

Reforming International Conferences

Foreign Service Journal

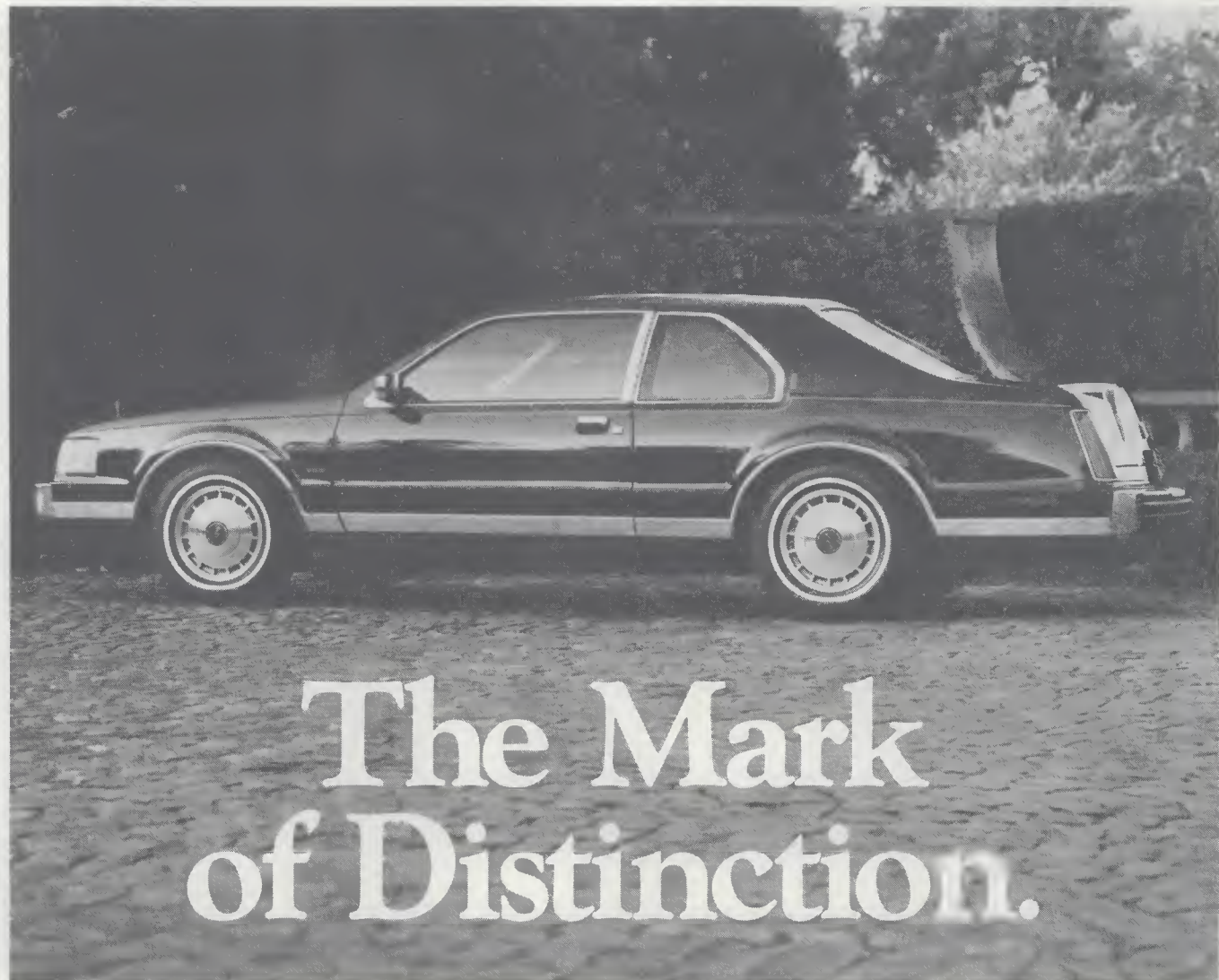
\$1.25

DECEMBER 1983

DIPLOMACY & FOOD



Boston Tea Party



The Mark of Distinction.

For those who appreciate the difference between a luxury car and a premium automobile, we proudly offer the new Lincoln Continental Mark VII.

Take in the distinctive, worldly lines. The assured air. The understated elegance that is unmistakably Mark VII. This is first-class travel.

Advanced aerody-

namics smoothly directs the flow of air over Mark VII, giving you a car that moves sleekly, quietly. And electronically controlled air suspension automatically levels the car for consistent riding comfort and precise driver control.

In Mark VII, you are literally riding on air.

The new Continental Mark VII. The definition

of a premium automobile.

Remember that Ford's Special Diplomatic discount applies to any Ford Motor Company car or light truck. Just send in this coupon for more details.

Get it together — Buckle up.

Have you driven a Ford... lately?

**FORD EXPORT
DIVISION**



Please send me full information on using my diplomatic discount to purchase a new _____

WRITE TO: DIPLOMATIC SALES, FORD MOTOR COMPANY
815 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
Tel: (202) 785-6047.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

COUNTRY _____ ZIP _____



Officers and Members of the Governing Board

- DENNIS K. HAYS, *President*
 ANTHEA S. DE ROUVILLE, *Vice President*
 DOUGLAS P. BROOME, *Second Vice President*
 IRVING A. WILLIAMSON JR., *Secretary*
 JOANN JENKINS, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD DELANEY, JUANITA L. NOFFLET, *AID Representatives*
 JAROSLAV J. VERNER, *USIA Representative*
 THOMAS J. MILLER,
 JAMES SPAIN, JAMES WILLIAMSON, *State Representatives*
 SPENCER KING, ROGER PROVENCHER,
 CHARLES S. WHITEHOUSE, *Retired Representatives*

Staff

- CECIL B. SANNER, *Acting Executive Director/Administrative Director*
 SUSAN HOLIK, *General Counsel*
 SABINE SISK, *Members' Interest Grievance Representative*
 JOHN TIERNEY, *Comptroller*
 CATHY SEWARD, *Executive Secretary*
 LEE MIDTHUN, *Membership Secretary*
 WANDA DYKHUIS, *Accountant*
 CRISTINA CABREJAS, *Secretary*

Congressional Liaison

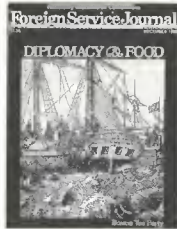
ROBERT M. BEERS

Scholarship Programs

DAWN CUTHELL

Face-to-Face Program

KENNETH J. DILLON, *Director*



COVER: *The Boston Tea Party is a good example of an early use of food for diplomatic purposes. Our report on the state of "food power" today begins on page 24.*

The Modern Ambassador.....16

Participants at this Georgetown symposium debate issues of professionalism and loyalty. A Journal report.

