots received through June 30 to the AFSA Elections Committee on July 1. The bank did deliver 1016 ballots on that date. The bank notified the committee by letter on July 14 that 454 additional ballots received through June 30 had been discovered. These were also turned over to the committee.

Elections will be held next summer for officer and retired constituency posts.

New banquet room expands Foreign Service Club by 90 seats.



## Expanded Facilities, New Services at Foreign Service Club

The Foreign Service Club is completing a year of improvements with the opening of a new banquet room on the second floor and the planned completion of a members' lounge in about a month. The new room expands the club's facilities by 90 seats and will allow it to handle sit-down banquets of 120 persons or stand-up receptions of 250—all without affecting the operation of the restaurant on the ground floor. Members can hold receptions using both floors of the club for up to 400 persons.

Under the stewardship of Manager Alberto Gracia, the club's facilities and services have been completely overhauled during the past year. "The quality of the food and service is as good or better than anything in the Foggy Bottom area," says Gracia. "All our soups and sauces are home-made, all our meats and vegetables are fresh."

The staff has been expanded and re-

trained, the restaurant and banquet menus revamped, and the physical plant both refurbished and enlarged. "We are trying to offer more services to the members and to correct previous problems," says Gracia. "In addition, we can now cater members' affairs outside the club and we will offer free advice on private functions to members who call before 11:30 a.m." An enormous, year-long growth in use of the restaurant and banquet rooms supports Gracia's statements about quality; members are strongly advised to make reservations for luncheon and to book banquets and other functions well in advance (phone 338-5730).

"Our goal is service to the members," Gracia adds. "We now have enough space for members to conduct conferences, seminars, large receptions, and luncheons and will soon be able to provide an all-day lounge with bar, club chairs, and reading materials for members to meet socially in an informal atmosphere, or to conduct business away from the office or while in Washington temporarily." Gracia is working on new programs and services that will be announced in forthcoming issues.



Club Assistant Manager Tom Miller and banquet setup.

## USIA Releases More Names in Political Progeny Hiring Flap

As the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on international operations continues to investigate hiring practices at USIA—dubbed "Kiddiegate" by the media—agency Director Charles Z. Wick has disclosed the names of several more officials' relatives who have worked at USIA recently. At the same time, Wick acknowledged that there was "no justification" for giving a merit raise of \$4800 to Caspar Weinberger Jr., son of the defense secretary, who quit when the Kiddiegate flap hit the press last spring (ASSOCIATION NEWS, June).

The disclosures were contained in a letter to Senator Edward Zorinsky (D-Nebraska), a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, who had protested the hirings and questioned whether the appointments may have "violated the letter or spirit of anti-nepotism laws or regulations." He called Wick's response "refreshingly candid" and declared that the director "recognizes USIA's serious management problems."

According to the letter, the agency hired as temporary clerical employees last summer John Gergen, nephew of White House Director of Communications David Gergen; Julia James, daughter of former White House personnel director E. Pendleton James; Melissa McFarlane, daughter of National Security Council staffer Robert C. McFarlane; and Susan DeLorenzo, niece of McFarlane. According to the *Washington Post*, another of McFarlane's daughters, Lauren, worked in USIA's public liaison office last fall, and James K. Malone, son of Assistant Secretary of State James L. Malone, spent a year at the agency.

Wick said he had no knowledge of Weinberger's raise until he read of it in the press. As a public liaison officer in New York, Weinberger had earned \$50,000 per year. The director also said that Monica Clark, daughter of the national security adviser, and Anne Collins, a friend of their family, had been referred by the White House to the agency, which gave them permanent jobs. Wick acknowledged that it was he who referred Barbara Haig, daughter of the former secretary of state, to the agency, which hired her as a full-time assistant.

"This happens everywhere. Everybody knows somebody," said Wick.



**AFSA Colombia Officers (from left) Vice President Ed Olson, President Greg Tyson, outgoing Secretary Alf Cooley, incoming Secretary Craig McKee.**

## **Chapter Portrait: Bogota, Colombia, Active Once Again**

*AFSA is more than a professional staff and employee volunteers in Washington. The Association has chapters at posts from Angola to Zaire. They elect officers, hold meetings, discuss issues, publish newsletters. Let the membership know what your post is up to by sending a chapter portrait and photographs for this space. We asked AFSA/Colombia to start this new feature with the following:*

The AFSA chapter in Colombia is now at a peak of its nine-year existence. As often happens in the field, the chapter had flourished then died when the sole AFSA activist left the post. When another arrived in September 1981, the old files were recovered and an organizational meeting called the following month. Since then, we have resumed monthly meetings, assisted in improving several employee benefits here, and built membership in the process. We have also tried to represent members at our constituent posts of Cali, Medellin, and Barranquilla, a relevant issue for them being the less desirable R&R points members at those posts get as opposed to the one for Bogota.

