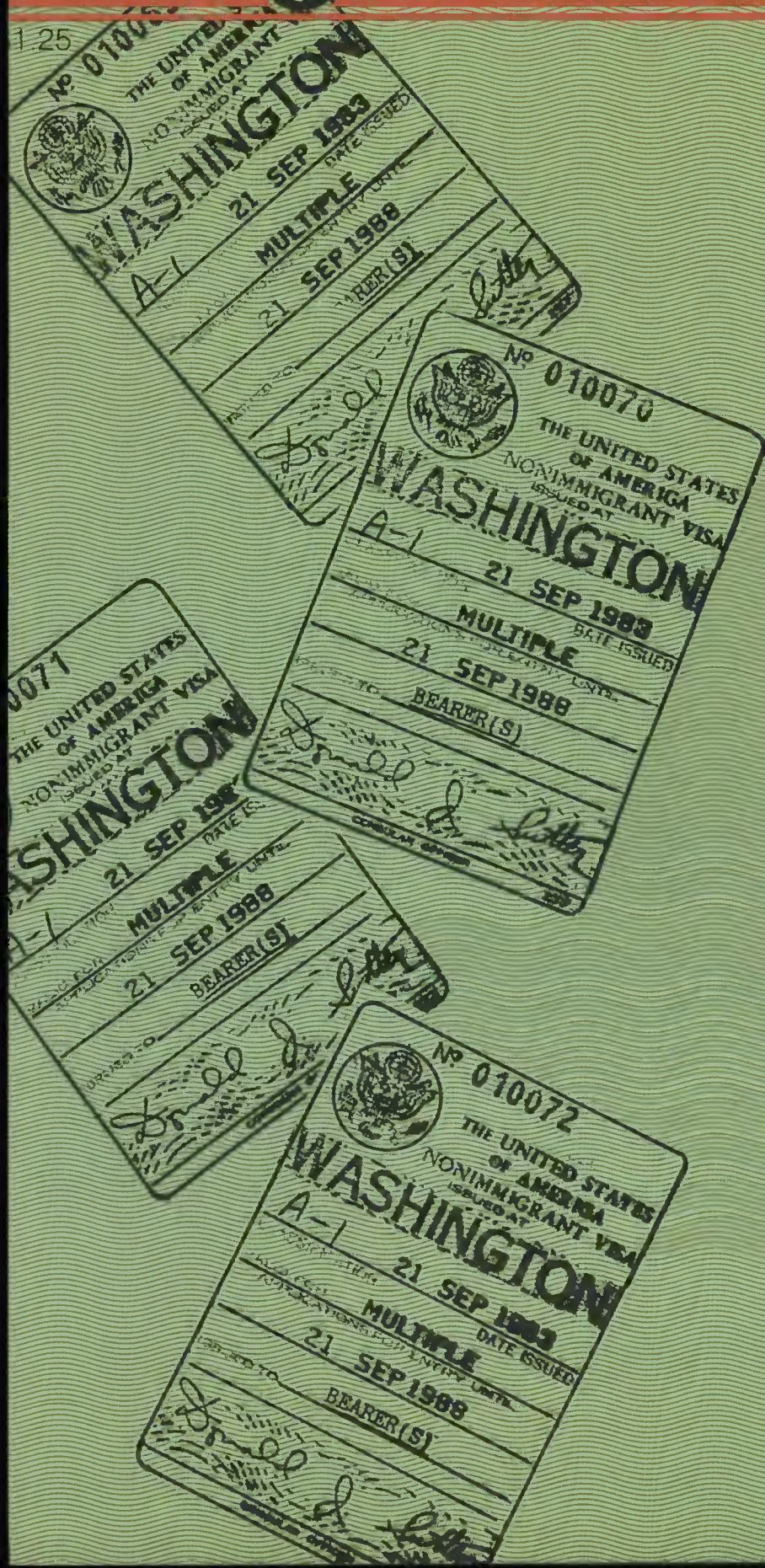


Iran's Indigenous Revolution

Foreign Service Journal

125

OCTOBER 1983



**MORE
THAN
VISAS**

**THE POLITICS
OF CONSULAR
AFFAIRS**

Annual Report

To Members of the Protective Association



Several important changes were made in the Association By-Laws since our last Annual Report was published in September 1982.

- Eligibility requirements were revised so that full membership is now available to Peace Corps Staff and Volunteers, certain Presidential Appointees and all adult dependents of members. As a consequence, qualified dependents can now enroll in our insurance plans in their own names.
- The corporate year, which had been an unwieldy March 1st to the last day of February, was changed to coincide with the calendar year. This means that the Association will no longer have to operate under two separate accounting periods (one for the health plan the other for the life insurance plan) as had been the case in the past. The balance sheet that appears in this report covers a 10 month period rather than a 12 month period, reflecting the change in corporate year.

The new "Tailored-to-Fit" Group Life Insurance and Accidental Death and Dismemberment (AD&D) Insurance Plan was launched effective June 1, 1983. A promotional campaign is now under way. Our hope is to reach everyone who is eligible for membership in our Association. We earnestly believe that every Foreign Service Family should have the protection we offer.

During the past insurance year there were 46 life insurance claims amounting to \$326,000 compared to 44 claims totaling \$304,500 last year. Despite this, the Association's net worth increased by \$87,898. Once again, this came as a result of tight control over administrative and operating expenses and a favorable return on investments.

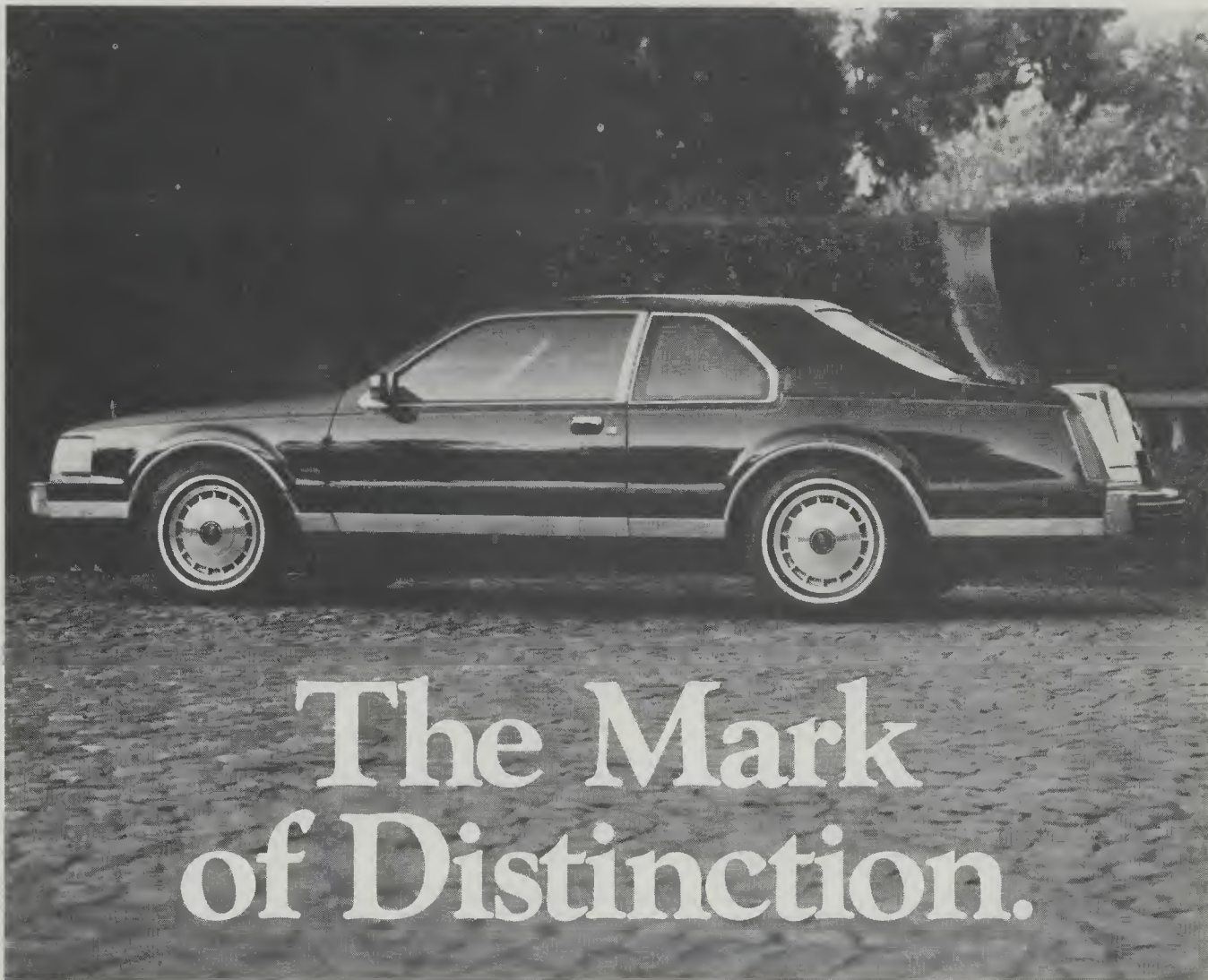
As can be seen from the balance sheet our financial situation remains healthy. The key to continued success lies in the new life insurance program. Even though membership in the old plan, which we have sponsored since 1929, continues to dwindle and the median age is now approaching 63, we have sufficient financial reserves to continue to carry the old plan indefinitely. If the new plan is as successful as we anticipate, it will be more than viable on its own which means that we should, in due course, be able to decrease premiums or increase benefits or pay dividends (or all of the above).

Negotiations for the 1984 Foreign Service (Health) Benefit Plan are virtually complete. Indications are that our plan will be even more attractive than it was in the past. Health insurance claims amounted to \$12,230,273 in 1982 as compared to \$12,017,926 for the previous year. However, increased premium earnings produced an increase in the Special Reserve, which in turn will help cushion premium rises next year. In this regard any gains (premium and interest earnings minus incurred claims and operating expenses) remain in the Foreign Service Benefit (Health) Plan and do not become part of the Association's assets. In other words, the Health Insurance Plan is completely separate from the Life Insurance Plan and the Association's assets are limited to earnings in the latter.

We are continuing our efforts to reduce if not eliminate the need to pay benefits for overseas claims that are legally covered under the Foreign Service Act. We are pleased to have the American Foreign Service Association's support in this endeavor.

To sum it up, it was a good year.

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COVER: More than ever before, consular affairs is not just simply stamping visas. Consular officers' actions can affect both relations with foreign countries and politics in the United States itself. Starting on page 20, we examine the current state of the consular profession and possibilities for its future.

Indigenous Revolution17

The causes of the Iranian revolution are not to be found in Washington but in Iran. By John Limbert.

Consular Affairs and International Politics...20

The stuff of consular work—visas, refugees, services to Americans abroad—is often dismissed as unimportant. But, argues Robert E. Fritts, “people movements” and “service” issues have a profound affect on international relations.

Suggestion Box: Consular Reporting.....24

Because of their daily contact with ordinary foreign nationals, consular officers have access to an important source of information. By David C. McGaffey.

Consular Affairs and Domestic Politics26

While consular officers issue visas according to regulations, thousands of people simply walk across the border. Efforts to control this illegal flood have been stymied by domestic politics. By Stephen P. Engelberg.

Journal: The Best Laid Plans30

When dignitaries travel, the careful planning of embassy advance teams can all come to nought. By Howard R. Simpson.

Letters.....	4	Plus ça Change.....	16
Book Reviews.....	7	Foreign Service People.....	35
Book Essay.....	12	Association News.....	38

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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Membership in the American Foreign Service Association is open to the professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in Washington, as well as to persons having an active interest in or close association with foreign affairs. Membership dues are:

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LETTERS

Faulty Prescription

While much of what Julia A. Moore writes is, distressingly, true when she documents public ignorance on national security matters ["Educating the Public," July/August], her prescription is as faulty as her essay is contradictory.

She suffers from the mistaken belief that it is a "neglected responsibility" of the State Department, the Defense Department, USIA, ACDA, and the Education Department to educate the public. Educate them for what? She indicates that public education would give the citizens better insights into government security policies. "It would not be difficult for our leaders," she writes, "to dramatize and enlist public support in their efforts."

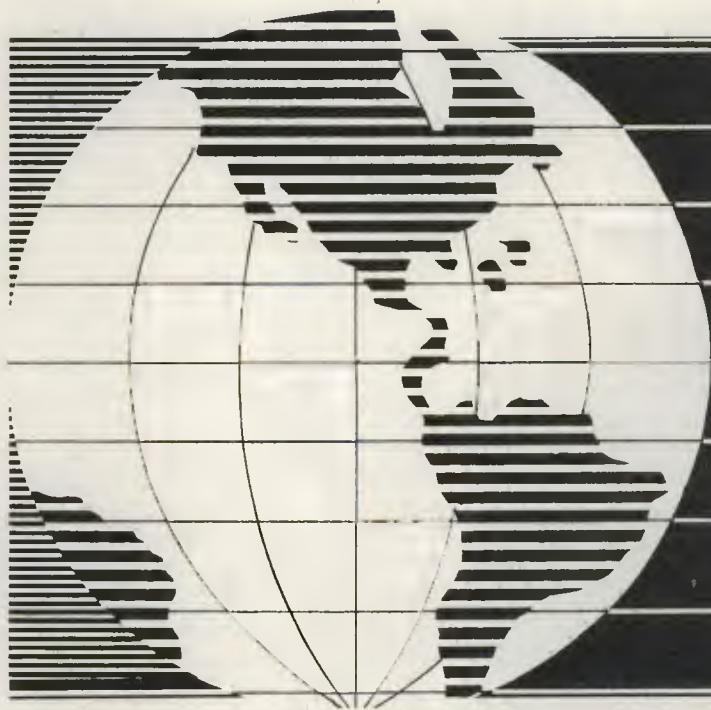
That's what I'm afraid of. Perhaps it's the public that has a keener sense of priorities here when it demonstrates readiness to think about a nuclear freeze. Perhaps our leaders should learn instead of teach.

Ms. Moore seems to think that executive branch agencies can operate independently from the administration, i.e., the White House. She admits that "when politicians reduce [the U.S.-U.S.S.R.] relationship to simple cold war platitudes of 'Soviet menace' and 'evil empire,' we all lose." What makes Ms. Moore think that when it's the president talking about that "evil empire," the State, Defense, USIA, ACDA, and Education agencies dare take the opposite tack?

"The public," she writes, "clearly needs more basic sources that offer straightforward information." Agreed! Which is all the more reason to respect the hunches of the Founding Fathers and keep State, *et al.*, from forming a joint Ministry of Propaganda whose messages would be aimed inward. USIA is specifically forbidden by legislative restrictions to engage in propagandizing the U.S. public, and the other agencies by constitutional implication should operate under the same taboo.

Our best hope in alleviating this problem still lies in the Fourth Estate, not in any government administration and its agencies.

RICHARD PATRICK WILSON
USIA, retired
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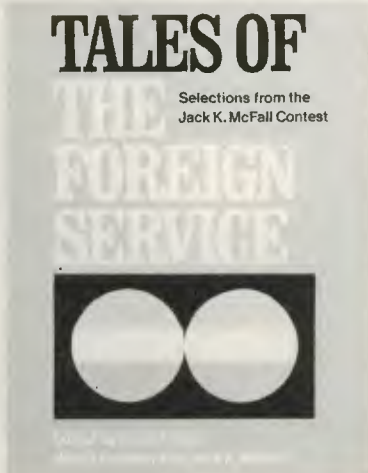
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"hold" period, for any portion of the deposited amount.

I wish I had known about the SDFCU's participation in this consumer rip-off system before relying on it to process our federal income tax payment with reasonable expedition.

STEPHEN E. PALMER JR.
Washington, D.C.

According to Monti Reynolds, director of communications for SDFCU, the credit union does have a hold policy for checks in excess of \$5000, but the hold applies from the day of deposit, not

the day the issuing bank clears the check. Checks drawn on local (Maryland, Virginia, District) banks are held for clearance up to six working days, checks on other banks up to eight working days. The client is informed of this at the time of the transaction, and dividends accrue from the day of deposit. Funds from deposits of less than \$5000 are available immediately. The credit union indeed will assess a \$10 fee on checks drawing on uncleared funds, but only if overdraft arrangements have not been made or have been exhausted. — ED.

Developing Articles

Though I am sure that you and your Editorial Board are as interested in development topics as in other subjects, the *Foreign Service Journal* tends to be skewed toward diplomatic, political, and international relations articles. This probably is because fewer articles on development are submitted to you. I appeal then through your LETTERS column for those of us with development interests to submit such articles.

It certainly is true that we need a reasonable forum for a discussion on development, since the official publications of the Agency for International Development are primarily for public relations purposes and do not reflect the sincere thinking that has to be going on in our field.

So, development experts, please submit articles to the *Foreign Service Journal*.

CHARLES B. GREEN
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Query

Would any members of the Association, or other readers of the *Journal*, know of objective, narrative, or evaluative writings about:

The first years (approximately 1943–45) of the UNRRA Balkan Mission (in Cairo), or the first years (approximately 1944–46) of the UNRRA Mission to Greece?

The first year (approximately 1950–53) of the TCA (Technical Cooperation Administration, later FOA and still later AID) Mission to Iraq?