Reforming Conferences19

When the world community meets to resolve global issues, it relies on a mechanism sadly in need of repair. By Harry C. Blaney III.

Food Power.....24

Looking at why the Carter embargo failed shows how agriculture can be a potent international weapon. By Robert M. Hathaway.

Journal: Rendezvous at Tomaselli's30

A pair of roses was all the two former lovers had to recognize each other. By Fred Godsey.

Letters.....	2	Foreign Service People	34
Book Reviews	8	Association News.....	37
Plus ça Change.....	14	Annual Report	40
Editorial.....	15		

Foreign Service Journal

STEPHEN R. DUJACK, *Editor*
 FRANCES G. BURWELL, *Associate Editor*

Editorial Board

- JOHN D. STEMPEL, *Chairman*
 FRANCIS X. CUNNINGHAM
 GILBERT DONAHUE
 GEORGE GEDDA
 W. HAVEN NORTH
 CAROLINE MEIRS OSTERLING
 TAIRA ST. JOHN
 LANGE SCHERMERHORN
 CAROL VAN VOORST
 JAROSLAV VERNER

Advertising Representatives

- JAMES C. SASMOR ASSOCIATES,
 521 Fifth Ave., Suite 1700,
 New York, N.Y. 10017.
 (212) 683-3421
 JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD.,
 46 Keyes House, Dolphin Sq.,
 London SW1. 01-834-8023/9.
 International Representatives.

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.

Microfilm copies of current as well as of back issues of the *Foreign Service Journal* are available through the University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, under a contract signed October 30, 1967.

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:

Active Members—Dues range from \$52 to \$117 annually. Retired Active Members—Dues are \$40 annually for members with incomes over \$20,000, \$25 annually for less than \$20,000. Associate Members—Dues are \$25 annually. All dues payments include \$7.50 allocation for the *Journal* and Association News, per AFSA Bylaws.

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

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

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

© American Foreign Service Association, 1983. 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045. Offices in State Dept.: 632-8160/2548

December 1983. Volume 60, No. 11. ISSN 0015-7279.

What do Ike, JFK & Nixon have in common?

They were moved by
FIDELITY STORAGE

From presidents to plenipotentiaries, Washingtonians choose Fidelity Storage, the company with more than 75 years of experience. Fidelity is one of the area's largest moving and storage companies, with six locations throughout the metro area—from the District to Virginia to Maryland. Fidelity's warehouses are the largest and most advanced containerized facilities inside or

outside of the Beltway, with super-secure vault storage for your silver and other valuables. We are the only State Department contractor with both a quality control program and fulltime inspector to ensure the highest standards.

We have moved Patton, MacArthur and Doolittle. From generals to general service officers, join a moving crowd.



**Inbound or Outbound, Storage or Air Freight, call Fidelity Storage
(703) 971-5300 • PO Box 10257, Alexandria, Va. 22310**

LETTERS

Debate on Diplomacy

As a recently commissioned Foreign Service officer, I read with great interest Smith Simpson's rather penetrating assessment of my newly adopted profession, "Our Faltering Diplomacy" [September]. Since I have only been in the Foreign Service for six months, I feel unqualified to pass judgment on the majority of his arguments.

On at least one point, however, I must disagree with Mr. Simpson. According to him, the oral interview "is now made as comfortable and relaxed as possible." I must confess that I found the oral interview to be a very stressful situation. To be sure, it is not the intention of the Board of Examiners to apply pressure until candidates crack under the strain. Nevertheless, the great odds against successfully completing the entire assessment process, the prolonged length of time involved, and the tremendous desire of candidates to become FSOs all combine to make the oral interview an inherently stressful situation.

DAVID M. MARKS
Foreign Service Officer
Arlington, Virginia

It is a very good thing for an organization to have someone who knows it well, and who genuinely seeks to improve it, take a cold, hard look at its strengths and weaknesses. That is what Smith Simpson has done, and it is hard not to agree that better screening, better training, and better management of Foreign Service personnel would make American diplomacy more effective. I, for one, share Mr. Simpson's view that the difficulties and challenges confronting American diplomats require qualities which many simply do not have. The only fault I can find with Mr. Simpson's analysis is that he disregards the basic societal changes which have made today's officers less trusting of "the system," less respectful of seniority, and less confident that they will get their just desserts than an earlier generation used to be.

CHARLES S. WHITEHOUSE
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.



**FOREIGN
SERVICE
PERSONNEL
WORLDWIDE
PERSONAL
PROPERTY
INSURANCE
FLOATER**

underwritten
by London
insurers and
exclusively
administered by

HUNTINGTON T. BLOCK INSURANCE
2101 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
Telephone 202/223-0673
Toll free 800/424-8830
Telex 892596

Call from anywhere in the United States toll free or write our Overseas Department for information about our low rates, our broad coverage, our new option which provides replacement cost without depreciation, and our ON THE SPOT claims service by representatives posted in every major city in the world.

AVAILABLE AGAIN . . . Tales of the Foreign Service

The paperback edition of "Tales of the Foreign Service" is now out and available from the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

TALES OF

Selections from the
Jack K. McFall Contest



**Only
\$4.95**

American Foreign Service Association
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Please send me _____ copies of "Tales of the Foreign Service" at \$4.95 each.