AFSA/Colombia pursued a number of local issues: restriction "S" at the APO, payment of utility bills directly by the mission on leased housing, remission of Colombian taxes on diplomats in a more timely manner (currently six to nine months), and speeding the customs processing for personal-vehicle admission, which has been reduced to two or three months. On worldwide issues, we have supported AFSA/Washington on standby pay, abolition of restrictions on resale of personal property, and removal of the pay cap on the salary of senior Foreign Service employees.

Activities focus on the monthly chap-

ter meeting, in which two successive administrative counselors have been active and highly useful participants. To give full expression of opinion and to let interested non-members test the AFSA waters, we welcome non-members. About a third of those attending are in that category and several have subsequently joined. Complaints are freely aired and misconceptions clarified in an informal and friendly fashion. Minutes of each meeting are distributed to all State, AID, USIS, FAS, and FCS members of the mission, including those in the constituent posts. This account is meant to show AFSA at work and, we hope, to stimulate recruitment. Meanwhile, we work on the issues, meeting with management to talk over these matters in confidence. The chapter keeps up a lively exchange of cables with AFSA/W, averaging about four a month in each direction. The chapter has also recently reestablished its bulletin board for posting AFSA cables and accounts of chapter doings. We send to AFSA/W and neighboring chapters copies of our monthly activities report for their possible use.

Recruitment is a constant process; we approach each individual upon arrival in the country. We have written a "Welcome to Colombia" letter describing the chapter and its achievements, and with this and an application form a chapter representative visits each newcomer. Current membership is more than 60 percent of the eligibles at the four sites in Colombia.

With a core group of AFSA people who know the benefits of organization and who can work together—we have five or six—any country mission should be able to have an active and growing local chapter as do we in Colombia. With such active chapters supported by AFSA/W, the Association would be stronger and healthier, and life at post, our careers in the Service, and our standards of professionalism in the conduct of diplomacy would be far more satisfying.

## **Selection Out Goes into Effect For AID Employees**

As required by the Foreign Service Act, mandatory retirement for relative performance—selection out—has gone into effect for AID employees, following an implementing agreement signed by AFSA and agency management earlier this year. The agreement covers Selection Board actions for the 1981-82 rating cycle. After the Performance Standards Boards met, selection-out letters were issued, giving a late September termination date in most cases.

A total of 27 officers were designated for mandatory retirement, but eight will not receive termination letters because they are not eligible to receive immediate annuities. A determination of selection out cannot be the subject of a grievance, AFSA's AID Standing Committee has pointed out, but an employee can grieve the Performance Evaluation Reports upon which it is based or a violation of Selection Board or Performance Standards Board regulations.

## **AFSA Signs New Career Mobility Program Agreement**

AFSA has signed an agreement establishing a new career mobility program for all Foreign Service employees in the State Department. Successful completion of the program leads to a skill code change. The new program replaces the excursion tour program, but those already on excursion tours will not be affected and may apply for a code change when they become eligible.

Under the new program, developed with considerable input from September 17, an employee applies for one year of closely monitored training and on-the-job experience followed by an overseas assignment in that specialty. The post then rates the employee after one year at post. If rated satisfactory, the employee receives the code change immediately. No employee will be accepted in the program unless there is a job available.

Both the Association and September 17 are pleased with the program, which should avoid the frustrations and disappointments of the former excursion tour process.

## 1100 Members Buy Association's New Insurance Policy

AFSA's accidental-death insurance policy is one year old and continues to be very popular. In the first year, 1103 members signed up for the policy, and renewals for a second year are coming in rapidly.

The war-risk clause of the policy was unfortunately put to the test during the year as a result of the terrorist bombing of the Beirut embassy. An AID officer had purchased coverage shortly before he was killed in the explosion. At the request of the carrier, the Federal Insurance Company, the State Department issued a legal opinion that the terrorist attack was not an act of war. The company then paid the full amount on all claims, as opposed to the 50 percent that would have been due in the event of a war-related death.