On UNRRA, I know of the in-house, three-volume history by Woodbridge, and the small report by Rooke. And, with regard to TCA in Iraq, with Ned Bayne's (American Universities Field Staff) May 6, 1955, letter titled "Boom Town on the Tigris."

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BOOK REVIEWS

Assessing History

AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY: *Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations*. By Jerald G. Combs. University of California Press, 1983. \$36.

In Western culture at least, history is plastic. Present experience always conditions, and often determines, our understanding of the past. Each generation therefore rewrites its history, reinventing its past in order to understand, justify, and endure its present. In this valuable extended bibliographical essay, Professor Combs expertly describes how succeeding generations of Americans have interpreted, revised, and reinterpreted their diplomatic history to suit the needs of their present. Combs divides U.S. history into six historiographical periods, each punctuated by a major war that catalyzed popular and scholarly opinion on foreign policy issues.

In the period from independence to the 1890s, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War were the critical military events. Public debate centered on whether the United States should remain neutral or involve itself in European affairs, and how the government should manage the pressures for westward expansion. Historians tended to favor neutrality and support continental expansion.

During the "age of imperialism" from 1898 to World War I, the problems of overseas expansion and colonialism dominated contemporary debate, and the Spanish-American War was the key conflict that galvanized public and historical opinion. In this period U.S. expansion and activism in world affairs was viewed more sympathetically than before. But after World War I, the frustration that attended our Wilsonian plunge into world politics led to a more positive reassessment of neutrality and a revival of isolationism.

In the "age of Munich," from 1939 to 1965, historians were influenced by the American experience in World War II and generally defended U.S. interventionism, increased military responsibilities, and leadership of anti-Soviet alliances. This period nonetheless witnessed the birth of cold war revisionism, which was critical of those same trends. Finally, the "age of

Vietnam" has seen generally left-wing revisionist scholars concentrate their fire on the U.S. role in the cold war while more centrist critics focused on earlier periods.

A second edition would be welcome, including a complete bibliography and a conclusion to synthesize and summarize Combs's extensive research and prudent scholarship. In any case, this able guide to the endless historiographical dialectic of orthodoxy, revision, and neo-orthodoxy belongs in the library of anyone seriously interested in the U.S. role in world affairs—present as well as past.

—LOUIS JOHN NIGRO

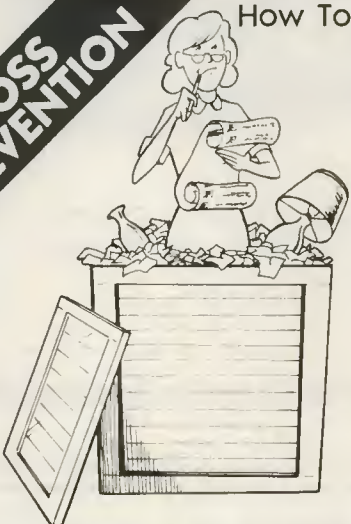
Lebanon's Horrors

GOING ALL THE WAY. By Jonathan C. Randal. Viking Press, 1983. \$16.75.

THE REPUBLIC OF LEBANON: *Nation in Jeopardy*. By David C. Gordon. Westview Press, 1983. \$18.50.

Recent developments in Lebanon have placed that nation at the forefront of international affairs and have resulted in a spate of books. Two of the best are *Going All The Way* by Jonathan Randal and David Gordon's *The Republic of Lebanon*.

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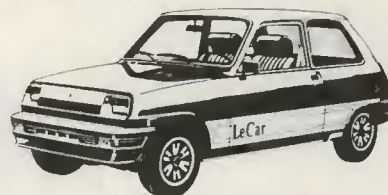
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Of the two, Randal's makes far more fascinating reading. The author, a *Washington Post* correspondent, covered both the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war and the 1982 Israeli incursion into Lebanon and knows the intimate details of those events as well as the gossip of Lebanese politics. His book, written in journalistic style, is as entertaining as any novel, but has the additional advantage of providing many insights into the Lebanese situation.

Unfortunately, it is also highly partisan, blaming primarily the Lebanese Maronite Christians and secondarily the Israelis for virtually every evil that ever has, is now, or ever will befall that unlucky nation. It is not that Randal is blind to the contributions of the Lebanese Moslems and the Palestine Liberation Organization to the country's difficulties. Rather, as someone who admittedly fell in love with the Lebanon that existed prior to the civil war, his commentary is reminiscent of the exasperation expressed by a frustrated parent after a particularly trying day with a loved but difficult offspring.

If Randal's book is remarkable for its vivid writing style and colorful anecdotes, *The Republic of Lebanon* is extremely useful because of the wealth of information it conveniently assembles. David Gordon, a professor of history at Wright State University in Ohio, has compiled a volume that is interesting to read despite the detailed nature of the presentation. A slim book of only 171 pages, it shares with the other works in this excellent Westview Press profile series on Mideastern countries the distinction of constituting a bargain both for the reference library and the individual in terms of cost and shelf space.

Both volumes contain useful indexes, but Gordon's includes handy footnotes that facilitate additional research and much more data on economics and population. Nor does it exclude colorful anecdotes of the type found in Randal, for example, former Lebanese President Camille Chamoun's description of his arch-rival, Druze leader Kamal Jumblatt, as "a difficult and sinister person." However, Gordon never succumbs to the temptation to moralize or condemn any of the parties involved.

Both books are highly recommended to anyone interested in Lebanese affairs. Additionally, the Randal book will entertain most general readers who are not put off by the author's lack of objectivity. If the horrors which are taking place in Lebanon are almost too awful to contemplate, they at least have the distinction of being recorded so that future generations can hopefully avoid their repetition.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

Fictional Diplomats

THE LONDON EMBASSY. By Paul Theroux.
Houghton Mifflin Co., 1983.

When diplomats are put through the fiction mill, they undergo a curious transformation. Their biographies and memoirs, even when splendidly inaccurate, retain vestiges of the real world, but once the novelist takes charge, they become angels or devils, bearing their luminous wings in an international void. Who can believe in the fevered caricatures of Lawrence Durrell, or even in Sir Samson Courteney and the other charming incompetents of Evelyn Waugh? Harold Nicolson, it is true, bridges the gap: on one side, we find admirable portraits of his father and Lord Curzon, and on the other, the protagonists of *Some People*, where the imaginary and the comic coalesce so brilliantly with the realities of public life.

Despite its title, *The London Embassy* bears little relation to the men and women who occupy Saarinen's building in Grosvenor Square. After the first pages, one realizes that it is a collection of short stories of varying plausibility about mythical creatures. (An exception is the amusing and acid vignette of Mrs. Thatcher and her husband at an embassy dinner.) These tales are drawn into a semblance of unity by the device of the first-person narrator, whose search for fulfillment finds a happy ending in his marriage.

At the summit of his embassy hierarchy, Theroux has sketched a blow-hard political ambassador of purest cardboard, and his toadying DCM, both stock figures in the diplomatic *commedia dell'arte*. Around them cluster a regional projects officer who beats his wife with a cucumber; a philistine cultural attaché and his equally repulsive family; a skeletal commercial officer who finds—but only partially—her sexual compensations in the worship of cats; and a host of satellites. Few of them perform any recognizable diplomatic functions, but that is beside the point. The locals are equally burlesque, though often drawn with a shrewdly biting edge.

These Gothic figures are manipulated with a mastery of suspense. One follows breathlessly the unmasking of an avaricious peeress, the adventures of two endearing homosexuals and their load of antiques, the American's revenge on a hippy, and the fuss over Charlie Hogle's earring. In other stories, which it is kinder not to particularize, the situations are so contrived, the clues so obvious, that disbelief is not suspended for a single second. But if one accepts these tales for what they are—a clever pastiche of the fantastic, conjured

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Theroux's earlier work demonstrates that he deals best with primitives—what V.S. Naipaul calls the bow-and-arrow men of our time. In an admirable passage, the narrator speaks of his previous career "in second-floor offices in Africa, in Malaysia, in London," from whose windows he had watched "lovers strolling on the ground, or people smiling at nothing." One wishes that Theroux would stay closer to those second-floor windows: the view may be less high-toned than the ones from Grosvenor Square, but the figures who occupy the scene may turn out to wear better than the marionettes with whom he has chosen to people the American embassy.

—JOHN BOVEY

Repression & Education

HIGHER EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, AND REPRESSIVE REGIMES, *By Jeffrey M. Puryear. Ford Foundation, 1983.*

How can development assistance organizations function in countries with repressive regimes? In a very readable 29-page essay, Puryear, senior program officer in the Ford Foundation's Developing Countries Pro-

gram, offers appropriate responses for development agencies confronted by repression. His effort is particularly welcome at a time when many view U.S. foreign policy as skirting this issue.

Using the southern cone of Latin America (where Puryear served the foundation from 1973-78) as a case study, the author calls upon his personal experience in dealing with the techniques of repression in the area of higher education. He seeks to present a middle ground between collaboration with and subversion of the regime, permitting the development agency to continue pursuing its longterm social and human goals without becoming enmeshed in national politics. Although Puryear does not recommend continued participation at all costs in all situations, some may question to what extent these programs ameliorate conditions in these countries. Furthermore, he fails to consider U.S. domestic constraints on overseas operations.

Puryear argues convincingly that once the decision is made to continue operations within a repressive environment, the aid agency should pursue a three-track approach. First, it should take immediate measures to save and relocate the nation's best academic talent. Second, it should use its influence to assist those academics who choose to remain. Finally, it should offer

longer-term support for traditional academic pursuits within new structures such as independent research centers. He concludes that such an approach can be applied to help sustain pluralistic academic work in countries that rightly control intellectual endeavors.

This monograph not only provides the reader with valuable insights into philanthropic decision-making but also raises important policy issues. Also attractive is its price—it is free on request from the Ford Foundation, 320 East 43rd Street, New York, New York 10017.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

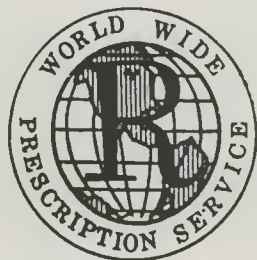
Trading with the East

EAST-WEST TRADE AT A CROSSROADS. *By Armin Gutowski, Michiya Matsukawa, and Robert V. Roosa. Trilateral Commission, New York University Press, 1982.*

The Reagan administration, by ending the grain boycott and at the same time pushing for tougher controls on the export of technology to the Soviet Union, has made the issue of East-West trade more visible than at any time since the Jackson-Vanik and Stevenson amendments were added to the 1974 Trade Act. Yet, this slim volume, originally a report to the Trilateral

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
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Commission, is one of very few treatments of this subject longer than an op-ed piece.

The authors contend that restrictions on trade, such as the recent grain and pipeline-equipment embargoes, do more harm than good; little damage is done to the Soviet economy nor are Soviet policies likely to be changed, but the United States' standing as a reliable trading partner and its relations with its allies can be adversely affected. The book recognizes the need for monitoring and restraining trade involving military technology and recommends that COCOM be established as a formal organization with a permanent staff. But the overall thrust is that if trade between East and West is allowed to proceed in an unfettered manner, all participants will benefit.

This leads the authors to contend naively that increased trade will enable the Eastern countries to improve their economies enough to expand their export production and maintain an overall trade balance. Although they are correct in recognizing Eastern debt levels as a major inhibiting factor on trade, they ignore the failure of the Eastern governments to use the relatively high trade levels of the past to develop export sectors. Nor do the authors adequately answer those critics who, writing in the appendix, clamor for a political

"strategy" for East-West trade. Is it possible to influence the direction of Eastern economic development? By varying interest rates, for example, could one entice the CMEA members to supply basic economic statistics? The political dimension of East-West trade should not be ignored.

Despite its shortcomings, the book provides much useful information on the directions, levels, and content of trade. If one recognizes that the book presents—albeit very cogently—only one side of the debate, it is certainly worth reading.

—FRANCES G. BURWELL

Deerfield Park

UP IN THE PARK: *The Diary of the Wife of the American Ambassador to Ireland, 1977–1981.* By Elizabeth Shannon. Atheneum Press, 1983. \$17.95.

This book is not—as one might suppose from reading just the first 15 or 20 pages—another wide-eyed memoir by a political ambassador's wife oohing and aahing over matters a career wife would take in stride. Elizabeth and William Shannon were not heavy contributors to President Jimmy Carter's campaign but journalists, he an editorial writer for the *New York Times*, she a free-lance education

writer. Both were of Irish descent, with some knowledge of the country. Both were bent on covering this tour of duty in Dublin as the biggest story to date of their own and their three sons' lives.

"I will play my role with energy and try to leave my mark. I will not leave Ireland known merely as the ambassador's wife." This was the first of eight commandments Liz Shannon laid down for herself as she started her diary. In this regard she was undoubtedly successful.

Ireland, according to the author, is the post most asked for by political ambassadors, especially those who have visited the 1776-vintage white Georgian mansion set in deer-filled Phoenix Park—the largest urban park in Europe, which the American embassy residence shares only with the homes of the president of Ireland and the papal nuncio. Like her predecessors, Liz Shannon plunged into redecorating the venerable embassy (she started first with the staff's rooms) and vowed to try to give the most memorable entertainments in Dublin. She also researched and had published by the Heritage series a history of the residence up until it was purchased by the U.S. government in 1927.

Traveling widely with her husband, who made it a point to visit every county, she reports with insight, wit, and some

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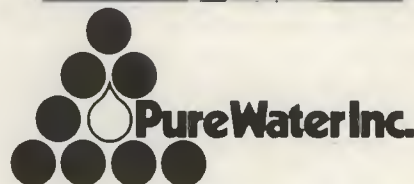
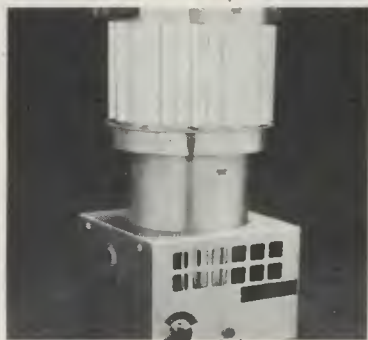
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criticism her views of Ireland and Irish life. She herself spoke often and, as an outspoken feminist, had speakers like Betty Friedan and the late Barbara Watson talk to Irish audiences. She inaugurated an annual luncheon at the embassy for the itinerant girls of Galway—the untouchables of Ireland. And she became deeply involved in her sons' Irish schools. Along the way, she also learned Gaelic. When early on she got a publisher for her diary-in-the-making, that expanded an already frenetic schedule.

Along the way, she praises the strong family feeling, the wit, and deeply imaginative soul of the Irish, but gently criticizes the chauvinism of Irish men, the conservatism and blandness of food and dress, the school system which still practices corporal punishment, and an alcohol consumption that is the highest in the world. Highlights of the Shannons' tour were the papal visit and the stopover of our hostages homeward-bound from Iran.

Since it is a diary, there are some personal and family details of interest only to the Shannons' wide circles of friends and professional contacts. But like an earlier book written by a political ambassador's wife (Cynthia Helms's *An Ambassador's Wife in Iran*), this book makes a candid, often unreported, contribution to the story of our diplomacy abroad.

—DOROTHY AMES MARKS

Books in Brief . . .

THE ISLAMIC STRUGGLE IN SYRIA. By Umar F. Abd-Allah. Mizab Press, 1983. \$24.95. This work by an exile leader of the Syrian Islamic Front is essentially a polemic against the Baathist regime of Syrian President Hafiz Assad, in which the author accuses Assad of cruelly repressing the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria. Despite its lack of objectivity, it will be of interest to the expert on Syrian political affairs.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

THE MUSES FLEE HITLER: Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, 1930-45. Edited by Jarvel C. Jackman and Carla M. Boyden. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983. \$8.95. A rather uneven (and sometimes poorly edited) set of essays on emigration and famous emigrants from Nazi Germany. Although the American humanitarian record is not without blemish, the policies of other countries, notably Canada and Switzerland, were far worse. The emigration experience, notes H. Stuart Hughes, deprovincialized America. Although omitting some notables, this book documents the emigrants' contributions to knowledge and culture around the world.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

BOOK ESSAY

Surveying the Soviet Scene

AFTER BREZHNEV: Sources of Soviet Conduct in the 1980s. Edited by Robert F. Byrnes. Indiana University Press, in association with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1983. \$25.

THE ANDROPOV FILE. By Martin Ebon. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1983. \$16.95.

ANDROPOV: New Challenge to the West. By Arnold Beichman and Mikhail S. Bernstein. Stein and Day, 1983. \$16.95.

DANGEROUS RELATIONS. By Adam B. Ulam. Oxford University Press, 1983. \$25.

SOVIET POLICY FOR THE 1980s. Edited by Archie Brown and Michael Kaser. Indiana University Press, 1982. \$19.50.

THE SOVIET VIEWPOINT. By Georgi Arbatov and Willem Oltmans. Dodd, Mead, 1983. \$13.95.

TRACKS OF THE BEAR: Soviet Imprints in the Seventies. By Edgar O'Ballance. Presidio Press, 1982. \$15.95.

Regulating our relations with the Soviet Union is a theme which rightfully should command the attention of all concerned Americans. We are at a critical juncture in world history, for a new leadership in Moscow is still in its shake-down phase. We are still uncertain whether the Andropov era will bode good or ill for stability and a lessening of tension in a troubled world.