My check is enclosed.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

**A Sound Education
For English
Speaking Children**

High-quality, effective home study courses developed by certified teachers at outstanding Baltimore private school. Home is your classroom, you are the teacher. Success is easy with explicit, step-by-step instructions. Ideal for enrichment or for families on the move. All materials included. Start anytime. Transfer to other schools. 300,000 student users in over 75 years. Non-profit. Equal opportunity. Fully approved. Write or call for free catalog.

CALVERT SCHOOL
Established 1897

Box F12-3, Tuscany Rd., Baltimore, MD 21210
301-243-6030

COLUMBIA PLAZA PHARMACY
516 23rd St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20037

Sensational SPECIAL-BY-MAIL SALE
Order any time and SAVE 20% on all prescriptions
Send No Money: Pay only after receipt of order

The only drug store your family will ever need
DEPEND ON US! Fast Service!
Telephone: 331-5800



It's District's containerization that keeps your cherished belongings safe, clean and dry for moving or storage.

The idea of "containerization" is not new — Thomas Jefferson had special containers made to protect his prized possessions on long hauls. Jefferson would marvel at the way we have containerized foreign service personnel's possessions for over twenty years as an approved State Department Contractor. Each of our State Department Export containers is expertly packed, closed securely, moisture-sealed, and steel-banded for maximum security. We can containerize anything that is movable, from sensitive electronic equipment to large, heavy pieces of furniture.

At District Moving and Storage, our storage containers are large and sturdy enough to protect your household effects, no matter how long you may want to store them. We store your containerized belongings

in our new 72,000 square foot warehouse, where full security fencing, a central station burglar alarm, and a dry sprinkler system keep them safe, secure and dry.

If you would like us to give you an estimate about storage or export containerization, just call us at 301/420-3300. We will be glad to tell you how we can meet your needs, whatever they may be.



DISTRICT MOVING & STORAGE, INC.

3850 Penn Belt Place
Forestville, Maryland 20747

Coming home—Going overseas?

Buy from the
Washington area's largest

AMC
Jeep • Renault
Dealer

COURTESY

AMC • Jeep • Renault

4932 Bethesda Ave., Bethesda, Md. 20814
755 Rockville Pike, Rockville, Md. 20852



Eagle Wagon

Choose from our complete line of 4-wheel drive Jeeps, AMC Eagles —plus the new Renault Encore and Alliance. Local or overseas delivery. Diplomatic corps discounts. Daily and weekly rentals available. Phone or write Dick Schmacenberg, (301) 656-0800

I have read with interest the article by Smith Simpson, especially his statement that "officers are . . . accepted without being required to know anything about diplomacy and the diplomatic process, about international law, about the goals, procedures, and problems of international organizations. . . ." I wish to give a crumb of evidence in support of Mr. Simpson's statement.

Recently I talked with a very bright young woman who graduated from an excellent American college with a bachelor's degree in liberal arts. She was asking my advice about the Foreign Service and stated that she had already taken the exam once and failed.

She failed in English. She passed in international relations, international economics, government, history, diplomacy, etc. She told me that she had had one undergraduate course in economics and no courses in the other subjects just mentioned. I asked her what she was reading to make up for her very inadequate academic background in these subjects. She stated that she was occasionally reading one of the weekly magazines and from time to time the newspapers. She was thus taking marginal action to correct this deficiency.

I do not now know the structure of the exams, and I am basically skeptical about any examination system. Nevertheless, there is surely something wrong when a bright person almost totally unschooled in international relations and diplomacy can pass that part of the examination and fail the part which presumably should have been very easy for her.

I took the Foreign Service exam in 1939 as the German troops were rolling into Poland. At that time I was teaching economics at a university in New England. I noted that the exam included international law and maritime law. Before taking the exam I took a ten-day correspondence course in these two subjects. The exam took three and a half days. My final grades were higher in international law and maritime law than in the subjects I was teaching. Needless to say, my knowledge of the law subjects was and remains basically zero. So much for the old-time exams.

JOHN WILLS TUTHILL
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

Please accept my compliments on the article by Smith Simpson.

It was well-written, with excellent content, and Mr. Simpson should be congratulated for that. But considering its content and its contentions you deserve to be complimented for printing it.

The Department of State has had its problems, and here I am thinking of the era just after World War II when competent diplomats were accused of "losing China" to the communists, of the McCarthy era, and of the continuing transfer of operations to the White House.

However, this last issue of your *Journal* told me that State has not lost its courage nor its determination to continue to be State.

I worked until retirement with great enthusiasm for AID and I do wish that that agency might come out with similar articles.

CHARLES DOVE
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

Mr. Dove's comments are appreciated, but we would like to point out to him and to our other readers that the State Department does not publish the Foreign Service Journal and that it does not take part in its editorial operations or in the formation of its editorial policy. The Journal is published by the American Foreign Service Association, a private corporation that is completely independent of the government. With the exception of the ASSOCIATION NEWS section and the EDITORIAL, which are published under the direction of the AFSA Governing Board, all editorial matter in the Journal is the responsibility of the Editorial Board and the editors.

—ED.

A Great Danger

Julia Moore's article "Educating the Public." [July/August] in which she holds that "American ignorance of basic foreign policy and defense issues must be met by a concerted public-affairs effort," is most timely, since many Americans seem little aware of the variety of activities and developments taking place in the international sphere that spell serious danger to our well-being. Moore makes many excellent recommendations regarding what should be done to correct this critical situation. I would suggest, however, that much of what she recommends will require considerable time to put into effect. The need of our public to know what is going on is so urgent that other immediate actions are essential.

It would appear that the prevalent attitude among Americans is that we can segregate ourselves from what is occurring in the outside world. Media polls indicate that our people are generally ignorant of developments in the rest of the world that in one way or another affect our national life. This is not surprising as, with very few exceptions, our media give very little attention to occurrences in the rest of the world that might affect us, and few objec-

UTILITY STOCKS

Check-A-Month Plan

Receive a Dividend Check Every Month!