It is tragic that the Foreign Service is faced with a growing terrorist risk, but it is reassuring that the Federal Insurance Company, a member of the Chubb Group, which writes the AFSA accidental-death policy, is giving a liberal interpretation to the war-risk clause. This reinforces our conviction that AFSA's new and more comprehensive policy against accidental death and dismemberment is an important safeguard for all members of the Foreign Service.

For further information about this inexpensive coverage, write to The Hirshorn Company, 14 E. Highland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19118. From Washington, call 457-0250.

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## Legislative Fund Tops \$28,000 After Four Months

Donations to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund stood at \$28,064.50 from 565 donors on July 15, four months after it was announced. The fund is designed to help defray the Association's expenses connected with its efforts on Capitol Hill to oppose administration proposals which, in AFSA's belief, would ultimately dismantle the present Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System.

Persons who wish to assist in AFSA's legislative efforts are urged to give to the fund. Monies collected are being used exclusively to defray the costs of seeking to preserve the present structure of the Foreign Service personnel system by ac-

tively opposing legislation that would undermine its basic components. Contributions should be deductible.

Contributions will be acknowledged in this space unless the donor wishes to remain anonymous. Donations from June 7 to July 15 are listed here.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION FUND *or*  
AFSA Room 3644  
2101 E Street NW Department  
Washington, D.C. 20037 of State

## New AID Tenuring Rules 'Tighter But More Equitable'

The Association recently signed an agreement with AID that brings the agency's tenuring regulations into conformity with the Foreign Service Act. When tenured, an officer has been judged likely to reach the FS-1 rank during his or her career. "The new procedures and criteria are tighter, as the act requires," said AFSA's AID Standing Committee, "but they are also more predictable, equitable, and timely for those employees who are affected."

The standing committee was able to resolve several negotiating disagreements in the membership's favor. It achieved a reduction in the number of agency retirees allowed to serve on panels affecting current employees; a stipulation that tenure board recommendations are binding on the agency administrator; an assurance that comments of previous boards cannot be seen by current boards; and the application of the principle that denial of tenure is not an acceptable method of agency personnel planning.

## AFSA Kicks Off Beirut Scholarship Fund



AFSA State Representative Thomas Miller (right) presents startup funds for the Association's Beirut Memorial Scholarship to AFSA President Dennis K. Hays in ceremony last month. Members are urged to contribute toward \$10,000 goal.

## Life and Love in the Foreign Service



**"Sir, if you'll have a seat in the lobby, I'll call the Ambassador's office and check on your appointment."**

—MARY ANN LUNDY, Seoul

### HONORABLE MENTION:

**"All right! All right! I'll get my own coffee."**

—DOROTHY DILLON, Washington

**"No danger pay is one thing, but to face this without a quiver?"**

—STEVE WALLACE, Washington

A selection board convened to judge the first Life and Love in the Foreign Service competition, with rigorous application of arduously negotiated humor precepts, has named Mary Ann Lundy, posted in Seoul, as the winner of a lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club. She will receive a certificate redeemable at any time. Honorable mention awards of a free carafe of wine at the club have been presented to runners-up Dorothy Dillon and Steve Wallace, both of Washington.

All readers are invited to enter Competition #3. Mail entries to:

LIFE AND LOVE #3  
AFSA  
2101 E Street NW  
Washington, D.C. 20037

The contest deadline  
is October 20.

### Competition #3



## Malaproped Memos, Dumb Despatches, Contorted Cables

Last winter, we asked readers to send in their favorite unintentionally humorous memoranda, despatches, and other official bureaucratic flubs. While a few of the best could not be printed in this family magazine, we hope the following will help relieve the fall doldrums:

God did it in a week too—An AID memo asked some staff members to account for their time during the week of November 15 to 19 to "institute procedures to assure the efficient allocation of time in the future." We think time will be allocated in the future under the present system, with 24 hours in a day, etc. Time logs were nonetheless distributed with the following instructions. "You should begin each day by recording the time you arrive at the office. As each event occurs (or non-event such as day-dreaming, scratching, person-watching) enter in the column on the left-hand side of the page the time the event or work began, and a description. The beginning

time for the next event is the ending time for the previous one." Our question was how one accounted for the time spent filling in the log.