Ever since President Roosevelt recognized the Soviet regime in 1933, our relationship with Moscow has been far from constant and even. It has been essentially one of ups and downs, ranging between euphoria and despair, excessive chumminess and dangerous hostility. Since World War II, the swings of the pendulum in the U.S.-Soviet relationship have stood as stark reminders of this shifting nature: after wartime collaboration came the Stalinization of Eastern Europe; after the 1955 spirit of Geneva came the invasion of Hungary; after Eisenhower's Camp David came the Cuban missile crisis; after the

euphoria of the Glassboro summit came the brutal crushing of Dubček's "Communism with a human face" in Czechoslovakia; and most recently, after the Vienna summit came the invasion of Afghanistan and the suppression of Solidarity in Poland. These swings not only demonstrate our own national tendency to get carried away but also reflect the reality that events over which we have little control—Moscow's moves to preserve the Soviet empire, for example—can adversely affect U.S.-Soviet relations. These experiences should teach us that we will continue to be frustrated in achieving a soundly based relationship with the Soviet Union if we cannot avoid excessive swings in our public mood—from euphoria when things are going well to despair when they are not; from an exaggerated sense of compatibility with the Soviet Union, as in the early Nixon years and during most of the Carter administration, to open expressions of hostility, which, at least until recently, have been the hallmark of the Reagan stewardship.

Finding myself in agreement with Soviet spokesmen has always been a source of uneasiness and discomfiture. But there is no question that the Soviets are right when they maintain that our relations now are at perhaps their lowest ebb since at least the Cuban missile crisis and possibly even the worst days of the cold war. But they are wrong when they insist that the fault is entirely President Reagan's. There is no gainsaying that the president bears part of the blame, primarily because of the intemperate language he has used from time to time in describing the Soviet leadership. (George Kennan has aptly labeled this lack of presidential restraint "demonization" of the men in the Kremlin.) We all recall the line about thieves and liars—true, of course, but that sort of rhetoric should be the tool, not of incumbent presidents, but of others such as former ambassadors. The rather loose talk we heard last year about the possibility of a limited nuclear war scarcely helped calm the atmosphere, nor did the president's emotional appeal at Orlando for a holy war against the evils of communism. But our responsibility for the worsened state of U.S.-Soviet relations is infinitesimal compared to the share of blame that can be legitimately and objectively ascribed to Moscow. Among Soviet actions that have contributed to a worsening of the bilateral atmosphere and to the attendant deterioration in our relations have been the massive arms buildup totally out of proportion to legitimate Soviet defense needs, the invasion of Afghanistan, Moscow's brutal handling of Polish workers striving for a freer and better life under communism, the imprisonment—and

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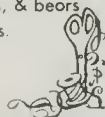
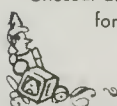
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worse—of dissidents struggling for the same thing within the Soviet Union, the unconscionable use of biological and chemical warfare against the Afghans and others in Southeast Asia, and—some evidence seems to attest—a Bulgarian, and thus a Soviet, role in the attempted assassination of the pope.

But despite the Soviets' aggressive behavior abroad and repressive treatment of their own citizens at home, despite their warped philosophy and my personal distaste for equating them with us (for I regard the Soviet Union as a superpower in only two respects—the enormous amount of real estate they control and the awesome size of their military arsenal), we must deal with the Soviets. We cannot simply ignore them, for we must have a relationship that will permit negotiations on capping the arms race and later reducing our arsenals. We also must be able to discuss ways of avoiding a suicidal confrontation on the regional issues dividing the two countries. But as we progress toward narrowing the communications gap between the Soviets and ourselves, we would make a serious mistake if we contemplated a return to our former pattern of conduct. We should now think of recasting the old way of doing business with Moscow to reflect the cold reality of our relationship—a relationship basically adversarial and competitive, and not at all cooperative or collaborative.

In restructuring our relations with the Soviet Union to reflect this adversarial nature, we should take note of some of the many commentaries on U.S.-Soviet relations now on the booksellers' shelves. In particular, I would like to bring to the reader's attention the analyses of the more notable *literati* among the specialists, both domestic and foreign, on the theme at hand: assessing and dealing with the Soviet threat.

In *Dangerous Relations*, Harvard's Adam Ulam has done his usual workmanlike job updating his *The Rivals: America and Russia since World War II* to cover events over the past dozen years, up to and including the crises in Afghanistan and Poland. Ulam is the most perceptive and prescient of our current Sovietologists in academe, and his analysis of Soviet policies and behavior on the world scene is an indispensable underpinning to any attempt at sensibly sorting priorities in dealing with the threat. Ulam believes—as I do—that while the main source of Soviet foreign policy is not now to be found “in the messianic urge to conquer the earth for communism,” world domination remains Moscow's ultimate aim, “though for reasons having little to do with ideology.” But as Ulam points out, the Kremlin cannot rightly be ac-

cused of recklessness in the pursuit of that goal: “faced with insuperable obstacles, confronted by what they see as unacceptable risks, the Soviet leaders know how to pull back, change their strategy, and wait.” Herein, of course, lies the true prescription for how the West, particularly the United States, should cope with the Soviet threat. In essence, we must be strong militarily, identifying our vital interests and possessing the national will to do what is required to defend those interests against encroachment. And we must ensure that our adversaries know our strength and, more importantly, that they recognize our willingness to use that strength when vitally threatened.

While I agree generally with Ulam's tough-minded approach, I would mildly fault his indictment of the failure of American policymakers “to recognize and bring into play the strength of United States assets” in Angola, during the hostage crisis, and at various stages of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Here, like most academicians, Ulam fails to appreciate adequately the domestic political imperatives and the consequent limitations on maneuver that our system imposes on the policymaker.

An equally useful book for understanding the problems both we and the Soviets face in the 1980s is *After Brezhnev*, a collection of essays by specialists on Eastern Europe edited by Indiana's Robert F. Byrnes. With contributions by such eminent scholars as Seweryn Bialer (*The Political System*), Robert Campbell (*The Economy*), Coit Blacker (*The Military Forces*), Andrzej Korbonski (*Eastern Europe*), and Adam Ulam (*The World Outside*), to name a few, the project under Byrnes seeks to provide a framework through which “the interested citizen and the policymaker can analyze and understand the Soviet Union and the elements that will most affect its policies in the 1980s.” In the process, the book attempts to answer such crucial questions as: Who is likely to rule in the next decade? Will the system and its policies remain as immobile as under Brezhnev, or will there be an effort to meet the threats of economic stagnation, social instability, and general decline? What is the role of the Soviet military in Soviet policymaking? Can the Soviet system cope with the information revolution? What is the Soviet view of the West? And what can the United States and its allies do to affect Soviet power and policy? While there cannot, of course, be unanimity among so many scholars of different persuasions, there does seem to be general agreement on the following principal theses: There is no likelihood that the Soviet Union will be-

come a political democracy or that it will collapse in the near term, and there is very little likelihood that it will become a congenial, peaceful member of the international community in the foreseeable future. As Byrnes writes: "It will instead remain an inherently destabilizing element of the international political system."

An equally good collection of essays on the Soviet Union is *Soviet Policy for the 1980s*, edited by two British scholars, Archie Brown and Michael Kaser. As in the Byrnes collection, Oxford's Brown and Kaser asked the contributors to focus on possible options in Soviet policy and the relative likelihood of change during the coming decade. Their prognoses suffer somewhat from the fact that they were framed early in 1982—that is, before such momentous changes in the Soviet scene as the death of Mikhail Suslov, Andropov's move from the KGB to the Secretariat, the demise of Brezhnev, and the beginning of the Andropov era. The result is a degree of murkiness in the crystal ball—for example, Mikhail Gorbachov is portrayed as the front-runner to replace Brezhnev. But this is perhaps an exaggerated quibble, for the essays, by and large, are well-documented, lucid, and perceptive. The best, in my view, are Brown's and David Holloway's. Brown, in "Leadership Succession and Policy Innovation," concludes that while more of the same cannot be excluded as an option for the coming decade, there are now present two preconditions for a signal shift in policy—an inevitable change in the composition of the top political leadership and the existence of very serious problems in a number of areas of policy. Holloway, in "Foreign and Defence Policy," highlights *inter alia* the contradictions of the Soviet position in the world—on the one hand, expanding power linked to ambitions of playing a global role and even creating a new world order, and on the other hand, foreign policy setbacks, domestic economic difficulties, and the fear of a new encirclement. Both Brown and Holloway—as well as several other essayists—are critical of what they regard as the overly simplistic approach of the Reagan administration toward the Soviet Union, particularly the president's claimed ability to foresee the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union. They wisely point out the flaws in this prognosis: first, that although collapse has been predicted many times since 1917, it has not yet happened and the evidence for it does not appear stronger now than before, and second, that such a prognosis does not solve the problem of how to establish a satisfactory policy toward the Soviet

Union but "merely defines it out of existence."

A less distinguished contribution is *Tracks of the Bear* by Edgar O'Ballance, who is acclaimed on the dustjacket as "an indefatigable researcher" and the author of more than twenty books and innumerable articles for military journals and newspapers. He may be all of these things, but, frankly, to me he was an unknown quantity until this book crossed my desk. O'Ballance does a reasonably competent job of recording the spread of Soviet influence in the past decade from Western Europe through Angola and Afghanistan to Latin America, but in the process he commits such unforgivable mistakes as labeling Sweden as a NATO member and exiling the present Afghan satrap, Babrak Karmal, to Moscow rather than Prague as ambassador. Nonetheless, O'Ballance has a good feel for our Soviet adversary; the Soviets, he says, are "bully boys" who need to be taken down a peg or two, who despise and take advantage of good nature and weakness, and who have to be dealt with as such. And he has good advice for those who must deal with the Soviet threat: American negotiators, he says, must play the Soviets at their own game and win. To do so at times may mean taking the gloves off.

It seems hard to believe, but despite Andropov's brief tenure as Soviet boss, there are already two biographies of the man in print: *The Andropov File* by Martin Ebon and *Andropov: New Challenge to the West* by Arnold Beichman and Mikhail S. Bernstein. In my view, it is much too soon to draw a definitive portrait of Andropov, and the authors of these two books seem to agree, for they confine their efforts for the most part to a review of the available documentation on Andropov's past and shy away from predicting his attitudes and behavior as general secretary of the Communist party. Beichman and Bernstein are less sanguine than Ebon about Andropov's ability to stay the course. They are contemptuous of his abilities—pointing out that he never studied engineering or agronomy, managed a factory, or directed a city or industrial region. They conclude, therefore, that he is utterly unprepared for the job of administering a virtual subcontinent afflicted by enormous social and economic problems "that cry for some solution." They feel Andropov's days are numbered, that he is essentially a transitional functionary, and that the ultimate solution will be "Bonapartism." Ebon is more restrained in his prediction of things to come, although, to a degree, he shares the view that Andropov's reign will be transitional in nature. He points out that the non-Soviet world will be tempted to

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project more of its hopes on the Andropov regime than is realistic. Andropov, at his advanced age, Ebon says, does not have much time. He belongs to an interim generation "still trapped in the adulation of an ideology that does not recognize human nature, that ignores the needs of the human spirit." "Another man, another generation," Ebon concludes "will have a better chance to join the rest of mankind." All of which seems to prove my initial observation—it is too soon to draw a definitive portrait of the current Soviet leader. But what we do know about the man's past—as distinguished from Soviet disinformation—offers little encouragement.

Finally, we have the Soviet view of what is wrong with the world and, particularly, the United States, as set forth by Georgi Arbatov, director of Moscow's Institute of United States and Canadian Studies, in a series of interviews with Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans, now published under the title, *The Soviet Viewpoint*. As I have noted in the *Washington Post* this is the sort of book that gives me an acute case of dyspepsia. This is not because of its content (for, as former Senator William J. Fulbright points out in his introduction, the interviews with Arbatov accurately reflect the official Soviet point of view), but because the book provides the sort of effective propaganda platform for our Soviet adversary in this country that is consistently denied us in the Soviet Union. Arbatov sounds off on a whole gamut of themes ranging from détente through peace and war to the arms race—in effect, on everything that affects U.S. relations with Moscow. He then caps his wide catalog of opinions—none flattering to us, of course—with a few words about the future, reflecting, for the most part, Arbatov's current pessimistic view that unless President Reagan drastically changes his policies and attitudes or unless he departs from the American political scene after one term, time will run out for all of us.

There is, of course, a heavy propagandistic slant to Arbatov's views. But I agree with Fulbright that Arbatov's observations—since despite his disclaimer he is a peddler of the official Soviet line—should be studied carefully by all who focus on the Soviet problem, because "a correct understanding of the Russians, their purposes, and their abilities . . . is the most critical problem facing the nations of the West." It is equally essential to stability and lasting peace for the Soviets to have a clear understanding of our purposes, our abilities, and our concerns. And for this, access to the Soviet people by our spokesmen, as Arbatov has access to us through this book, is essential. —MALCOLM TOON

PLUS ÇA CHANGE . . .

Foreign Service Journal, October 1973:
"There is the story of the FSO stationed in Washington who wanders down to Hains Point, stands at the water's edge, removes a couple of sheets from his pocket, and carefully re-reads them again. He folds the papers and puts them away. Then he proceeds to step out into the water. He sinks and shouts for help as yet another FSO fails to walk on water. Unfortunately, he believed what was written about him in his efficiency report." —THEODORE B. DOBBS

Foreign Service Journal, October 1958:
"The *Journal* notes with satisfaction the successful passage by Congress . . . of a bill to provide a ten percent increase in annuity payments, with a top limit of \$500 and \$250 respectively to retired Foreign Service officers and their widows."

—EDITORIAL

"And then there was the one told me by John Burns, who is currently in Loy Henderson's office: 'A lad, when asked in the orals what feature of the Foreign Service appealed to him most, replied, "Retirement."'" —JAMES B. STEWART

Foreign Service Journal, October 1933:
"For the time being, European languages are used in [the new Arabic states] foreign relations. . . . Be that as it may, they are using Arabic in official intercourse more and more, and on the day literary Arabic and spoken Arabic become for practical purposes one and the same language, we may expect to have to do business in that language." —GORDON P. MERRIAM

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Indigenous Revolution

The Re-establishment of the Traditional Social Order Was a Peculiarly Iranian Response to the Shah

By JOHN LIMBERT

The speed and scope of the Iranian revolution of February 1979 surprised almost everyone. Indeed, the revolutionaries themselves had anticipated at least ten more years of struggle against the monarchy. Three years before the revolution, the Shah still enjoyed the friendship of the world's great powers, his oil income allowed him to undertake an ambitious development program, and his security apparatus kept the opposition weak and disorganized.

Many experts—and some not-so-expert—have tried to explain why a regime with such apparent strength collapsed so quickly and completely. Kings, ambassadors, former presidents, ambassadors' wives, journalists, scholars, government officials, and former hostages have all contributed their views in numerous books and articles. Although some of these works are excellent, well-documented analyses, too few consider the possibility that the revolution and its chaotic aftermath could have been peculiarly Iranian responses to indigenous problems and to conditions rooted in Iranian history

John Limbert is a Foreign Service officer assigned to the faculty of the U.S. Naval Academy. He served as political officer in Teheran, 1979–81. Before joining the Foreign Service he taught in Iranian high schools and universities. The opinions in this article are his own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. government. The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of Parvaneh Limbert and Larry Semakis in preparing this article.

and society. Instead, many of them argue that the real causes of the revolution are to be found outside of Iran, that the revolution was the consequence of actions and decisions by foreign governments and organizations, not by Iranians.

Larger Plan

Indeed, some observers believe that the revolution could never have occurred except as part of a larger plan directed from abroad. Since the Shah's rule depended on continuing foreign support, withdrawal of that support meant the end of his regime. In *Hostage to Khomeini*, for example, Robert Dreyfuss argues that the revolution was directed by a combination of British and Israeli intelligence services. He also claims that the revolution was part of an American plan, sponsored by Zbigniew Brzezinski, to convert Iran and Pakistan into a barrier of Islamic states in southwest Asia which would both resist Soviet advances toward the Persian Gulf oil fields and encourage unrest among Moslems inside the Soviet Union. In a slightly different vein, some Iranian monarchist exiles argue that the western industrial states decided the Shah had to be deposed before he succeeded in transforming Iran into another Japan, which would compete with the West for world markets.

However, for the U.S. government to guide a conspiracy that could direct events as sweeping as those in Iran in 1978–79 would have required a precise degree of planning and coordination that has not existed in the foreign

policy of any recent administration. Indeed, staging an uprising on the scale of the Iranian revolution was beyond the ability of any hypothetical group of foreign conspirators, either inside or outside the U.S. government. Nor can those who claim the revolution was the product of a foreign plot provide a coherent motive for such a conspiracy. The simple fact is that those who are accused of planning the Iranian revolution were also those who lost the most by the downfall of the Shah.