Phone — Write — Visit
For new research report

A.G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.

Members New York Stock Exchange
THE INCOME SPECIALISTS
229 Branches Nationwide

Please send A.G. Edwards research report
on Selected Utility Stocks — Check-a-Month FSJ

Name
Address
City
State Zip
Bus. Phone Res. Ph.

I am a client of A.G. Edwards Yes No

A.G. EDWARDS & SONS, INC.
Mrs. Ruth G. Adler, Vice Pres.
Certified Financial Planner
Spring Valley Center
4801 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
202/364-1600

ANG 125 EDC

SIPC

Riverside Towers Hotel



Our Service Is No Secret!

Imagine! The convenience of your own suite with kitchen...within easy strolling distance of the State Dept., the Fed, GSA, OPM, Kennedy Center, and the metro! And all for just \$49-59 per day*. Discover why our good service is common knowledge at:

RIVERSIDE TOWERS HOTEL

2201 Virginia Ave., NW

Washington, DC 20037

Tel: 202-452-4600 or 800-424-2870

*tax not included. Government/military rate.

S
O
F
T
G
R
A
F

DIPLOMATIC SOFTWARE AND COMPUTERS!
PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATION GRAPHICS
HOME AND OFFICE COMPUTERS
AT-HOME EDUCATIONAL PACKAGES
OVERSEAS MAIL ORDER DIVISION
SHOWROOM AND TRAINING ASSISTANCE
COMPUTER ART

U S A SPECIAL PRICES FOR FOREIGN SERVICE

A TIE WEST COMPANY

4660 KENMORE AVENUE SUITE 802
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22304
703 823 1559 TELEX 904059 (TIE WEST)



SOFTGRAF

tive explanations of the significance of the happenings to the individual American citizen.

There are great economic, cultural, and political pressures taking place in the undeveloped and underdeveloped countries that are contributing to an ungovernable world situation. Those with power and mischievous purposes are taking advantage of the weak situations in different countries (particularly where poverty and authoritarian governments predominate) to stir up discontent with the hope of installing, in most cases, communist-supported governments that will repress the population still more and do away with any possibility of developing governing systems that truly reflect the wishes and best interests of the people.

The Department of State and the president should become clearly conscious that the public is entitled to have hard facts presented to it for consideration. While there may be hesitation to divulge facts on grounds that confidential sources may be endangered, our authorities must be resourceful enough to uncover and present the facts without harm to confidentiality. It is irrational to expect our citizens to sign a blank check for action.

President Reagan is making extraordinary efforts with inadequate incontrovertible information to support him in alerting the country to its need to take certain positive steps in protection of United States interests. While the world situation may appear different than what faced us in the 1910s and 1930s, it is well to remember that at those times Presidents Wilson and Roosevelt were assuring the country that there was no need for us to become involved in Europe's problems. We were eventually engulfed by World Wars I and II at tremendous cost in life and effort. One should wonder how different might have been the results had our people been helped to foresee that we would be drawn in irresistibly to those situations and had we taken positive steps in time to reduce the eventual cost to us.

The Department of State and the president have the means at hand to disseminate to our people those facts that will persuade our citizens to understand developments abroad and how they threaten our general interests and our security itself. We certainly have persons with the talent to relate factual information in an intelligent and convincing manner in simple terms to our people.

Moore is entirely right that our people are ignorant of the many things taking place around the world that spell serious danger to our way of life. It is urgent that we take early steps to inform our people

properly about them so that our country can take better measures to protect our interests and ensure our very existence.

ADOLF B. HORN
Consul General, retired
Guadalajara, Mexico

Consular Kudos

Congratulations to the *Journal* on Robert Fritts's and David McGaffey's thoughtful articles in the October issue. Having most recently served in a post where consular issues loomed very large indeed, and where a number of excellent new officers of all cones regularly cut their teeth on the demanding and frustrating work of a large consular section, I heartily applaud these efforts to give consular work and our consular officers the recognition they deserve.

I was also intrigued by Stephen Engelberg's analysis of the politics of U.S. immigration reform. I hope that his comprehensive review of the up-and-down history of reform efforts does not succeed in providing a premature epitaph for the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. The adverse public reaction to recent efforts to bury the bill may well lead to its reconsideration when the Congress reconvenes. In the meantime, the problems it addresses are likely to grow in intensity and in the concern they arouse in the public mind.

For anyone looking for more information on these issues, FAIR (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2028 P Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036) is a useful source of data. I believe that a number of members of the Foreign Service have turned to it in an effort to keep up with the evolving nature of the issues and of the legislative response; I recently joined its National Advisory Board.

The problems of immigration are enormously complex but I think we can agree that they will increasingly affect almost every aspect of our society. The *Journal's* attention to them, as to the Service's vital consular work, is most encouraging and helpful.

ROBERT L. YOST
Ambassador to the Dominican Republic,
1978-82
Washington, D.C.

Herz's Legacy

The recent demise of Ambassador Martin F. Herz represents a tragic loss to the country, the Foreign Service, and his family, associates, and friends.

I first met Martin in Teheran almost exactly twenty years ago when we served together in the embassy's political section.

To work for him was never easy but always challenging and stimulating. He constantly pressed all of us to consider the broadest national interest while balancing the various special factors involved in any issue. He insisted on high quality and elegant style in all we wrote. Above all, he never let us forget his basic belief that the national interest was best served by thoughtful professional behavior and not by knee-jerk emotional reactions to the tragedies of the moment. As much a teacher as a diplomat, he instructed a whole group of FSOs on how to consider our Foreign Service, its roles, tasks, and values with professionalism and intellect.

It was not possible to serve with him without becoming aware of the quality of his mind and the keenness of his perception. He always asked the question, "But what does it mean?" Many of us believe that he was not employed enough at policymaking levels. One wonders about his possible achievements if he had received assignments senior to the one embassy he did receive.