John Adams is alive and well—A cable from AmEmbassy Buenos Aires to AmEmbassy Canberra reads: "Part of an article in the April 20, 1981, edition of the *Buenos Aires Herald* concerning rioting in the town of Mildura in Northern Victoria during the Easter Holiday is as follows: 'Police said more than 30 people were arrested on Saturday night and charged with brawling, drunkenness, vandalism, and traffic violations. During the trouble police called in a justice of the peace to read the riot act to a crowd of about 2000 people who then dispersed.' Buenos Aires would like a copy of this riot act for possible use in Buenos Aires. Apparently it is quite effective." Canberra cabled back that the riot act did not exist and, in any event, would lose something in the translation into Spanish.

This Bud's for the political appointee—A lengthy 1955 cable to Washington on the visit of Queen Julianna and Prince Bernhard to Aruba, which concluded with the observation that cheering at the royal party's departure "was

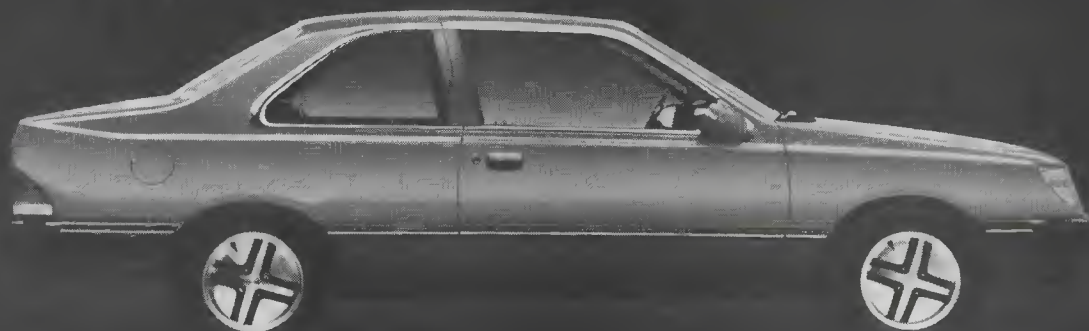
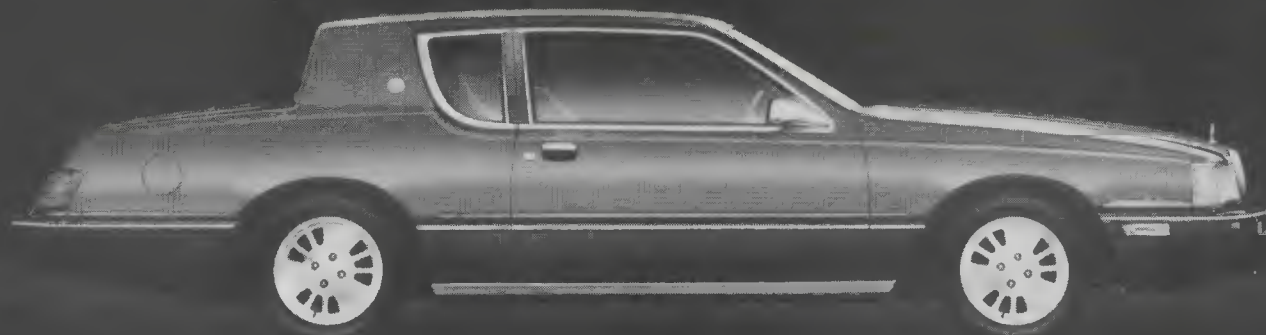
more audible and slightly longer in duration" than when they arrived, gave this interesting formula for distinguishing the career officer from the political appointee: "I discovered an easy way of telling the career from honorary consuls. The career consuls were drinking Dutch beer while the others had American beer before them."

The value of language training—Sometimes cable conundrums are the fault not of the authors but of the transmitting machinery. Witness this communication that quotes a *New York Times* article on white flight from Zimbabwe to South Africa in the wake of majority rule in the former country. "John Costello, a former Rhodesian who has been active in helping other whites from Zimbabwe settle here, said, 'N-5 599., 69!53.2343 499 178:( 59 73 :4!58:-) 9! -!48(-,34.' Mr. Costello lives in Springs, a community that is predominantly Afrikaans-speaking, and he has learned the language." No doubt the Department of State should import some Afrikaans speakers to work in accounting.

Read a good one lately? Send it to the *Journal* at 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

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