A second, and perhaps more common, explanation for the Iranian revolution is the "thousand clowns" theory. Advocates of this view argue, again, that the revolution was the result of external factors, not internal Iranian conditions. But rather than believing that those external factors were of a conspiratorial nature, they see the revolution as being due to the ill-advised and poorly executed policies of the Carter administration. According to this view, the United States' Iranian policy was in the hands of misguided incompetents who blundered their way into the debacle of the revolution. President Carter's human rights policies and his alleged vacillation in support of the Shah are seen as having encouraged Ayatollah Khomeini's supporters to oppose any accommodation with the monarchy. A coherent U.S. policy would have permitted the Shah to take the firm action necessary to extinguish revolutionary fervor.

But the record does not prove that Iranian policy under the Carter admin-

istration was run by bumblers. Whatever one's opinion of the Carter policies—and there is much to criticize—any explanations centering on Washington's bureaucratic politics or shortsightedness are based on the questionable assumption that the key to Iranian events lay not in Teheran but in Washington. But, how much influence could Washington exert over Iranian events? Would a more enlightened U.S. policy have changed the outcome? To put the questions hypothetically: If there had been 25 years of a U.S. embassy staffed by well-informed, Persian-speaking officers . . . if these officers had been free to report events honestly . . . if their reports and other evidence had been intelligently analyzed in Washington . . . and if all of this analysis and reporting had received attention from officials with a role in making policy . . . would events in Iran have moved in a more beneficial direction?

The idea of the Iranian revolution as a foreign product will die hard. Iranians who see their country as an historical victim of powerful and hostile outside forces will view the revolution as another case of the great powers' determining the fate of a weaker people. In the United States, those who see what they call "the big picture" and like to draw sweeping lines on maps may be unable to accept that there are limits on our ability to direct events on the streets of Teheran, Cairo, or other world capitals. Those who suggest that greater force, applied with American encouragement, could have saved the Shah have forgotten that by late 1978 such a course of action was no longer possible. By that time months of bloodshed and street violence had already undermined the Iranian military's loyalty to the Shah.

Outside Forces

Outside forces could influence, but not direct, Iranian events. Our incomplete knowledge of the Iranian revolution suggests that it was the result of Iranian conditions, that it took its direction from the ancient history and rich culture of that nation. For centuries, Iran has had to cope with historical disasters and political weakness in a hostile world. The Pahlavis attempted

to conceal an unpleasant and inconvenient reality by building an elaborate facade of development and modernity. The Shah's oil income and his foreign and foreign-trained advisers encouraged him to plan a fantasy world of skyscrapers, super-highways, and planned communities inhabited by secular, "modern" citizens for whom Islam would be of little importance. In reality, the majority of Iranians wanted no part of the Shah's visions. They remained attached to that Islamic part of Iranian culture which the Shah considered backward and threatening, the relic of an unenlightened past.

Part of that past has been *farr*, or royal charisma. For 25 centuries, *farr* has been a prerequisite of Iranian kingship, a sign of divine favor for those with a legitimate right to rule. But the numerous statues and pictures of the Shah and the nauseating fawning of Iranian and foreign opportunists could not change one simple truth: the Shah lacked *farr*. He was a poor speaker, unable to relate to his people except in the most rigid and pompous manner. His dynastic pretensions were tainted by his associations with the Americans and his father's with the British. And, since he lacked the traditional characteristics of royal legitimacy, even the Shah's positive actions were viewed with suspicion and mistrust.

Because the Shah pretended that Islam did not exist as a cultural force, his regime took on the appearance of modernity, stability, and power. With the advantage of hindsight, it is clear that this strength and power was a deceptive facade of pseudo-westernization, decorated by expensive, imported ornaments. The *avant-garde* arts festivals, the nightclubs, the restaurants, and the fine hotels of north Teheran were all part of a show staged to mislead the gullible and the foreigner—the visiting congressman, the diplomat, and perhaps even the Shah himself—into thinking of Iran as something it was not.

The reality of Iran lay elsewhere: in the bazaars, the mosques, and among people far removed from the royal court and technocrats who thought they were running the country. One center of reality was in the thousands of bright, motivated young men and

women who came to the cities and universities from devout, lower-middle class families in the provincial towns. These young people found a chaotic, materialistic society which openly ridiculed their religious beliefs, their social customs, and the values of their homes, families, and towns. Their response was not to patronize the hotels and nightclubs (most could not afford them). Instead they met together and discussed what they had seen, always trying to escape the watchful eyes of the Shah's secret police.

Internal Corruption

In the view of these young people, the Shah's regime was foisting three evils on Iran. First, the uncritical imitation of foreign ways in education, society, and culture was debasing traditional Islamic and Iranian values. Students studied from texts borrowed from Europe and the United States and translated unchanged with no acknowledgement that these lessons should be modified in an Iranian environment. Many young Iranians saw their country as a dumping ground for toxic waste from the West—its pornography, alcohol, and overpriced luxury goods. They saw their country degraded to the point that a foreigner could drive his motorcycle through a mosque while collecting extra hardship pay the Iranians called "barbarism allowance" (*baqq-e-tavabbosh*). The Shah's plans for his "great civilization" would, they feared, exclude those Iranians who followed their national traditions and force them to become imitation Europeans. Iranians were becoming alienated from their roots without gaining any understanding of western political values, social aspirations, or the scientific bases of technology.

Second, these young people saw pseudo-development and waste of their national resources. Money was spent on luxury housing, bowling alleys, well-equipped hospitals for the rich, and on factories that produced goods most Iranians could not afford. Iranian universities developed costly affiliations with foreign institutions that granted honorary degrees to royal family members. The gap between the facilities available to rich and poor

seemed to increase until the former could shop in Europe and the latter had to stand in line for onions.

Third, there was corruption and incompetence among the rulers, who treated the national wealth as their private property to loot and mismanage. Although everyone in Iran knew about corruption, many outsiders mistook the absence of public protest for acquiescence. Such an attitude assumed that Iranians were such a degraded people that they would somehow accept being robbed. On this issue, the young people found allies among technocrats, military officers, and civil servants, who, ironically, had been in the regime's favor and benefited materially from its policies. The corruption, venality, and arbitrary misrule of the monarchy had made its natural supporters either indifferent or hostile.

These young Iranians could not speak out against the Shah in public, but they did not remain passive in the face of what they believed was the destruction of their culture. Some, like the late Azarbaijani teacher and writer Samad Behrangi, turned to Marxism, accepting its view of religion as the opiate of the masses. Others, like the *Cheriks*, tried urban and rural guerrilla warfare and were suppressed by the regime, often with the cooperation of the population.

Inside Influences

Many others, however, were influenced by the late Khorasani teacher and scholar Ali Shari'ati, author of *Return to the Self: To Which Self?* They sought salvation in an activist Islam in which previously neutral acts like prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage became charged with political meaning and defiance. Shari'ati's ideas were simple and attractive. Why follow an alien ideology such as Marxism, he asked, when Islam itself, firmly rooted in Iranian earth, preaches social justice and human equality? He argued that it is the duty of every Moslem to oppose the ruler or system that does not uphold these values. In Shari'ati's analysis, Shi'a Islam became an ideology of revolution and social justice. For example, to Shari'ati, the Shi'ite principle of *entezar*, expectation of the promised messiah, was not passive waiting;

rather, it was the time for organizing underground resistance in preparation for the call to rise against oppression. For Shari'ati's disciples, training in guerrilla warfare and storing caches of arms became a principle of Shi'ite faith.

Although the chroniclers have recorded the strikes and violence of the revolution, its causes are still cloudy and its ending still uncertain. When disturbances began in early 1978, the facade of royal stability and power fell apart sooner than anyone, including the revolutionaries themselves, had predicted. In place of that facade emerged the hostility and resentment carried by Iranians at having been forced to deny the value of their cultural identity and considered too helpless to object to a parasitic system. Per-

The change has enabled Iranians to identify with a system that, for all its chaos, brutality, and inefficiency, is at least seen as theirs

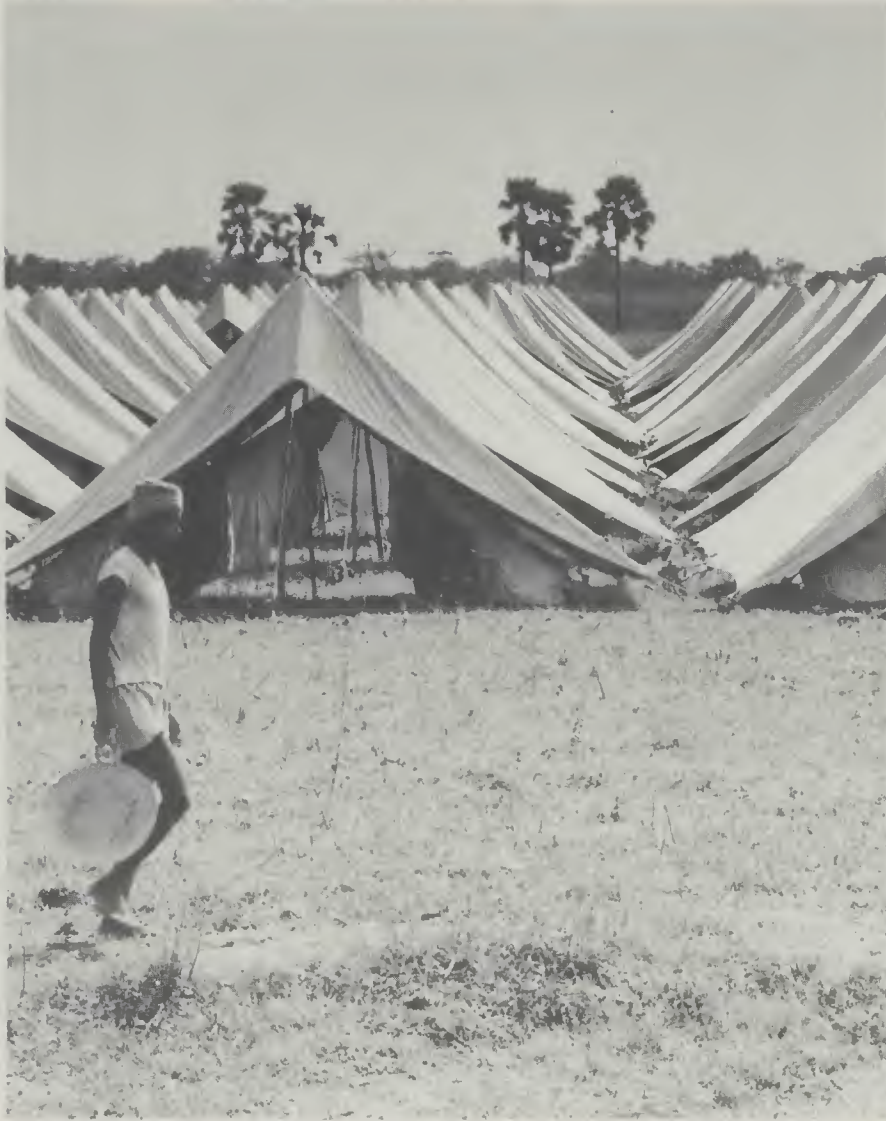
haps more damaging to the regime than outright enmity, however, was the indifference of those Iranians who had benefited from the Shah's policies. By 1978, many of those professionals, civil servants, and officers whom the Shah thought were successfully co-opted were in fact disgusted at the corruption, greed, and brutality of his regime. They believed they could help overthrow the monarchy, preserve their economic and social privileges, and dominate any successor regime by virtue of their superior educations and technical skills. Although they had previously supported the Shah against what he called the "black reaction" of the Islamic clerics and their followers, they now stood quietly by and watched the collapse of his house of cards.

In the past four years the revolution has taken a convoluted, unpredictable path very different from that its middle-class supporters expected. The revolution has survived despite the expectations of many Iranian and foreign experts who believed it would collapse under the shocks of war, shortages, ethnic separatism, political isolation, and urban guerrilla struggle. Many original supporters—the National Front, the *Mojahedin*, and the *Tudeh*—have been silenced, forced into exile, imprisoned, and executed. The chances for the creation of a democratic Iranian society have faded as power is increasingly concentrated in the hands of the most slavish followers of Khomeini's idiosyncratic vision of Islam.

In a sense the revolution has set a brutal, humorless present at war with the nation's own past, especially its traditions of culture, intellectual curiosity, and tolerance of human diversity. Nevertheless, many of the original drives behind the revolution are still active. If the revolution was a response to Shari'ati's call for a "return to the self," then the ensuing struggles have been over the answer to his next question, "Which self?" Which version of Iran and Islam will prevail? The dominant strain today is anti-intellectual, intolerant, strident, and repugnant to many middle-class supporters of the revolution who now claim they never intended to replace the Shah's parasitic monarchy with Khomeini's holy fascism. But for the present, Khomeini's version rules and shows few signs of weakening. Although the young people who filled the streets in 1978 calling for independence, freedom, and an Islamic republic may not have received exactly what they anticipated, the regime still commands enough loyalty to fight a war, feed its people, and operate a sort of government. The flight of middle-class professionals, the drop in oil production, and the loss of American military and civilian technology has not brought the country to collapse.

Although some of the original young revolutionaries have joined opposition groups such as the *Mojahedin*, who denounce the Khomeini regime as reactionary and bourgeois, the revolu-

(Continued on page 35.)



Thousands of empty tents in India await nearly 10 million refugees from Bangladesh.

Consular Affairs and International Politics

Decision-makers can ignore the foreign policy aspects of people movements only at considerable peril

By ROBERT E. FRITTS

Only occasionally important in the past, the foreign policy aspects of consular issues—or the consular aspects of foreign policy issues—have become much more prominent and complex. The movements of peoples—voluntary and forced, individual and mass, legal and illegal—and the conflicts they generate have increasingly important international political consequences. Migrations, once considered brief, isolated events, occur today on every continent. Asylum cases, such as that of the Chinese tennis player Hu Na, can have wideranging repercussions. In today's world consular issues must be considered before foreign policy choices are made, as Michael Teitelbaum has noted, or we will surely have to confront the aftermath.

Access to the United States can be the most frequent and volatile problem affecting relations with our neighbors. This is true not only with Cuba, Haiti, and Mexico but also with countries farther abroad such as the Philippines and South Korea. For a vast array of other nations—India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Vietnam, Kampuchea, the Soviet Union, the ASEAN states, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Ghana—migrations are not only problems in themselves but can also exacerbate others. Potential major migration conflicts are obvious in Central America and Lebanon. The Palestinian problem began and is sustained by migration factors. In every case, these movements directly or indirectly affect U.S. political, economic, and military interests.

In addition, hundreds of U.S. visa cases every year raise foreign policy issues. The refusal of several hundred visas in 1982 to potential demonstrators at the UN Special Session on Dis-

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armament is one example. Other recent cases include Ulster and IRA applicants, homeland officials from South Africa, Eastern European church leaders, Latin American intellectuals, and dissidents of various types from all parts of the globe. The issuance or refusal of a visa to a prominent person can embroil the United States in contentious issues not only with a particular country and its neighbors but with congressional and private American interests as well.

Widespread Misconception

There is a widespread misconception in the Foreign Service that the Immigration and Nationality Act regulates American "immigration." Actually, the United States has no comprehensive policy to guide the overall entry of foreigners. Instead, it has a variety of laws enacted at various periods to cover differing circumstances.

There are five ways for foreigners to come here, three legal and two illegal. The first legal channel is by *visa*, as guided by an increasingly out-moded INA, which dates from 1952 with significant amendments in 1965 and 1976-78. Its complex provisions, as interpreted by various courts, make it increasingly difficult to apply. In many posts, the "rules" are a major focus of consular work. They are used in the 425,000 immigrant visas and 6-8 million non-immigrant visas issued each year. At least half of the non-immigrant workload, however, is pro forma and unnecessary. Why should we devote the same resources to screening applicants of nationalities who nearly always return home as to screening those who would stay illegally? There is a good prospect that Congress will finally permit the Bureau of Consular Affairs to waive visas for nationals of countries with a history of visa integrity. In doing so, the United States can remove a vexatious anomaly for

some of our closest allies and friends, whose citizens must get a U.S. visa even though those countries do not require them for American travelers. A waiver would also empower CA to offer reciprocity in seeking the removal of visa requirements for Americans going to countries, such as Japan, which currently require them only because the United States does.

The second legal channel is as a *refugee*. Under the aegis of the Refugee Act of 1980, consuls process all refugees—except in Southeast Asia, where the consular role nonetheless is increasing. CA and the Bureau for Refugee Programs consult—and sometimes collide—on a number of refugee-related issues in gray areas. CA tries as a matter of principle to avoid documenting a person as a refugee who is eligible for a visa.

The third legal channel is *asylum*. Revised in 1980, this process has nearly collapsed under the weight of a 170,000-case backlog occasioned, in part, by a booming use of asylum claims to avoid deportation. Although the Immigration and Naturalization Service has the final decision on asylum cases, the Department of State, particularly the Bureau for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, is a prime adviser. Whether for an individual (Hu Na from China) or for a nationality (Salvadorans), asylum applications have foreign policy repercussions and domestic political impact.