Still, we all can learn—and take heart—from his use of the opportunities that did come his way. His penchant for both learning and teaching could be seen in the voluntary newspaper jobs he sought out in small-town American newspapers during several home leaves as well as his most recent work as director of studies at Georgetown's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. Although he will be sorely missed, his example of energy, intellect, and professionalism will serve as a model for practitioners of diplomacy—particularly the younger generation.

VICTOR WOLF JR.
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Silver Spring, Maryland

Mispelling

Those readers who may not have access to my Nonstandard Dictionary of the English Language may appreciate learning the meaning of "assymetry" as used by Mr. Herz in his review of *Strategies of Containment* [September] and of "assymetrical" as attributed by him to Mr. Gaddis.

The term is used typically in the diplomatic community and refers to a system of measuring the relative donkeyness of its members. Alternatively it can be applied in similar fashion to typists, typesetters, and proofreaders of periodicals dealing with diplomatic matters.

ERIC B. SHEARER
Foreign Service Reserve Officer, retired
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

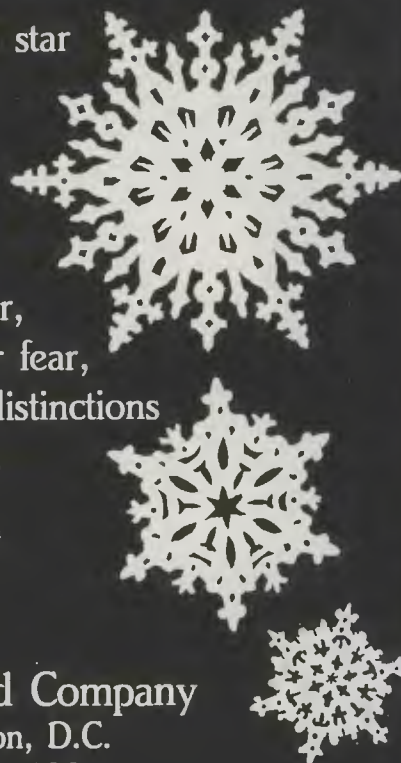
Our earth is but a small star
in the great universe.

Yet of it we can make,
if we choose,

a planet unvexed by war,
untroubled by hunger or fear,
undivided by senseless distinctions
of race, color or theory.

*Prayer of Franklin D. Roosevelt
at the U.N., 1942*

Clements and Company
Washington, D.C.
Christmas, 1983



We have Foreign Service For the Foreign Service

Whether you're looking for just one car or an entire fleet, a purchase from H. B. Lantzsch links you to a dealer who has served the diplomatic community for 23 years. H. B. Lantzsch—Washington's largest and finest Volkswagen dealership—offers a Foreign Service courtesy discount and speedy worldwide delivery. When you're in Washington, stop in at our convenient Fairfax showroom, close to State Department and Foreign Service Institute offices, and contact our Diplomatic Sales Representative, or write us from your overseas post.

Bogdan Badrich, Diplomatic Sales, H. B. Lantzsch
Route 50, Fairfax, VA 22030 • (703) 273-6700

Performance Cars from the People Who Perform For You!

SPECIALIZING IN VOLKSWAGEN

Authorized VW Dealer
VOLVO • PORSCHE-AUDI



VA Dealer #666
MERCEDES-BENZ

NATIVE AMERICAN CRAFTS

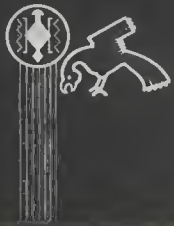


THE INDIAN CRAFT SHOP

Featuring

- Jewelry
- Kachinas
- Navajo rugs
- Pottery
- Basketry
- Sandpaintings

and other fine handicrafts




THE INDIAN CRAFT SHOP

Department of the Interior
1801 G Street, N.W., Room 1023
Washington, D.C. 20240
(202) 737-4381 or 343-4056

Open M-F 8:30-4:30.

Join us at our open house
the last Thursday evening
of each month.

 Guest Services

WASHINGTON, D.C. BOUND?

RENT-A-USED CAR
from \$12.95 per day

RENT-A-NEW CAR
from \$17.95 per day

FREE MILEAGE ALLOWANCE

Ideal When Shipping POV or on Home Leave

Call DRIVE-A-BARGAIN (703)683-6400
2850 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Arlington, VA 22202
For Fast Pick-up at Crystal City Metro

Mr. Hawthorne Goes to England — just published

The adventures of Nathaniel Hawthorne in his second career as American Consul in England. A fascinating account of Victorian Britain, ruthless sea captains, boarding house life, a war scare, delicate diplomatic encounters and exchanges, elaborate civic affairs, warm family life. Opening, closing chapters deal briefly with pre/post consular events.

222 pages, nearly 100 illustrations. Hardback. 4-color jacket. 246 × 178 mm. By James O'Donald Mays, retired FSIO. \$24 (postpaid worldwide) from NEW FOREST LEAVES, Burley, Ringwood, Hampshire BH24 4BA, England.

BOOK REVIEWS

National Characters

THE EUROPEANS. By Luigi Barzini. Simon and Schuster, 1983. \$14.95.

The English don't work and hence nothing works in England. The French are quarrelsome and materialistic. The Germans are humorless. The Italians are disorganized. The Dutch are religious. The Americans are the greatest.

Barzini, author of a best-seller on the Italians, has written a book about the national character of the above nationalities (who, it should be noted, only make up a small part of Western Europe). This soufflé, at times *persiflage*, was written for the American market (anyone who writes that American coffee is good and omits mention of Ronald Reagan must be writing for the American market), thus European history and current perceptions are kept suitably simplified.

The trouble with books on national character is that national character may change and that in some countries there may be more than one national character. Particularly glaring in this book is the omission of any discussion of mini-national characters such as the Scots, the Corsicans, the Sicilians, and the Turkish guest workers. Nevertheless, since all of us like to describe other countries' cultures and politics (and read about our own) this book will probably sell well. It makes fun skilodge reading but should be borrowed from one's local public library rather than purchased. The money saved can then be more profitably spent on a good European cookbook. —CHARLES R. FOSTER

McGhee Remembers

ENVOY TO THE MIDDLE WORLD. By George McGhee. Harper & Row, 1983. \$25.

There are still people around the State Department who were there with George McGhee in 1949-51. However venerable they are now, most of them were too young then to have had a major role in the great events over which McGhee presided as coordinator for the Greek-Turkish aid program and as assistant secretary for Near East, South Asian, and African affairs.

There are also still extant many others, retired but with an active interest in foreign affairs, who will find their names and their work mentioned in this book as McGhee's collaborators. For both groups, *Envoy to the Middle World* is a treasure trove.

Aside from NEA aficionados, there is much pleasure and profit to be had from these pages for scholars, philosophers, and just plain lovers of history. The narrative technique is deft. Most of the 32 chapters are built around specific events: "Nehru's First Visit to Washington," "Negotiations with the King of Oil," and others. Each one begins with a concise, carefully researched summary of basic facts and prior developments. Each ends with an equally excellent review of what has happened since. Few memoirs have ever been better set in context.

In between, McGhee provides a graphic description and commentary of the events in which he participated. The drama of oral history combines with the detail and documentation of research. In many cases, McGhee opens an additional window by liberal use of material from recently released official British documents. Many of these, incidentally, are given to cataloging McGhee's diplomatic sins, and the Texas oilman-Rhodes Scholar author gracefully admits to some of these without ever deviating from the basic liberal principles that inspired them. In this regard, his two chapters on the Iranian oil crisis are particularly fascinating.

It is abundantly evident that there was—and is—room for thought, as well as for talk and action, in George McGhee's view of international affairs. His explanation of his preference for the title phrase, "The Middle World," is perceptive and compelling. So is his analysis of the foreign affairs process: "In the formulation of foreign policy . . . there are seldom any really new ideas. . . . Breakthroughs occur because the changing world scene permits, at a particular time, something to work which could not have been carried out successfully before. . . . The art of foreign affairs is to sense the opportunity to make your move."

In the concluding chapter, McGhee provides much wisdom for those who currently have responsibility for dealing with "the Middle World." McGhee points out that there are now 66 independent states in an area where, before World War II, there were only 11. He notes that despite the emergence of the wealthy oil-producing states, most of the Middle World has not shared in the affluence of the post-World War II period. Bitter regional conflicts continue. U.S. aid has declined. The Sovi-

DYM, FRANK & COMPANY

Investment Manager
for the
American Foreign Service Association

- ★ Personal Portfolio Management
- ★ Institutional Funds Management
- ★ Investment Decision-Making
Models and Strategies for
Financial Institutions

For information, write or call:

Dym, Frank & Company
1718 22nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

(202) 667-5001

FREE SQUASH MEMBERSHIPS FOR AFSA MEMBERS



ASFA members can now play squash at the Capitol Hill Squash Club without paying any membership or initiation fee. By simply showing your AFSA membership card, you will pay only the court fees at Capitol Hill's most luxurious fitness facility. Located only a block from the Capitol South Metro stop, the Club also offers free use of changing rooms, showers, and saunas before and after playing squash. There is a \$10 annual processing fee, some restrictions apply.

Capitol Hill Squash & Nautilus Club
214 D Street, S.E. • (202) 547-2255

BUY SELL INVEST

Ed Joyce
Retired FSIO

LICENSED IN D.C.
and VIRGINIA

**MOUNT
VERNON
REALTY**
INC.



6257 Old Dominion Dr.
McLean, Va. 22101
Off: 821-8300
Res: 821-2109

DATSUN Triumph VW
DATSUN VOLVO MG
F FIAT BMW MG
F ALFA MG
MERCEDES
MERCEDES

**FREE! NEW CAR CATALOG
BUY DIRECT**

The comprehensive NAI Master Catalog contains 32 pages, over 150 illustrations, DIPLOMATIC and FACTORY tax-free prices, equipment, options, colors, and all the details on how to order your car at these special savings.

The Nemet Organization has been meeting the needs of Americans throughout the world since 1916. You will have your car, waiting where you want it. STATESIDE OR IN EUROPE—when you want it, all serviced and ready to go at special factory prices.

Buy your new car from Nemet because we'll be here when you get home.

Please send me a FREE copy of your FSJ-1281
32 page Master Catalog.

I am interested in: Stateside Delivery
 European Delivery

AUDI	MG	RENAULT
BMW	MERCEDES	TRIUMPH
DATSUN	PEUGEOT	VOLKSWAGEN
FIAT	PORSCHE	VOLVO
JAGUAR		

Name _____ Rank _____

Social Security No _____ Date of Birth _____

Address _____

Date of Rotation _____

Delivery Place _____

Nemet Auto International

World's Largest Distributor of Tax-Free Cars

153-03 Hillside Avenue, Jamaica, New York 11432

Telephone (212) 523-5858 / Cable NEMETAUTO

Toll Free 800-221-0177

et threat remains. The residents of the Middle World have many views and attitudes that we do not share (Capitalist McGhee is eloquent and understanding on the appeal of socialism in the Middle World). Yet they must be allowed "to choose their own goals, set their own priorities, and how to go about accomplishing them."

McGhee is optimistic about the future of U.S. relations with the Middle World. His reasons, set forth in the final chapter, are logical and persuasive. One of them provides a fit quotation with which to end almost any discussion of the subject: "Many in the Middle World are more impressed with the economic opportunity in the United States, our Declaration of Independence, our Bill of Rights, and our free press, than with our power."

—JAMES W. SPAIN

Unconstructive Engagement

SOUTH AFRICA: The Prospects for Peaceful Change. By Theodor Hanf, Herbert Weiland, and Gerda Vierdag. Indiana University Press, 1982. \$35.

Any contribution by European Africanists to the existing library of South African works is welcome, for it generally brings a fresh perspective. This book is no exception. It examines the prospects for the development of a more democratic and equitable system of government in South Africa. While conceding that the likelihood for peaceful change is somewhat remote, the book does advocate at least an attempt in that direction. This may be heartening to U.S. policymakers since constructive engagement is now the cornerstone of our relationship with South Africa. But, the authors believe that constructive engagement by itself is idealistic at best and dangerous at worst because it breaks the ranks of a united front with other Western powers.