Illegally, there are two modes of entry. The first is *mass arrival*, which has two types. In *forced departure*, a state expels large numbers of its nationals to rid itself of dissidents and create tensions in adversarial neighbors. A recent example is the expulsion of more than 100,000 Cubans from Mariel in 1979-80. Others are the recent departure of West Africans from Nigeria and the continuing tragedy of boat people and land refugees in Southeast

Asia. The second kind of mass arrival is *desperation flight*, in which large groups flee a country to seek a better life. In CA's view, that is the plight of about 40,000 Haitians (though that interpretation has been challenged). For both types, it has become apparent that other countries have an increasing capability to make immigration policy for us. Realization of this has led the administration and some members of Congress to consider expanding executive powers in the case of an immigration emergency.

The second illegal mode of entry, also the oldest and most popular, is *Shank's mare* or *walk-across-the-border*. Some think that about 1½ million illegals enter the United States each year by this method and 1 million depart in a seasonal migration pattern that leaves a net half-million addition.

Estimates of the total illegal population in the United States range from 2-12 million. One result of such figures is to shatter any illusion that consular scrutiny, in issuing millions of visas, is somehow enforcing strict standards on immigration. Persons who can qualify for a visa do so. Those who can't find other ways to get here.

Coveted Commodity

Access to the United States has become one of the most coveted commodities in the world. Its value relative to traditional commodities and collectibles continues to rise. Both the Reagan administration and Congress have thus recognized the need for a national consensus on these new immigration issues. In CA, we helped stimulate and have firmly supported the administration's attempt at immigration reform and the current attention in Congress to the Simpson and Mazoli immigration bills. The breadth and depth of the debates demonstrate the adage that entry into the United States is a seamless web of foreign and

domestic policy interactions. State's high profile on Capitol Hill, within the administration, and with domestic interest groups on such issues as sanctions against employers of illegal immigrants and the phased legalization of these immigrants has surprised traditionalists. State's interest, of course, comes from the fact that it has to deal with the foreign policy aspects of these problems without the guidance of an overall policy and legal structure. Until there is a national view as expressed in legislation on a comprehensive approach to all forms of foreign entry, our foreign policy responses to migration challenges will continue to be after the event, ad hoc, inconsistent, and unduly contentious. Our ability to conduct foreign affairs effectively will thus be needlessly limited.

Consular concerns outside the immediate scope of immigration policy can also become foreign policy issues. Will issuing a travel warning on Country X cause hostile reactions or accelerate instability? Will restricting passports for travel to certain countries protect Americans or increase their danger? Will preparations for the evacuation of the American community from a country disrupt a peace process by indicating lack of U.S. confidence in the outcome? Even if it does, to what degree can an administration countenance putting private American lives and property at possibly greater risk by delays in evacuation preparations? Thus, virtually any consular act can become a foreign policy issue. It can create controversy and attract congressional or public criticism. Frequently, it will do all of the above.

Considerable Peril

These cases and immigration issues can be treated "only as consular" at considerable peril. Ambassadors, deputy chiefs of mission, and assistant secretaries have faced serious public and foreign policy problems because of "people movement" or "service" issues that need consular knowledge, recommendations, and policy sense. Properly trained and motivated, consuls can provide early warning on potential migrations and their effects. They can recommend policies based on analyses of migration factors, their short-term

effects and longer-term policy consequences.

Consular issues could also have a favorable domestic impact on foreign policy, but when I was senior deputy assistant secretary for consular affairs I was singularly unsuccessful in convincing anyone of sufficient authority to recognize and exploit consular assets by emphasizing them to the public and Congress. Efforts to do so created what became known as the Strike Four Memo, so titled because it was sent with minor revisions to the doorkeepers of Secretaries Vance, Muskie, Haig, and Shultz without, as yet, discernible reaction. The thesis is simple if unconventional: State has a large, sympathetic (if diffuse) constituency throughout the country and in Congress that could, over the long run, be translated into foreign policy support.

The usual public image of the State Department is that of an ivory tower staffed by bureaucrats responsive to foreign "clients" rather than American interests and concerned with esoteric nuances of dubious value to individual citizens. Though false, the attitude is pervasive. This is true because most Americans don't deal with State on arms talks or Mideast peace. Any favorable impact of a policy is usually abstract and long term.

Consuls, however, do have direct contact with American citizens. The figures are impressive: Consular services average nearly 14 million contacts per year. The bureau issues more than 4 million passports to verified American citizens, generating revenues in excess of \$150 million. Consuls screen 6-10 million foreigners wishing to enter the United States, thereby arranging for the lawful entry of those 425,000 immigrants (more than 80 percent have American relatives) and 6-8 million non-immigrant visitors. These activities consume 15-20 percent of the department's total financial and personnel resources.

Consuls provide more services to Americans abroad and their relatives and friends at home than any other country in the world does for its nationals. During 1982, for examples, consuls assisted the next of kin in the United States of more than 6000 Americans who died abroad. They

handled \$3 million in private and public funds for transfers to more than 5800 distressed Americans abroad. They looked for some 172,000 Americans missing or in difficulty, assisted and protected about 5500 arrested Americans, visited 1500 imprisoned Americans, handled 21,000 estate and property claims, facilitated more than 3500 hospital illness cases, executed more than 800,000 notariats, and handled nearly 900,000 cases for other agencies.

Personal Contact

Each of these involved a personal consular contact—in some cases taking minutes, in others hours or months or, in a few cases, even years. Some incidents are dangerous and traumatic, others mundane. Most pertain to individuals, but there are group events such as evacuations and disasters.

And Americans like the service. CA's files bulge with letters of appreciation from the public and Congress. In just the last five months of 1982, the bureau received more than 550 written expressions of thanks. Some 52 percent focused on "efficiency, promptness, or professionalism"; 24 percent cited "courtesy"; and 16 percent noted "compassion." Not the usual image of government or the Foreign Service. Of course, the bureau received complaints too, both accurate (shipping the wrong body of a presumed American from Mexico) and distorted (the film *Missing*).

Promoting, publicizing, and taking some credit for consular services is a way to begin making the public aware of the true role of State. As the department's image improves, there could be improved receptivity to foreign policy initiatives from a demonstrably "American" institution. Yet the role of consular affairs is seriously undervalued in the department, an innate bias that ignores its importance in foreign policy and the favorable image it has with the American public. This attitude causes a number of problems in the Foreign Service. When an ambassador-designate is looking for a DCM, for instance, why is surprise expressed if he or she asks to see the lists for all cones, not just political? Conversely, why don't more consuls bid on DCM

jobs? Why for years were consul general titles granted only by post classification rather than consular size and complexity? (The current director general, to her credit, changed that anomaly and created 23 new consul general designations.) Why is a consular officer being interviewed for a country desk informed that the job is not available after the director asks, "You are a political officer, aren't you?" Why don't eligible consuls general serve as administrative DCMs or *chargés*? Why are supervisory consuls general at large embassies ineligible for program direction skill codes and thus disadvantaged for deputy and chief of mission jobs? Why are consular sections frequently detached from the main chancery? Why are the views of consular officers on country assessments frequently not sought despite the fact that consuls often have more contact with more kinds of local views and opinions than other officers? Why are inter-functional positions overseas restricted, generally, to political or economic officers when one-third of similar jobs in the department are staffed by consular officers? Why are "undesigned" principal officerships generally out-of-bounds to consular officers (only 7 percent) while "consular" principal officerships are replete with non-consuls (43 percent)? In sum, why must a consular officer have demonstrably better professional credentials to compete effectively?

The major factor is an ingrained attitude. Despite the Rogers Act of 1924 merging the diplomatic and consular services, some of the values of the "old" Foreign Service are as persistent as weeds.

Over the past three years, I have spoken with nearly every junior class and with hundreds of consuls overseas and in the department. I think we have the finest crop of quality officers in our history.

Consuls have always been marked and have prided themselves on service while also focusing on management (people) and logical analysis (adjudication). But those three aspects, excellent as they are, are no longer sufficient. The challenges of the new era demand that a successful consul have three new hallmarks: policy smarts, automation management, and policy

advocacy (skilled in-fighter). We need officers with both the Three Old Virtues and the Three New Virtues.

I have found many consuls enthusiastic over the new challenges and eager to pursue them. But some are not. Some believe that getting involved in policy will be detrimental to their professional integrity, particularly on visas. Others derive an almost medieval pleasure in the purity of adjudication as laid down by the INA as theocratic writ. Still others are uncomfortable with a more assertive style and prefer to remain apart. While there is still a place for the narrow approach, it cannot be the road of greatest contribution, nor, accordingly, to rapid promotion.

Fortunately, we have an increasing number of officers who value both sets of virtues. Recruitment, training, promotion, and responsibility are now being directed at officers who can articulate policy, are people and computer oriented, and are well-versed in other functions while remaining consular professionals. Recruitment texts and examinations have been rewritten. The junior officer, mid-career, and advanced consular courses now emphasize policy content. The executive seminar devotes a segment to immigration as policy.

A Better Career

On assignments, we are pushing some of our best mid-level consuls into tours on country desks, as special assistants, as executive secretariat line officers, and with other bureaus. The purpose is three-fold: to "witness" to peers that consular officers can cut it, to gain experience for broader roles in the department and abroad, and to establish future claims as principal officers, DCMs, and ambassadors. In early 1983, some 75 mid-career consuls held general international relations officer jobs in State. We are paying a price because they're so good that some consuls get suborned into changing cones. But most consuls stay and some officers from other cones switch because they see the prospect of a satisfying, rewarding and, frankly, better Foreign Service career as a consular professional.

More improvements are on the way.

Several steps are being taken to ease some of the structural rigidities which impede consular promotions. A number of jobs previously considered "undesigned" in the inspector general's office, the secretariat, personnel, and the executive office in CA, while always filled by consular officers, are now belatedly being designated so. Grade levels of 120 consular positions abroad have not kept pace with local migration pressures and personnel is now reviewing recommendations for upgrading.

The fact remains, however, that the percentage of consular officer promotions to the Senior Foreign Service is low. The main cause is that only the consular part of the Foreign Service has a true personnel pyramid (some even call it a flagpole on a mound), signifying a large number of junior slots and a paucity of senior jobs. Recent and proposed actions may widen the flagpole, but crossing the SFS threshold is still statistically difficult. Within the SFS, only 25 officers are consular, compared with 63 in the administrative, 118 in the economic, and 180 in the political cone. Of all consular officers, only 3 percent are in the SFS, compared with 8.6 percent in the administrative, 14 percent in the economic, and 14 percent in the political cone. And the fine officer quality notable at junior and mid-level consular ranks is not reflected at the senior levels where, even within those 25 consular officers, only a relative few are, in my judgment, qualified to handle the Six Virtues of the new consular era. If CA had the freedom to do so, it would make a substantial number of stretch assignments. There are a number of outstanding mid-level officers who warrant senior responsibilities now. The department, however, has an overall personnel system to run.

But the promotion outlook isn't as bleak as it may appear. New policy challenges will provide career advancement opportunities for Six Virtue consuls, and as current SFS consuls are weeded out by retirement and time in class.

Consular officers, like other Foreign Service officers, tend to focus on career negatives. But there are numerous ad-

(Continued on page 33.)

Consuls Should Do Reporting and Analysis

By DAVID G. MCGAFFEY

The Foreign Service systematically discards what could be its most important resource: the information potential of its consular officers. The raw material of diplomacy is information. The Foreign Service can perform its essential function of advising the administration of events, trends, and prospects in foreign affairs *only* if it obtains a broadly based, verifiable, accurate fund of information. The Service, however, tends to reduce its sources of information to two: official information from foreign governments received through their embassies in Washington, and official information from the same governments obtained by our posts abroad.

Our budget sharply limits travel and representation funds, and calls for the closing of subordinate posts—consulates—all over the world. At the same time, increasing requirements for scheduled reports and for the management and implementation of bilateral programs demand a heavy expenditure of work hours in dealing with foreign governments. Unfortunately, Foreign Service custom tends

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to restrict those tasks, as well as the full responsibility for analytical reporting, to political and economic officers. The result?—a small corps of overworked officers, confined to capital cities and spending almost all their working hours in close contact with host government officials, hearing and reporting the information the host government chooses to emphasize. A change in perception and custom would result in a simple, if somewhat traumatic, way of alleviating this problem: That is, to remember that *all* Foreign Service employees are equally responsible for promoting the broad interests of the United States, whatever their functional specialty, and to spread the responsibility for analytical reporting evenly regardless of cone or assignment.

Some Objections

The objection will be raised that administrative officers are support personnel. Their attention is focused inward, on the needs of the mission and its employees. They cannot do analytical reporting on trends affecting U.S. interest. Consular officers are service-oriented. Their task is to provide services (visas, passports, advice, sometimes succor) to the flood of visa applicants, tourists, expatriate Americans, and businessmen pouring into their offices. How can they find the time, and what do they have to offer for analytical reporting? Such objections and questions come equally from these officers themselves and from some political and economic officers perhaps

jealous of the status of their tasks.

For administrative officers, suffice it to say that in their contracting, buying and selling, and hiring and firing, administrative sections are in intimate contact with a stratum of society—the small-businessmen and skilled specialists—whom few others have a chance to meet, and who are likely to be a sensitive barometer of the pressures of political and economic change.

Consular officers also constitute an inestimable resource for information gathering and analytical reporting. They are, more than any others, in close contact with all strata of society, excepting perhaps senior government officials, who are well covered by other sections. In Iran, for example, prior to the revolution, military officers below field grade were prohibited from having contacts with U.S. military attachés or officials, except with consular officers to obtain visas. In Afghanistan, important traders studiously avoided the economic section but routinely came to the embassy for visas for their purchasing trips. In the Philippines, southern Muslims, at the height of the undeclared war with the central government, still appeared at consulates to apply for visas. Currently in Afghanistan, India, and many European posts, Iranians and Afghans who are often frightened of even the appearance of official contact with the U.S. government routinely apply for visas. In every country, there are many examples of groups in visa lines who would otherwise have no contact with the Foreign Service. The Service could not

help but be strengthened by taking advantage of these contacts for information gathering.

As every reporting officer knows, mere contact is not enough. For valid information, the officer must obtain the *willingness* of the source to talk, especially on matters of importance and sensitivity, and must have *multiple sources* to check on the accuracy of what is said.

A visa interview should be designed to elicit a broad range of information about the individual and how he or she fits into society. In order to determine eligibility for a visa, a consular officer must understand the reason and motivation for the prospective trip, as well as the economic and social background and prospects of the applicant. To put an individual's information into perspective, the officer must come to understand a broad national context through these interviews. The consular officer has a major advantage here. The visa applicant is seeking something of significant personal value and is aware that to get it he or she must answer questions. The applicant is cooperative, even eager to give the best answers possible. He or she will often exaggerate, evade, or distort, but any good interviewing officer has learned how to ask those questions that reveal the truth, especially when compared with the answers of other applicants. Thus, the normal activities of a visa officer require the collection of a large amount of information about the economic, political, and social conditions of the country and how they affect the motivations and circumstances of a broad spectrum of the population. Unfortunately, it is not considered part of the job of most consular officers to report this information.

Broad Contacts

Similarly, the consular officer is in close contact with both expatriate Americans, who may require passports, birth registrations, and other services, and with local residents returned from the United States, who may need assistance with Social Security, the Veteran's Administration, etc. Both of these residents are in a unique position, adjusted to both the United States and the local scene. They are

potentially an important source of information. They could provide an excellent counterpoint to the views of visiting American businessmen or temporary residents—such as those scholars and contractors who are (or should be) seen by USIS and the economic section.

Prison visits are the bane of every consular officer's life, but my experience has shown that prison officials are often somewhat lonely people, willing and eager to talk. The size and composition of a prison population, as well as conditions of treatment, can tell us a great deal about the stresses in a society, and this information is easily obtained from prison officials and from

Consular officers must be recognized as part of the total mission's resources, not merely adjuncts capable of only specific duties.

American prisoners who talk with their fellow inmates—and with visiting consular officers.

The above makes clear that every aspect of the consular officer's job is a prime source for information. But are consular officers capable of analyzing this information and presenting it in reports relevant to U.S. policy and interests? A single example should be enough to make clear that they are. The United States currently has no representation and a decided interest in Kampuchea. The necessary information is, however, available—through the refugees streaming into Thailand. There have been several re-

ports from refugee officers that demonstrate not only a good perception of events in Kampuchea, but an intense feel for the relevance of this information to U.S. interests. The majority of these refugee officers are consular officers, and they have done this analytical reporting while successfully accomplishing their normal duties.

Needed Changes

Given that consular officers represent a resource for analytical reporting, that they have both ability and job-related advantages as analytical reporters, what changes are necessary for the United States to benefit from this resource? First, we must see an attitude change. Primarily, it is necessary for consular officers themselves to realize that they hold (or can easily obtain) information important to U.S. interests. Second, their superior officers and their colleagues in political and economic sections, ambassadors, deputy chiefs of mission, consular chiefs of section, and principal officers must recognize these officers as part of the total mission's resources, not merely adjuncts capable of only specific duties. This also implies a recognition that the mission needs more than it can obtain from official contacts with host governments. That change must work its way through the State Department and the Office of Management and Budget, so that consular posts are no longer automatically cut in favor of overstaffing embassies when a budget crunch occurs. As important, the officers, the department, and Congress need to be led away from their preoccupation with numbers games. There is no doubt that it takes more time to do a good interview than a quick-and-dirty one, whether for the sole purpose of better determining visa eligibility or for this expanded purpose. It takes time to visit prisons thoroughly. For years, consular officers have been under intense pressure to produce numbers rather than quality. The question has been "How many visas issued?" rather than "Are the right visas being issued and denied?" They ask, "How many prisoners visited and how often?" forcing officers to "count coup" with a quick trip, rather than investigating

(Continued on page 33.)



Immigration reform bill sponsors Senator Simpson (left) and Representative Mazzoli (center) with Attorney General Smith

Consular Affairs and Domestic Politics

The Department of State's interest in immigration reform has been stymied by a form of House arrest

By STEPHEN P. ENGELBERG

When Representative Romano Mazzoli (D.-Kentucky) conceded last December that his controversial bill to rewrite U.S. immigration laws had failed, his colleagues came to their feet for a spontaneous ovation. It was a dramatic scene. Mazzoli, haggard after hours of fruitless late-night debate, hung his head as the tribute to his dogged but unsuccessful efforts reverberated through the chamber. His bill had proposed far-reaching changes that would be felt both at home and abroad. It sought to regain control of U.S. borders by fining U.S. employers who "knowingly" hire undocumented aliens and offering amnesty to millions of such aliens now in the country. It revised procedures for handling the backlog of more than 170,000 political asylum applications. But after nearly two years of hearings, studies, and task forces, Mazzoli knew that he had run out of time.

The congressman was bitter and would later say so. He had patched together a coalition of supporters that had won test votes by a two-to-one margin, but he was defeated in the final hours of the lameduck session by the combined efforts of Hispanic lawmakers, who proposed a blizzard of dilatory amendments, and the House leadership, which delayed floor action until the last two days before the recess. Still, top Reagan administration officials viewed the impromptu applause as an encouraging portent for this year's Congress, evidence that a majority of the House was prepared to grapple with the politically unpalatable issue in 1983.

To the frustration of the State Department—which believes the bill has important foreign policy implica-

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tions—that optimism has thus far proven to be unfounded. After companion legislation sponsored by Alan K. Simpson (R.-Wyoming) easily won Senate approval in May, the measure has once again become mired in the House by the same forces that proved irreconcilable in the 1982 session. A compromise could still emerge, but chances for surviving a floor vote in 1983 remain uncertain.

Immigration Issues

The State Department's interest in the bill reflects its role in administering the nation's complex system of immigration laws, a system the administration says is collapsing under a flood of undocumented aliens. Each year, the department's Bureau of Consular Affairs issues about 425,000 visas to immigrants from nearly every country in the world. Each year, an underground railroad of smugglers makes a mockery of that carefully organized edifice, facilitating the arrival of more than one million undocumented aliens. In addition, the turmoil in Latin America, coupled with austere economic conditions in Mexico, has driven apprehensions by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to record highs in 1983.

The problems caused by the coexistence of legal and illegal systems has prompted the State Department to become a high-profile advocate for reform legislation. "We found it extremely difficult to accept a situation where we had young, idealistic vice consuls breaking their backs on visa lines administering a very complex law while there are a million guys a year walking across the river without documentation," said Diego Asencio, then assistant secretary for consular affairs. "It puts all laws into question."

Of the approximately 425,000 immigrants who enter this country legally each year, about 155,000 are imme-

mediate family members of U.S. citizens and 270,000 are admitted under the preference system, which assigns a maximum of 20,000 visas to each country. There are no limits on visa numbers for immediate family members. The Simpson bill would continue to admit the immediate family without restrictions. But it would place an overall cap at 425,000 on legal immigration, so that projected increases in the numbers of immediate family members coming to the United States would cut into the numbers of visas available to the preference aliens in future years. While these changes would still allow unlimited admissions of immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, they would eventually reduce the number of visas available to the families of permanent resident aliens, and others, under the preference system.

The State Department opposes Simpson's proposal for legal immigration. "It will put the United States in an awkward position with regard to the Helsinki accords," Asencio said in congressional testimony. He noted that this country frequently prods Eastern bloc nations to reunite divided families. "As opportunities for those families to be reunified in this country diminish, as they would under this bill, our credibility on this issue will also diminish." The prospects for this provision remain uncertain. It has been cut from the House bill at the insistence of Representative Peter Rodino (D.-New Jersey), the House Judiciary Committee chairman, who is father to the preference system. It could be included in a final version if a House-Senate conference committee agrees, but Rodino is likely to be strongly opposed.

Last year, the State Department played an instrumental role in defeating an amendment by Senator Walter Huddleston (D.-Kentucky) that would have placed under the 425,000 cap the

approximately 100,000 refugees who come to the United States annually. Senator Strom Thurmond (R.-South Carolina), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, said on the floor that he could not vote for the amendment because he had received a letter of opposition from the secretary of state. The department contended, he said, that refugee admissions were a matter of foreign policy that should be considered separately from immigration.

One change in the preference system that the State Department does support is a pilot program that would allow nationals from eight countries with a history of visa integrity to enter the United States without a visitor's visa. This would ease the entry of businessmen and tourists and would allow Americans to forgo visas for travel to the countries involved. In addition, the bill has a provision to slow the "brain drain" that costs many developing countries their best talent. Graduate students who study in the United States cannot emigrate here before returning to their homeland for at least two years. (An exemption has been passed for high technology disciplines at the insistence of U.S. universities and the electronics industry.)

Domestic Debate

Despite the inclusion of items like the visa-waiver program—termed by Asencio "a substantial foreign policy victory if it passes"—the debate on the bill has been focused on domestic issues. Indeed, Asencio acknowledges that it was domestic displeasure with the well-publicized arrival of immigrants from Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Mexico at a time of high unemployment that has provided the impetus for the latest legislative efforts. "Traditionally, the foreign policy implications of this particular area have been ignored by everyone, including the people in this building,"

said Asencio. "That is, when you're talking about the subject, you're generally talking about the nature, character, and identity of the United States in the fairly short term. It's not an area in which anyone is issuing communiqués or rattling sabres. It's not something that the secretary of state has to do by three o'clock Wednesday, so there's a tendency to forget it, to look at it only from its domestic component. It only becomes important from its domestic component when there is a problem, as there is now with regard to a recession and unemployment."

Indeed, the final shape of the bills will be determined by the interaction of domestic interest groups on Capital Hill, forces that so far have refused to compromise. Just as they did last year, an unusual alliance of civil liberties groups, Hispanic rights organizations, church groups, and agricultural growers is forming to stymie action. This confusion is reflected in a dispute between powerful House committee chairmen. After the Mazzoli bill cleared the House Judiciary Committee, it was referred to four additional committees, two of which have written contradictory amendments. Rules Committee Chairman Claude Pepper (D.-Florida) has asked the chairmen to resolve their differences, a request that has not yet been fulfilled. With all this disagreement from both the Democratic party and its traditional constituencies, Mazzoli is still waiting for approval from Democratic leaders and a place on the floor schedule.

Congressional Favor

There are few signs that the leaders—powerful congressmen like Majority Leader Jim Wright (D.-Texas) and House Speaker Tip O'Neill (D.-Massachusetts)—are significantly warmer to the bill. When O'Neill introduced it on the floor last year, he said he was doing so only as a favor to the Reagan administration. "I would not say I am enamored with the bill myself, to be perfectly truthful," O'Neill told the House. "But when the attorney general of the United States comes over and makes the point that it is important legislation for the nation . . . I think they should have their day in court."

The measure's slow progress is yet another example of how special interest groups can slow the engine of legislation to a standstill. The groups, which oppose the bill for widely varying reasons, have concentrated their efforts on the body most sensitive to constituent pressure, the House of Representatives. If an immigration bill does emerge this year, it will almost certainly include provisions aimed at placating those elements of the traditional Democratic coalition who have so insistently pressed their case with the House leadership. Administration officials nonetheless remain hopeful that the measure can be revived this fall. They hope to persuade O'Neill to allow floor action and they take some solace from Wright's admission in January that he would not personally block the bill. "It's got anemia," quipped one administration official, "not leukemia." Wright has said he will not stand in the way of the bill's consideration this year. But Mazzoli, in an unusual display of anger on the House floor, nonetheless accused the Texan of "holding the bill hostage" last month. Wright, in an interview, responded that it will come to the floor this year "if Ron [Mazzoli] wants it to."

The uncertain prospects in Congress for the legislation come as no surprise to longtime students of the issue. Although it is a subject with major foreign policy implications, immigration has traditionally been a neglected orphan of Washington policymaking. For decades, the chronically underfunded Immigration and Naturalization Service has held the unenviable reputation as the worst run department in the government. Congress in turn has been reluctant to tangle with the issue, both because it presents few opportunities for political gain and because numerous powerful interests have been satisfied with the status quo.

The development of U.S. immigration law in the 20th century reflects that reluctance to make wholesale changes. Congress has tended to allow large-scale illegal immigration—through underfunding of the INS—in periods of economic growth only to slam the door shut in eras of recession or depression. The treatment of the

issue has tended to reflect the rise and fall of xenophobia and isolationism in American culture.

In 1921, for example, Congress approved the first numerical limits on immigration. The bill, aimed at restricting the influx of Eastern European immigrants, was passed as U.S. foreign policy began its post-World War I drift toward isolationism. In an effort to slow the growth of ethnic groups like Italians and Jews, it set up quotas based on three percent of the ethnic stock counted in the 1910 census. At the time of a 1929 amendment that further restricted the quotas, sponsors said it was aimed at maintaining "the racial preponderance of the basic strain of our people."

Legislative Loophole

The Depression brought massive repatriation of undocumented Mexican workers but, after the war, with industries booming, the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act created a loophole that has fostered the employment of undocumented aliens ever since. It began with a proposal that would have made it a felony to "harbor" undocumented aliens. This idea quickly drew fire from Southwest growers who depended on cheap, undocumented labor to harvest their crops. The Texas delegation, responding to the protests of its constituents, answered with an amendment that said employing an undocumented worker should not be construed by authorities as harboring. When the economy worsened in 1954, Congress authorized Operation Wetback, an INS roundup that resulted in the deportation of more than one million undocumented aliens and some U.S. citizens. In 1965, as public support mounted for civil rights legislation, Congress revised legal immigration to end the racially based quota system. A year earlier, Congress had ended the 22-year *bracero* program, which had brought Mexican guestworkers to the fields of the Southwest and West.

During the 1970s, pressure began building to resolve the inherent contradictions of the immigration system. On the one hand, the law made it a crime for aliens to enter the U.S. without a proper visa. At the same time, it

permitted U.S. businesses to hire those aliens without fear of penalty. The conflicting goals of this country's immigration policy, coupled with growing poverty and turmoil in regions accessible to the United States, led to a net influx of an estimated 300,000 to 500,000 undocumented aliens each year. Many returned home after short stays, but some took up residence in this country, forming an exploitable underclass who held jobs but were constrained from seeking the protection of U.S. laws and labor rules. Rodino twice won House passage of a bill that would fine employers of undocumented aliens. Both times, the measure died in the Senate because James Eastland (D.-Mississippi) refused to move the bills through the judiciary committee he chaired.

And so the impetus for change lessened until 1980, when Cuban leader Fidel Castro allowed more than 100,000 of his countrymen to float to Miami. The Mariel boatlift, which came the same year U.S. hostages were seized in Iran, was seen as a public humiliation of the Carter administration. Castro emptied his jails and mental hospitals, creating a disorderly flotilla that left southern Florida with a huge population of immigrants to absorb. This event, coupled with the continuing problem of "boat people" from Haiti, focused new attention on the problem. A select commission including top Carter administration officials, academics, and congressional leaders was appointed to produce a definitive study.

Shortly after the commission issued its report, which recommended employer sanctions and amnesty, the Reagan administration began its own internal study. Asencio, who was the State Department's representative to the commission, played that role on the administration's task force as well. On the surface, it was not a natural issue for a conservative Republican president. Employer sanctions require expanded recordkeeping by businesses and hardly fit with Reagan's pledge to get government off the backs of the people. Further, some conservatives criticize the amnesty as a reward for breaking U.S. immigration laws. But Attorney General William French

Smith became convinced of the need for reform. At least in part, the administration wanted to present a contrast to the impotence of Carter in the face of the Mariel fiasco. The 1981-82 recession, with its post-World War II unemployment highs, combined with a renewed influx of undocumented aliens from Mexico, gave the effort additional urgency. And so Smith, a former California corporate lawyer, became an unlikely spokesman for the immigration bill. He has appeared on television and before Capitol Hill committees countless times to deliver the message that "we have lost control of our borders."

Internal Division

Internally, the administration has been somewhat divided over the issue. Several influential policymakers with libertarian leanings have continued to mount a rearguard action against the bill. Martin Anderson, Reagan's first domestic policy adviser, was against the concept of employer fines, as was former Office of Management and Budget official Annelise Anderson. Her opposition was expressed last year in the form of cost estimates that said the newly legalized aliens would draw heavily on federal and local social services. Indeed, the administration has opposed the House provisions that would liberally reimburse localities for such expenditures. But the figures have been questioned by critics both inside and outside of the administration. It is unrealistic, they argue, to assume that aliens who came to this country to seek jobs will sign up en masse for welfare.

Asencio, according to officials familiar with the administration's deliberations, has been a forceful voice for a generous amnesty. "I have testified on all portions of the bill," said Asencio. "I haven't restricted myself just to foreign policy. For instance, the part that excites me most is legalization. What we're doing is eliminating a political subgroup that has been allowed to exist in the United States. The bill is justified on just that basis." The administration's original immigration proposal called for a waiting period of up to 10 years before aliens would gain status as legal permanent residents.

Then the Senate enacted a plan that gave aliens who arrived before 1977 immediate status as permanent residents (with those who arrived before 1980 gaining temporary status with only a three-year wait for permanent residency).

Whether Simpson/Mazzoli passes in this session—or any session—ultimately will depend on reaching a compromise among the various interest groups that have helped stymie it and their congressional supporters. These are the domestic groups that have played a leading role in the debate over immigration laws:

- *Hispanics.* The national leadership of organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens opposes the fines for employers of undocumented aliens out of fear that they will lead to employment discrimination against all Hispanics. At the least, they would like to see the creation of a separate commission to hear complaints of discrimination based on alienage.

- *Growers.* As the segment of the U.S. economy most dependent on undocumented workers, agricultural growers have fought hard for concessions that would preserve their labor force. This year, Mazzoli accepted a three-year transitional program that would allow the Southwest farmers to phase out the use of undocumented labor. The bill also would expand an existing program that allows the importation of foreign workers under controlled conditions.

- *Organized labor.* Unions favor the employer fines as a means of opening up more jobs to U.S. citizens. But they are opposed to the bill's proposed expansion of the Labor Department's foreign worker program unless the interests of American workers are thoroughly protected. Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, has said he cannot support a bill that does not have both a generous amnesty and the amendments to protect the U.S. labor market that were passed by the House Education and Labor Committee. Mazzoli has opposed such proposals in the past.

- *Civil liberties groups.* The American Civil Liberties Union is worried by the

(Continued on page 33.)

The Best

*When the president visits
a foreign capital,
embassy preparations
often go awry*

By HOWARD R. SIMPSON

To an innocent observer, the image of an overseas presidential visit is a mix of television footage of the arrival ceremonies, newspaper stories on conferences with heads of state, and feature fluff on the first lady's choice of dress. To those serving at the American embassy in the host country, however, the visit is merely the long-awaited culmination of an exhausting period of detailed preparation and sleepless nights.

The first notice of an impending visit that arrives at an embassy's message center produces both elation and apprehension. The nation of one's assignment has been deemed important enough to warrant a visit from the chief executive, but there will be a series of inevitable problems lying ahead. It matters not whether the visit will be a quick stop-over for political consultation or a three-day affair involving wreath layings, momentous international decisions, and public appearances—the schedule of preparatory work will be arduous and intense. Vacations will be postponed and absent staff members called back to post. Foreign Service officers experienced in dealing with presidential visits will find their expertise in sudden demand. The post will be buried under a pile of

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paperwork as the volume of cable traffic between the embassy, the State Department, and the White House builds to a crescendo.

Even before the president's advance team arrives, several weeks of work will be needed. A long list of questions will have to be answered. With whom does the president wish to talk? Would he be willing to wrap up an important treaty during his stay? How good is the local security? How many Secret Service agents will be needed? Would the prime minister be offended if the president met the leader of the opposition party? How large is the accompanying press contingent? Are satellite links available for television relay? What are the first family's dietary requirements and culinary preferences? Would the first lady be interested in visiting an orphanage, a hospital, an art exhibit?

Varied Styles

The advance parties vary according to the presidency. Eisenhower's men were usually calm and methodical, approaching their talks with military precision and a great reliance on staff work. Kennedy's "Irish Mafia" were more flexible and flamboyant, a close-knit crew enjoying private jokes and eager to wrap up the day's work to explore the capital's bars and restaurants. Johnson's Texans were polite but leary of foreign methods and ever alert to the changing moods and mercurial temper of their trail boss. Nixon's button-down crew were serious and withdrawn, quick to throw their weight around and equally quick to hand out praise when things went well. Carter's country folk were generally easygoing, perpetuating the good ol' boy image and retaining a certain suspicion of "Eastern establishment" Foreign Service officers.