Alas, the authors are caught in a dilemma—the desire to see a pluralistic democracy yet the realization that the facts compel them to question seriously the likelihood of such an outcome. Nonetheless, all hopeful signs are meticulously examined and analyzed, but the authors are left with the intransigent Afrikaaners and English-speaking whites who are unwilling to share any political power with urbanized blacks. This is the fundamental issue confronting South Africa today and one which probably will not be resolved without much bloodshed.

This work is an important one if for no other reason than that it may force U.S.

policymakers to rethink the existing policy of constructive engagement. The authors seem to indicate—though not too clearly—that ultimately South Africa will probably yield only to the threat, real or implied, of sanctions. The United States is in an ideal position to lead the West toward prodding South Africa to make changes, but it can do so only if it forgoes the policy of constructive engagement.

—ROY A. HARRELL JR.

Oil & U.S. Policy

UNITED STATES OIL POLICY AND DIPLOMACY: A Twentieth Century Overview. By Edward W. Chester. Greenwood Press, 1983. \$35.

THE OIL PRICE REVOLUTION. By Steven A. Schneider. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983. \$35.

In 1945, State Department oil analyst John A. Loftus noted that "a review of the diplomatic history of the last 35 years will show that petroleum has historically played a larger role in the external relations of the United States than any other commodity." Since Loftus wrote, the United States' traditional self-sufficiency in oil has come to an end and access to foreign oil has become vital to national security and economic well-being. Moreover, the years since World War II have seen the largest non-violent transfer of wealth in history, as the oil exporting countries have been able to increase the price of their oil from under \$2 a barrel to almost \$30.

While several studies on various aspects of this story have appeared in recent years, no comprehensive account exists of U.S. foreign oil policy in the twentieth century. Edward W. Chester, professor of history at the University of Texas at Arlington, has tried to fill this gap for the period up to 1973 with an encyclopedic work that covers practically every instance where oil was a factor in U.S. foreign policy. While this comprehensiveness is the book's main virtue, its value as a reference is undermined by the author's (or publisher's) decision to limit the notes to direct quotations. While there is a bibliographical essay, it contains nothing published after 1979 and few works since 1975. Moreover, the book's organization works against understanding the evolution of U.S. foreign oil policy. After an opening chapter reviewing U.S. oil policy in this century, Chester covers the same ground over and over as he examines U.S. oil diplomacy vis-à-vis different parts of the world. The result is that bits and pieces of important developments are scattered among chapters and the reader

gains no sense of the overall evolution of U.S. foreign oil policy. Finally, there are no tables or charts to help the reader make sense of the developing structure of the world oil economy.

In contrast, Steven A. Schneider's account of the evolution of the world economy since 1945 is well-organized, buttressed by more than 80 pages of notes and 62 tables and figures. Schneider, a Berkeley-trained sociologist, combines history, economics, and political science in his study. And he makes effective and imaginative use of published sources, in particular the petroleum, business, and daily press. The only weak sections of this comprehensive work are the opening chapter, which covers U.S. foreign oil policy before 1955 and was written before several recent studies became available, and the final chapter, which strains to carry the story to the end of 1982.

Schneider relates the oil crises of the 1970s to the changing structure of the world oil economy. In massive detail, he shows that the high levels of consuming-country dependence on Mideastern oil were not inevitable but rather due to the failure of the consuming countries to develop effective energy policies and the major oil companies' emphasis on investing where profits were highest. The oil crises of 1973-74 and 1979 were both triggered by political events not directly related to oil, and *The Oil Price Revolution* provides a useful introduction to Mideastern politics as well as economics. Anyone interested in the history of the world oil economy since 1945 would do well to consult this exceptionally useful study. —DAVID PAINTER

Remaking Germany

WINDS OF HISTORY: *The German Years of Lucius DuBignon Clay*. By John H. Backer. Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1983. \$25.

In 1945 Hitler's Third Reich surrendered unconditionally. The victorious Allies set out to remove all traces of Nazism and create a unified, democratic Germany. But this grand design failed, and four years later Germany became two states confronting each other across an iron curtain.

Winds of History is a vivid account of the performance of General Lucius Clay, the leading U.S. official of the occupation period. He tackled his mission—demilitarization, denazification, decartelization, and democratization—with a sharp mind and relentless determination. Clay managed to carry out the necessary controls while allowing Germany enough economic recovery to survive. In the Allied Control Council, where Clay was the chief U.S.

There's a New State in Washington

Suites With Fully-Equipped Kitchens

from \$40.00 *

* (Monthly rate; tax not included)

And, we're located right where you want to be . . . the State Department, George Washington University, the Kennedy Center and most government agencies. Our guests stay in spacious suites, with fully equipped kitchens, for less than the price of most rooms in Washington. Our rates for weekends, and longer stays, are equally attractive.

Should you require a meeting/conference/entertainment room, we have several to meet your needs, seating 10 to 75 associates. Catering is also available. For your dining pleasure we recommend our Cafe, featuring a wide range of appetite-pleasing entrees. Come by and visit our new state in Washington.



STATE · PLAZA

FORMERLY SHERRY TOWERS HOTEL

(202) 861-8200 2117 E St. NW, Washington DC 20037 (800) 424-2859

Special Discounts Available for AFSA Members

Water pollution. It's enough to make you sick.

With all the pollutants that could be contaminating your tap water today, you just might be jeopardizing your health with every glass you drink. If that possibility concerns you, there's a home water purification system you should know about: the Pure Water distiller. Even if you don't believe there's a water pollution problem, maybe you should write us anyhow — just to be on the safe side.

Please send me complete product information.

Please send distributorship information.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

PHONE _____

WRM DISTRIBUTORS
for



BILL McMENIMEN, P.O. BOX 116, N. READING, MASS. 01864 (617)664-3304

"Improving the quality of life through the quality of water."