These varied styles can create their own problems. Eisenhower's precision

unit was well into the planning stage for a visit to France when the first crisis occurred. The president was to land at the naval port of Toulon from an American cruiser. The city's hotels were already bursting with White House staffers, communications experts, embassy personnel, and security men. The last's baggage caused a stir and some puzzlement among the French. It was embossed with individual names and the clear designation "U.S. Secret Service," a public admittance inimical to French bureaucratic logic.

The security crew soon offended French logic in a more serious way. To eliminate a blind spot, the Secret Service decided that three feet of masonry would have to be shaved off a building along the route. A French admiral called me to his office. He was most upset. The building was a historic monument. It had been there for centuries. It was already ancient when Napoleon was a young artillery officer lobbing cannon balls at the occupying British garrison in Toulon.

Without actually saying it, the admiral made it clear that perhaps the president would be more at ease landing at another spot along the coast. I did my diplomatic best to calm him, stepping into the role of middleman between the French navy and the Secret Service.

It took twenty-four hours of negotiations: telephone calls to Paris, telegrams to Washington, tight-lipped bilateral meetings. The threatened clash of national wills was only averted after a heavy French lunch washed down with many bottles of Provençal rosé. The blind spot would be covered by armed Secret Service and French security personnel stationed atop the tiled roof of the intact monument.

For all their differences, advance teams have one trait in common: a minimum of experience in foreign af-

Laid Plans



fairs. Their efforts are directed to the voter back home. For this reason the press plane is of particular concern. Everything is done to ensure smooth working conditions for the journalists. Press centers are established, banks of teletypes installed, radio and satellite links assured. A messenger service is engaged to whisk copy, photos, and film to their destinations. Split-second timing is required to land the cameras, sound gear, and well-known commentators before *Air Force One* touches the

ground. Tact and organizational skill are needed to form pools when reception areas are too small to accommodate the entire press corps. The embassy's public affairs officer in particular is hard put to take care of the visiting journalists while at the same time giving equal access to the reporters from the host-country media.

Eisenhower traveled to Toulon during a simpler era, yet things still got fouled up. The press traveled by train, and communications satellites were

still a dream. Television footage had to be rushed to waiting aircraft and sent on its way. Two of my staff and a car had been ready on the dock to receive the precious film and speed through town to the train. The minute the train pulled into the Gare de Lyon in Paris they were to shuttle the footage to motorcycle messengers, who would speed it to Orly Airport.

Changed Plans

It was a sound idea, but we hadn't taken into account the French love for changing plans at the last minute. As the car raced from the naval base through the crowds greeting the president, the couriers found their access to the railway station barred by determined French security officers. They left the car, lifted the heavy boxes of film, and sprinted for the train. The couplings groaned as the train began to move. They increased their stride, perspiration coursing down their cheeks. The train gained momentum. "Run!" I shouted from the train, hoping for a miracle. In French films, running men always make the train. But these films stayed in Toulon.

I understand the luncheon served on the presidential train that day was excellent. I don't recall. I had lost my appetite. Network representatives, informed that their footage was still in Toulon, expressed their disappointment in concise, colorful language. The presidential press secretary, Jim Hagerty, asked if it was true the film had missed the train. When I confirmed the bad news he burned me with a sulfurous glare and went back to editing Eisenhower's speech for delivery in Paris.

The problems attendant with a presidential visit and its press entourage can also befall a tour by other high-level officials. In the winter of 1969, Vice President Spiro Agnew's advance team arrived in Canberra,

Australia, to prepare for a visit that would underline Australian-American friendship and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific. It almost produced the opposite effect. An authoritative member of the advance team informed the Australians that no local press would be allowed in the inner sanctum of the War Memorial since there was hardly enough room for the American press pool. The local journalists' shouts of outrage were heard as far away as Perth. Hurried negotiations limited the damage. The Australians were allowed to enter their own memorial, but for several anxious hours the future of Australian-American relations had seemed to hang in the balance.

One doesn't have to be a president or a vice president to travel in style with a huge supporting staff and a press contingent. Henry Kissinger's entourage during the period of his shuttle diplomacy was impressive. In the early 1970s the secretary of state made several trips to keep the Algerians informed of Mideast peace moves and to discuss the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. The American Interests Section was operating in Algiers under a Swiss flag with a limited staff. Algerian-American rapport ranged from cool to icy. It was in this frigid atmosphere that we went to work planning the secretary's first visit.

Security Conscious

The bloody war of independence with France and subsequent unrest and coups d'état had made Algerian officials security conscious. Since they do not consider the press a privileged national institution, they were not overjoyed when informed that at least fifty reporters would accompany the official party. We worked together as best we could, hopeful that the chemistry of continued personal contact would smooth any rough edges. Things looked fairly good. Buses provided by the Algerian government would take the press to their quarters on arrival. Vehicles would be available to rush journalists to the central post office for filing copy or recording radio broadcasts. A small pool would follow the secretary to report on his activities. It looked fine on paper.

Reality was different. Only one bus arrived at the airport and the driver, frightened by the crush of frantic journalists, refused to open the door. Meanwhile, Algerian plainclothesmen led the pool to an empty villa in town and held them there until the secretary had finished his official calls. Vehicles did show up for the post office run but the careful arrangements reserving teletype facilities and voice booths had somehow fallen apart. Broadcast correspondents had to shout their reports over public telephones and writers had to take turns at the public cable desk, sharing teletype facilities with local citizens sending birthday greetings to Uncle Ahmed in Oran.

When the Kissinger caravan had flown off to another diplomatic rendezvous, we held a post mortem review with our Algerian colleagues. Both sides of the table agreed to learn from past errors, to prepare a foolproof scenario for the next visit. We had endured together. Surely the experience had formed a bond of some kind. Many of us were now on a first-name basis.

Weeks later, as the secretary's plane once again circled the Algiers airport, we were ready. I felt confident as my driver let me out on the steps of the VIP lounge. I shook hands with the Algerian officials I had come to know so well. Then I noticed someone waving to me from the fringe of the crowd. He was being held back by Algerian security police. He was a member of an American television network team that had flown in from Paris that morning. His face was desperate. I hurried to him. He explained the problem as Kissinger's jet settled into its approach run.

He and his team had arrived early, as instructed, to set up their cameras and sound equipment. The chief of the Algerian presidential security crew had kept them confined to the parking area. Their French cameraman, unused to the ways of a revolutionary Arab republic, had made a whispered comment on Algerian efficiency. The entire network team, minus my fortunate friend, was now locked in the airport men's room, where they were to remain until the official party had left for the city. With minutes to spare before the secretary of state set foot

once again on Algerian soil, I tried to reason with the security chief. I was informed forcefully that, diplomat or not, I could join the television team in the men's room if I so chose. The huge jet was now taxiing toward the VIP lounge, where other networks had managed to set up their cameras. I ran for the tarmac and arrived as the engines were being shut down.

Security Unconscious

An American Secret Service agent pushed his way forward through the officials, trying to take up his position at the foot of the debarkation ramp. His path was blocked by a husky Algerian. The Secret Service agent applied a bit of force. It was a mistake. He had laid his hand on one of Algeria's top security men and karate experts. The Algerian's elbow swung backward like a lethal piston. As Kissinger left the jet to wave at the official reception committee, the Secret Service agent was bent double, clutching his stomach, gasping for air.

Shunting the hapless agent aside, we prepared for the usual handshaking ritual. From the corner of my eye I saw a television news personality known to thousands of American viewers. His hair was meticulously combed, his broadcast notes, rich with incisive comment, were clutched in his hand. He was prepared for his on camera narration but there was no camera, no soundman, no sign of his team.

I pushed through the crowd to his side. "Ah . . . your people . . ." I began amid the confusion. "A misunderstanding. . . ." My words were drowned out by the revving engine of a nearby aircraft. I continued when the roar diminished. "They're locked in the men's room." Never before—or since—have I seen a man age so quickly.

But disaster is not endemic to official visits. They do have their rewards. The drama of an aging Eisenhower returning to the Europe he had helped to liberate; Kennedy's words of hope to the threatened citizens of Berlin; the clear message of America's commitment to its allies as Carter and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing looked out over the thousands of American crosses in Normandy. □

Domestic Politics

(Continued from page 29.)

provision in both House and Senate bills calling for the administration to develop "a more secure identification system." This concept is implicit in employer sanctions since companies will need to check reliable documentation before hiring new workers. The Senate bill now requires all Americans hired after its enactment to present two forms of identification. Civil libertarians fear this could lead to a national identification card, a goal denied by Simpson.

Finding common ground for all these interests is difficult. For example, on the issue of temporary foreign workers, the growers want to replace their undocumented workers with legally imported Mexicans. They want few restrictions on the expanded program. Organized labor, on the other hand, must swallow hard to accept any foreign workers. And they want tough regulations to make sure that the foreign workers don't drive down U.S. wages or take jobs coveted by citizens.

The fights over amnesty, judicial review of asylum claims, and other sections of the bill reveal similar tensions and have prompted a series of strange alliances. In the Senate, the opponents of the measure included conservative Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina), who disliked the amnesty for undocumented aliens; liberal Edward Kennedy (D.-Massachusetts), who was concerned about the discrimination potential of employer sanction; John Tower (R.-Texas), who was worried about effects on both Hispanics and growers; and Alan Cranston (D.-California), who believes that employer sanctions won't work.

These splits have been exacerbated in the House. "On legislation as broad as this," said one administration strategist, "you have to maintain a coalition. This coalition is breaking down because some members are insisting on their positions to the exclusion of everyone else." Administration officials believe all of these obstacles could still be overcome if Speaker O'Neill allows the measure to go to the floor. But it remains unclear whether he will put his imprimatur on a bill opposed by

Hispanics at the very time that President Reagan is courting that group as a potential source of Republican votes. And observers inside and outside of government acknowledge that if the immigration effort fails in 1983, it will likely be deferred to 1985 because of congressional reticence to deal with such a contentious issue in an election year.

With unemployment falling and the economic recovery causing increased demand for labor, some fear that the moment for immigration reform has passed. Asencio says the "media spectacular" that accompanied Mariel created a pressure for change which is now ebbing. "The optimum period for having passed this was last session. In this one, there's no question that it's still possible but it's getting slightly more marginal. If it doesn't pass this time, the next session will be extremely marginal." □

International Politics

(Continued from page 23.)

vantages: The opportunity to spend extensive periods abroad; the reward of service to others; early management responsibility; a good deal of early professional autonomy; high levels of language proficiency honed by continual use; prospects for a series of posts in a favored language area; junior and mid-level promotion rates comparable with other cones; more contact with more kinds of people in host countries; non-competitive official contacts; familiarity with and responsibility for automation which is progressively removing much of the drudgery of the high-volume visa business; and, nor least, transferrable skills to the private sector.

My recent assignment in CA was the most stimulating and enjoyable of my career. This fact, surprising to some of my peers, comes from the exciting and valuable work, from the quality of the officers who performed it, and from the prospect of a new future in an expanding era of consular involvement in foreign policy. As to officers in the other cones, they should heed the admonition of Satchel Paige: "Don't look back—someone may be gaining on you." □

Reporting and Analysis

(Continued from page 25.)

the situation and conditions facing American prisoners. Visa mills all but chain interviewing officers to the line, resulting in dull, semi-automatic clerking, rather than allowing them to function as officers. As long as we insist on number production, consular officers will say they have no time to think about the information they collect, no time to analyze and report, no time even to become fully acquainted with the issues considered significant by the mission. And they will be right.

Even where these pressures are diminished, there are consular officers who will resist such a challenge. They see themselves as specialists, and such consular technicians are needed—our laws impose on the consular bureau a heavy load of routine tasks. The bulk of our consular officers, however, consider themselves Foreign Service officers and not just consular technicians. We must provide opportunities for them to function as such.

Finally, the system must be changed to reward these officers for assuming these tasks. If taking the time to produce thoughtful analytical reporting that advances the interests of the United States means only that they will be disadvantaged for promotion because their colleagues produce more numbers, few officers will accept this challenge. If their reports are lightly edited and sent out as political section reports, few will write them. The precepts for promotion must be written to recognize the full Foreign Service range of consular officers—to recognize the administrative duties of managing sections and the reporting and analysis accomplishments of consular officers, in addition to excellence in traditional consular services.

These changes are at once simple and complex. They require little additional expense, little change in training, no legislative action. But they do require a basic and difficult shift in perceptions and attitudes, which will not be accomplished overnight. The benefits to the Foreign Service and the United States, however, vastly outweigh the difficulties. □

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Indigenous Revolution

(Continued from page 19.)

tion has kept its appeal for many of its original supporters. Perhaps most important, it has returned Iran to the majority of Iranians. This regime claims to rule in the name of the *mostaz'afin*, the oppressed majority excluded from power under the monarchy. Other Iranians—intellectuals, technocrats, professionals—have been served notice that this revolution is not their revolution. They are expected to follow its values and keep their objections to themselves.

Reports of seething discontent in Iran should be read cautiously. For many of the Iranians who had contact with the outside world, the revolution has been traumatic. It has shattered their privileged social position and has attempted to impose a puritanical form of Islam on sophisticated people. But for the majority—Khomeini's constituency of *mostaz'afin*—the revolution made in their name has not forced dramatic personal changes. Accepting more conservative standards of women's dress, for example, was not difficult for the eighty percent of the population which already observed these standards. Forbidding alcohol was nothing more than imposing the standards of the majority on the rest of the population.

Many of the social values of the lower-middle class, including the families of the young provincials so important in the revolution, have become national standards, sometimes brutally enforced by squads of *hezbollahis* ("partisans of God") and various self-appointed guardians of public morality. Under the Shah, veiled women were denied entrance to luxury hotels and restaurants; now, unveiled women face harassment and discrimination in public life. This forced reversal of the social order, unpleasant as it is for some, has favored the majority. The change has enabled many Iranians to identify with a system that, for all of its chaos, brutality, and inefficiency, is at least seen as theirs. Given a choice, many Iranians apparently would prefer that their country have such a system instead of becoming merely a shoddy imitation of Los Angeles. □

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

Foreign Service Juniors Awarded AFSA/AAFSW Scholarships

The initial list of the 1983-84 AFSA Scholarship Program Awards has been announced by the chairman of the Committee on Education, Claude G. Ross. Once again the committee expresses appreciation to all those who have supported the scholarship programs with their generous contributions, and in particular the Association of American Foreign Service Women for its continued interest and efforts on behalf of Foreign Service Juniors with funds raised at its annual Bookfair.

Two special AAFSW scholarships are given this year to honor the devoted work of Margaret Lindsay and Alice Chirieleison for the Bookfair. Hundreds of hours have been given by these outstanding volunteers on a year-round basis, and in appreciation for their contribution, AAFSW has designated scholarships in their names.

This year, 83 students received awards from the two programs—22 Merit Award winners and 61 Financial Aid Grants. The names of the recipients, the financial aid scholarships they have received, and the colleges and universities they will attend are given in the following list.

Other members of the Committee on Education are Janet Biggs, AAFSW; Robert L. Caffrey, State; David T. Jones, State; Susan Modi, USIA; James D. Singletary, AID. Clarke W. Slade is educational consultant to the committee, and Dawn H. Cuthell is the scholarship programs administrator.

Klaus J. Aber, Timberlake Scholarship, University of Southern California.

Daniel J. Apel, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of Pennsylvania.

Michael C. Apel, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Carleton College.

Marguerite Y. Bellamy, AAFSW Scholarship, Davis and Elkins College.

Mark E. Brogley, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Southern Florida.

Joseph P. Brogley, Charles B. Hosmer Memorial Scholarship, Northwestern University.

Aaron L. Brown, Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Brigham Young University.

Gillian Burlingham, AAFSW Scholarship in honor of Margaret Lindsay, Oberlin College.

Kathryn Burlingham, Julius C. Holmes Memorial Scholarship, Oberlin College.

Andrew W. Callard, AAFSW Scholarship, Warren Wilson College.

Carmen Castro, Betty Carp Scholarship, George Mason University.

Ricardo A. Castro, Marcia Martin Moore Memorial Scholarship, George Mason University.

Edward L. Dandridge, AAFSW Scholarship, Tufts University.

Eric A. Dandridge, Charles C. and Jane K. Stelle Memorial Scholarship, Mercersburg Academy.

Frank Ian Darlington, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Washington.

Deborah A. Drechnowicz, Hope Rogers Bastek Memorial Scholarship, University of Rhode Island.

David D. Durham, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of Maryland.

Naomi L. Durham, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Notre Dame.

Ralph W. Falzone, Arthur M. Giese Memorial Scholarship, Columbia Univ.

Derrick C. Fennell, Arthur B. Emmons Memorial Scholarship, Harvard University.

Allison L. Foose, AAFSW Scholarship, Lewis and Clark College.

Andrew A. Foose, Harry A. Havens Memorial Scholarship/AFSPA, Harvard University.

Christopher Floyd, Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Montgomery College.

Christopher Garza, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, George Mason University.

Charles T. Goodnight, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Maryland.

Michael D. Goodson, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Polk Community College.

Nicholas J. Grahame, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Vassar College.

Deborah C. Hagen, AAFSW Scholarship, University of LaVerne.

Mei Lian Hall, Howard Fyfe Memorial Scholarship, Tarrant County Jr. College.

Paul R. Hubler, Theodore A. Xanthaky Memorial Scholarship, Pitzer College.

Kathleen A. Huth, Mark G. Mattran Memorial Scholarship, Vanderbilt University.

David Jefferson, AAFSW Scholarship, Boston University.

Stephen T. King, AAFSW Scholarship, University of North Carolina.

Barbara A. Lowe, Beirut Memorial Scholarship, Asbury College.

Pamela J. Macdonald, AAFSW Scholarship, St. Mary's College.

Tina N. Mahoney, AAFSW Scholarship, Willamette University.

Edward M. Milburn, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Maryland Institute College of Art.

Elizabeth Milburn, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, University of Maryland.

John P. Myers, AAFSW Scholarship, Georgia Institute of Technology.

Karen L. Myers, C. Montagu and Frances M. Pigott Memorial Scholarship, American College.

Rachel A. Nelson, Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, McHenry County College.

Deborah S. Nugent, AAFSW Scholarship, University of New Hampshire.

James W. O'Brien, David K. E. Bruce Scholarship, Brown University.

Jonathan G. O'Brien, Jefferson Patterson Scholarship, Brown University.

Jerald R. O'Brien, Oliver Bishop Harri-man Memorial Scholarship, Albany Medical College of Union University.

Vickie Marie Penn, Barbara M. Watson Memorial Scholarship, University of Maryland.

Jeanne-Marie Pogue, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Virginia.

Patricia A. Pogue, Adolph Dubs Extraordinary Service Memorial Scholarship, Mary Washington College.

Lora L. Rhoades, AAFSW Scholarship, Auburn University.

Michael P. Scanlon, Robert Woods Bliss Scholarship, California Polytechnic State University.

Nora Sherwood, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of Colorado.

Robert W. Sherwood, The American Women's Group/Bonn Scholarship, Hampshire College.

Kathleen M. Simpson, Robert E. and Florence L. Macaulay Memorial Scholarship, Yale University.

Maggie A. Simpson, C. Vaughan Ferguson Jr. Scholarship, University of California at San Diego.

Nicholas Tarnoff, William Benton Scholarship, Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Ann L. Thompson, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Oregon.

Edward F. Vazquez, AAFSW Scholarship, Boston College.

Deana L. Webb, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Grand Canyon College.

Daniel A. Webb, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, LeTourneau College.

Susan V. Westmoreland, John Foster Dulles Memorial Scholarship, Wellesley College.

Matthew P. Willis, AAFSW Scholarship in honor of Alice Chirieleison, Clark University.

Deaths

OUTERBRIDGE HORSEY, a career Foreign Service officer who served as ambassador to Czechoslovakia from 1962-66, died of cancer August 18 at Georgetown University Hospital. He was 72.

Horsey's career with the Foreign Service began in 1938. He served in Naples, Budapest, and Madrid, then returned to Washington in 1944 as assistant chief of the division of Western European affairs in the State Department. Horsey served at various times as counselor of embassy and deputy chief of mission in both Rome and Tokyo. He was appointed ambassador to Czechoslovakia by President Kennedy. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1970 with the personal rank of career minister.

Survivors include his wife, the former Mary Hamilton Lee, of Washington; four children, Lee H. Maholchic of Brussels, Belgium, Sarah R. Horsey of Tegucigalpa, Honduras, and Anita H. Gannon and Outerbridge Horsey Jr., both of Washington.

JOSEPH RIES, a retired Foreign Service officer who worked in the State Department and USIA, died on May 12 from a massive heart attack at his home in Clearwater, Florida. He was 84.

Ries was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, and graduated from Butler University. He joined the Foreign Service in 1943, serving in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and was later assigned to Caracas as radio field representative. In 1946 he was named embassy attaché in charge of information and cultural affairs in Venezuela. He served with the Department of State in Venezuela, Mexico City, Guatemala City, and New York, and with USIA in Berlin, Bonn, Leopoldville, Lahore, and Teheran.

After retirement, he became a very active Clearwater resident, serving as chairman of the Foreign Visitors' Reception Committee of the Greater Clearwater Chamber of Commerce and Chairman of the local Red Cross Language Bank. He was a guest columnist for the *Clearwater Times* and the *Largo-Seminole Times* until February 1982.

He is survived by his wife, the former Carmen M. Fermin Bermudez of Venezu-

ela, who resides at 2058 Alpine Road, Clearwater, Florida 33515, a daughter, Estela Marina Ries of New York, and two sons by a previous marriage, Joseph Jr. of San Francisco and William T. of Cincinnati.

FRANCES E. WILLIS, who was the first woman career officer in the Foreign Service to rise to the rank of ambassador, died July 20 in Redlands, California, from the effects of a stroke. She was 84.

Willis retired from the Foreign Service in 1964 with the rank of minister counselor. Her ambassadorial posts included Switzerland, Norway, and Ceylon. Although other women preceded her in becoming an ambassador, she was the first to do so through the career ladder.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1927, Willis served as a consular officer in Valparaiso. Subsequent posts included Santiago, Stockholm, Brussels, and Luxembourg. During World War II she was first secretary and consul of the embassy in Madrid. After a tour in Washington as an assistant to the secretary and assistant head of the division of European affairs, she went to London as first secretary. In 1951 she was named counselor of legation and deputy chief of mission in Helsinki.

President Eisenhower appointed her ambassador to Switzerland in 1953 and to Norway four years later. President Kennedy posted her to Ceylon in 1961.

Before she joined the Foreign Service, Willis received bachelor's and doctoral degrees in political science from Stanford University and studied at University of Brussels. She taught at Goucher and Vassar colleges.

A longtime resident of Redlands, she is survived by a brother, Henry, of Salinas, California.

Marriage

Retired Foreign Service Officers NORMAN KAUFMAN PRATT and DWIGHT JOHNSON PORTER announce the marriage of their children, MARGARET and JAMES, on July 2 at the National Cathedral in Washington.

Retirees Group

A group of retired Foreign Service officers in the Boston area, including GALEN STONE, PAUL McCARTY, and ROBERTA BRUCE, are considering the organization of a New England Foreign Service Retirees' Luncheon Group. If interested, write to Roberta Bruce, 376 Union Street, Braintree, Massachusetts 02184, with suggestions, including date and place. Please enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope.

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Association News

JOT Class Meets AFSA for Lunch at Club



Employees completing the junior officer training course had lunch at the Foreign Service Club last August, where they received a briefing on the Association from AFSA President Dennis K. Hays, Treasurer JoAnn Jenkins, and board member Tom Miller. The Association plans to bring future classes to the club so they can learn about AFSA's labor-management and professional activities.

Pros and Cons of Commissioning AID FS Personnel

One of the last important distinctions between the State and AID Foreign Services has been eliminated by the agreement between the agency and AFSA to commission employees ranked FS-1 through FS-3 (ASSOCIATION NEWS, May), but some confusion has remained over its advantages and disadvantages. Accordingly, AFSA's AID Standing Committee held a public meeting on September 1 to advise the membership on commissioning's pros and cons.

The committee noted five major advantages to commissioning. From now on, AID employees in those ranks will receive presidential commissions identical to those of State and will be commissioned "Foreign Service officers." Washington residents domiciled elsewhere will be exempt from district income taxes. Commissioned officers will be eligible for U.S. Automobile Association insurance. They may be designated to act in official capacities, such as chargé d'affaires, in the absence of regular embassy officers. And, they can join some military officers' clubs at the club's discretion.

On the minus side, the committee listed two major disadvantages. Once commissioned, military veterans lose their special status in reductions in force and may no longer appeal grievances to the Merit Systems Protection Board.

AFSA Hires Word-Processing Specialist as Executive Secretary

At the same time that the Association has installed a Wang system, word-processing specialist Cathy Seward has come aboard as executive secretary. She replaces Patricia Guild, who left this summer to take up responsibilities as secretary to the president of Lambert Publications, Inc. (see related story).

Seward is a graduate of three word-processing courses. She was trained by Lanier and Vydec and completed a six-month full-time course offered by the Washington Urban League Word Processing Center. After stipends in her program were cut, she was selected by her class to be its representative when WJLA-TV did a story on the cutbacks. Formerly an employee of Legal Personnel, Inc., Seward has also been a promotional model for Garfinkle's and other local stores.

U.S. District Court Limits Employee Grievance Rights

In a case that may have extensive ramifications for Foreign Service employees, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia recently dismissed the suits of two AID employees whose limited appointments were terminated. The two had charged that the agency had violated an order of the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

Upon receiving notice of their termination, the employees filed grievances with AID claiming the agency had violated its procedures and relied upon inaccurate evaluation reports in terminating. They sought to have their terminations stayed pending a decision on their cases. The agency denied the grievances, and the employees appealed to the grievance board. The board in turn ordered AID to stay the terminations pending a board decision on the case. Claiming the board lacked jurisdiction in cases involving termination of limited appointments, the agency disobeyed the board order. The employees went on to file suit in the District Court, which found for the agency.

Both State and USIA have joined AID in its argument that terminations of limited appointments, even when in violation of agency regulations, are non-grievable. This opens the door for the agencies to deny employees use of the grievance process when they are denied tenure as well. The case has been appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals, where AFSA has intervened by filing an *amicus curiae* brief supporting the employees.

AFSA Batters Blast Washingtonian



AFSA members, staff, and board officers scored 12 runs against a team of Washingtonian magazine staffers on the Mall in late August. To ensure good press in the future, however, the Association's team let in 14 runs by the opponents.



Managing Your Money

Shopping for a Mortgage

By MARGARET WINKLER, *Financial Planner*

Five or six months ago, the new breed of "creative mortgages" seemed to be disappearing along with high interest rates. "Fixed-rate mortgages are back," headlines proclaimed. But, with the renewed volatility of mortgage rates, buyers should have at least a passing acquaintance with adjustable-rate financing and know some of its advantages and disadvantages.

The primary argument for the fixed-rate loan is the protection it affords the buyer from the risk of rate increases. We feel comfortable with this kind of loan because it is so familiar. However, the disadvantage of the traditional mortgage is that the interest is generally up to three percentage points higher than the initial rate on adjustable-rate mortgages. As a result, you will only qualify for a smaller loan. Loan-origination fees are also higher, and there can be penalties if you pay off your mortgage ahead of time. Six months interest on the unpaid balance is a common penalty. Loan assumption, one of the chief benefits of the fixed-rate mortgage, has practically vanished from conventional (not VA and FHA) loans. Lenders are enforcing the due-on-sale clauses that have appeared in most standard agreements in the last five or six years.

Anyone considering an adjustable-rate mortgage should look at the index used by the lender to calculate rate changes, insist on limits on interest-rate and monthly payment increases, review assumability, and try to avoid the possibility of negative amortization. If you are afflicted with the last, you can end up owing far more than the initially negotiated loan amount in exchange for the privilege of lower monthly payments in the early years of the loan.

The best of the adjustable loans contain specific caps on the amount of increase per year and over the life of the loan. You should be able to live with a two-point annual increase with a six-point overall limit, indexed to (for example) T-bills or thrift institutions' costs of funds, up or down. These indexes have swung between 4 percent and 16 percent since 1975, with the T-bill rate the more

volatile. If the initial rate is three points below the market—quite possible—with the renewal rate calculated annually, you could find your rate being decreased. Such cases are probably rare, but the ceilings afford considerable protection. Factors which should influence your decision include the initial offered rate, of course, the number of years you plan or expect to live in the residence, and your earnings expectations.

A few related addenda:

- Each "point" charged by the lender effectively adds one-eighth of a point to the stated rate of a 30-year mortgage.

- To ascertain the after-tax or true borrowing cost of a mortgage, multiply the stated interest rate by the taxpayer's combined federal and state tax brackets, multiply by 100, and subtract the result from the stated rate. This will show you the actual value of the interest deduction. Example: a 13-percent quoted rate \times 39 percent bracket = 5.07. 13 percent $-$ 5.07 = a true interest cost of 7.93 percent.

- Anyone contemplating early repayment of low-rate loans at a discount offered by the lender may be facing a tax disaster! The IRS ruled late last year that

discount "savings" must be treated as fully taxable ordinary income.

- Buyers only a few years from retirement should note that monthly payments on a short-term mortgage (10 to 15 years) are not so much higher than they might think. On an \$80,000 loan at 13 percent, you'd pay \$994 a month to repay over 15 years, compared with \$864 over 30 years.

- The cost of a "buy down" is 1½ points to shave ¼ percent off the stated rate. Example: a developer offering a \$90,000 townhouse with 11-percent financing when the going market rate is 12 percent has probably added \$5400 to the selling price ($4 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ percent \times \$90,000).

If you are bewildered about ARMs, RAMs, GPMs, Buy-Downs, SAMs, GEMs, and all the rest of the new jargon, you have plenty of company. For a helpful new publication containing definitions and very useful payment tables, write the Federal Trade Commission's Division of Credit Practices for its mortgage money guide: 6th and Pennsylvania Ave. NW., Washington, D.C. 20580.

Readers with questions are invited to write this column c/o AFSA.

Legislative Action Fund Nears \$30,000 After Six Months

Only half a year after the Association announced the formation of its Legislative Action Fund, donations totaled \$29,400.50 from 589 members. The fund is designed to help defray AFSA's expenses connected with its efforts on Capitol Hill to oppose administration proposals that would, in the Association's belief, 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 tax deductible.

Contributions will be acknowledged in this space unless the donor wishes to remain anonymous. Donations from July 16 to September 12 are listed here.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION FUND *or*
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"OK, OK, Mr. Ambassador, but don't bug GSO for anything else for the residence this month." Fred G. Shirley, Washington

HONORABLE MENTION

"OK, you're forgiven this time, but you know the department's policy on NIACT precedence abuse." John N. Kennedy, Paris

Comic Mark Russell to Appear at Public Employees Benefit

To mark the end of the Civil Service Centennial Year, the Public Employees Roundtable will present "A Night with Mark Russell" in a benefit performance at the Daughters of the American Revolution Constitution Hall on January 17. Tickets are \$15 and \$25 and are available from Charge-a-Ticket or by calling (202) 626-1000. The roundtable is made up of public employee organizations, including AFSA.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

In his recent book (co-authored with his wife) *Our Man is Inside*, Diego Asencio writes that during his 61 days' captivity in the Bogota embassy he was reminded of the *Journal* feature LIFE AND LOVE. While helping his captors negotiate his release by drafting documents in diplomatic parlance, he notes, "I recalled a photograph of Douglas Fairbanks gleefully piercing the gut of a villain with his épée. The caption was the traditional closing line of a diplomatic note: 'Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.'"

All readers are invited to enter Competition #4. Winners receive a certificate for lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club. Mail entries to:

LIFE AND LOVE #4
AFSA
2101 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037

The contest deadline is
November 15.

COMPETITION #4



State Plaza Hotel to Offer Discounts to Association Members

The State Plaza hotel (formerly Sherry Towers) has concluded an agreement with AFSA in which Association mem-

bers will receive a 20-percent discount on suite rentals. Starting January 1, members can rent a suite that normally costs \$65 for daily single occupancy for only \$52.

Interested members should contact the hotel at 2117 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, phone (202) 861-8200 or (800) 424-2859, telex 140175.

Departing Secretary Honored for Service



Outgoing AFSA Executive Secretary Patricia Guild receives a certificate of appreciation from Director Cecil B. Sanner (left) and President Dennis K. Hays for "four years' devoted service" to the Association. Guild is now secretary to the president of Lambert Publications, Inc.

Bookfair '83 Ready to sell 100,000 Books to the Public

The 23rd annual Bookfair run by the Association of American Foreign Service Women will be open to the public from 10 to 4 on October 22-24 and October 27-29. Family night, for employees and their relatives, is on October 21 from 5 to 8, with a special children's menu at the cafeteria and live entertainment.

The sale of books, stamps, collectibles, artworks, etc., benefits the AFSA/AAFSW scholarship fund and community projects. Last year's fair raised more than \$60,000.

Fact:

When you're going overseas, you have enough to worry about without worrying about your insurance, too.



Moving overseas can be a very traumatic time if you don't have the proper insurance. The fact is, the government will be responsible for only \$15,000 worth of your belongings. If any of your personal valuables such as cameras, jewelry, furs and fine arts are destroyed, damaged or stolen, you would receive not the replacement cost of the goods, but only a portion of what you'd have to pay to replace them.

Claims processes are another headache you shouldn't have to worry about. The government claims process is usually lengthy and requires investigation and documentation.

If you limit yourself to the protection provided under the Claims Act, you will not have worldwide comprehensive personal liability insurance, complete theft coverage or coverage for your personal valuables on an agreed amount basis. Can you afford to travel overseas without this additional protection?

Moving overseas is simplified by the AFSA-sponsored insurance program for AFSA members. Our insurance program will take care of most of your worries.

With our program, you can purchase as much property insurance as you feel you need at only 75¢ per \$100, and it covers you for the replacement cost of household furniture and personal effects that are destroyed, damaged or stolen, with no depreciation. You can also insure your valuable articles on an agreed amount basis, without any limitation.

AFSA coverage is worldwide, whether on business or pleasure. Should you have a problem, we provide simple, fast, efficient claims service that begins with a simple phone call or letter, and ends with payment in either U.S. dollars or local currency.

With the AFSA plan, you can also get comprehensive personal liability insurance, complete theft coverage and itemized protection for your valuable articles.

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