**DIPLOMATIC CAR SALES
AND LEASING
ALL MODELS**

OUR 20TH YEAR IN WASHINGTON

CAVALIER VW

ONLY 10 MINUTES FROM KEY BRIDGE

4045 LEE HWY.

ARLINGTON VA 22207 **703/525-1900**

representative, it was sometimes easier to reach an agreement with the Soviets than the vengeful French. Agreement on a reparations policy that would allow Germany enough industry to maintain a frugal standard of living was a stumbling block.

At the Moscow conference of Allied foreign ministers in March 1947, a Clay-Sokolovsky compromise was rejected, and Clay learned that the winds of history had changed. The three western powers set their sights on a truncated West Germany firmly integrated in Western Europe. Clay then put all his skills and determination behind the new policy. His final two years

in Germany brought more successes: currency reform, the Berlin airlift, and a constitution for the new Federal Republic.

John Backer served in the economics division of Clay's Berlin headquarters. Two previous books, *Priming the German Economy* (1971) and *The Decision to Divide Germany* (1978), have kept him warmed up on the subject. He has used interviews, documents, and photographs, as well as a foreword by John J. McCloy, Clay's successor in Germany, to make *Winds of History* a book for both those who love history and those who thrive on foreign policy.

—JAMES E. BOYLE

Assassinating Sadat

AUTUMN OF FURY: *The Assassination of Sadat*. By Mohamed Heikal. Random House, 1983. \$17.95.

This is an unpleasant book, an attempt to assassinate the character of Anwar Sadat. Giving little credit to his historic trip to Jerusalem, Heikal instead dwells on Sadat's sensitivity about his lowly background, his Nubian ancestry, his showmanship. Not content with trying to destroy Sadat's image, he also portrays Jihan Sadat as a scheming, ambitious wife.

The book is badly researched and contains numerous errors; another reviewer has stated that he found at least one hundred. One wonders how many other errors may be in the book and how selective Heikal's memory may have been. Errors aside, the book does cover some interesting territory: the Coptic Church and Pope Shenouda, Muslim fundamentalism, corruption. Curiously, Heikal makes only one brief reference to U.S. Ambassador Hermann Eilts and none at all to Ambassador Alfred L. Atherton.

Although the book was banned in Egypt when this reviewer was stationed there, copies were being passed around and reviews of the book were also distributed. Despite its faults and biases, it is well worth reading. —JAMES H. BAHTI

Mideastern Memoirs

THE MIDDLE EAST REMEMBERED. By John S. Badeau. The Middle East Institute, 1983. \$25.

Too often in recent years, volumes of diplomatic memoirs have been either dry dustbowls or apologias or both. Fortunately, this book, based on the personal recollections of John Badeau as recorded in an oral history project, is an excellent example of what diplomatic memoirs should be but rarely are. The author, who crowned a career of 46 years of service in the Mideast

LOANLINER

STREAMLINED LOANS FOR STATE DEPARTMENT FEDERAL CREDIT UNION MEMBERS

LOANLINER loan service makes borrowing better for you.

Here's why:

- Our Loanliner loan package eliminates old fashioned, complicated loan forms. Now, there's just one simple, compact initial agreement that you complete only once.
- Future advances can be approved over the phone, by mail or in person with a bare minimum of paperwork. Fast!
- All forms are written in easy to understand "simple English."
- Low cost credit insurance can be easily added to each loan.

Call 558-8140 or stop in for your SDFCU Loanliner application today. It's your ticket for streamlined Loanliner loans when you need them!



STATE
DEPARTMENT
FEDERAL
CREDIT
UNION

(CLIP AND RETURN)

Please send me a Loanliner application.

(name)

(address)

(city, state, zip code)

2020 N. Fourteenth Street
Caller #200
Arlington, Virginia 22210
703/558-8000/800/336-4704

with a tour as ambassador to Egypt during the Kennedy administration, was acquainted with most of the individuals prominent in the area immediately before and after World War II.

One of the book's best features is the inclusion of a host of illuminating and usually amusing anecdotes. Egypt's King Farouk, usually remembered today as an obese roué, is depicted by Badeau as having an excellent sense of humor. On one occasion while the author was serving as dean of the American University in Cairo in the 1930s, Badeau's young son ran into the king at the Gezira Sporting Club and inadvertently knocked him to the ground. Since the monarch was traveling incognito and so, under the existing protocol, not officially there, Badeau's son said nothing to the prostrate king and ran off. At their next meeting, Farouk described the incident to the embarrassed Badeau and then told him laughingly in colloquial English, "You tell that son that the next time he runs into a fat man, what he should do is butt him in the stomach, and then when he bends over, knock him in the jaw." In another vein, the shah of Iran, whom the author knew while serving as president of the Near East Foundation during the 1950s, impressed Badeau as suffering from an inferiority complex with regard to his father and prey to the feeling that he had to surpass what the latter had done as monarch to establish his own reputation.

Badeau's description of political events is equally absorbing. As a resident of Cairo for most of the period between 1936-53, he was in an excellent position to observe and record the growing Egyptian sentiment in favor of independence from Britain. Badeau regarded the British use of military force in 1942 to compel King Farouk to name Nahhas Pasha as prime minister as an important turning point in Egyptian history. It made Pasha's Wafd Party seem to be no more than a British tool and ultimately paved the way for the 1948 military coup that overthrew the monarchy. *The Middle East Remembered* is chockfull of such interesting information on those Mideastern personalities and events now all too dimly recalled.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

The Japanese Peace

JAPAN AND THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE SETTLEMENT. By Michael M. Yoshitsu. Columbia University Press, 1983. \$20.

Relying largely on oral history interviews, the author has uncovered some useful information on Japanese goals and attitudes about the peace and security treaties that

brought the U.S. occupation of Japan to an end in 1952. His book presents some problems, however. Recollections of events that happened thirty years ago often need corroboration from other sources, especially when the text of the oral history interviews is not available to the researcher. This problem of verification has been compounded in this case by frequently sketchy citations in the footnotes. Moreover, the Japanese officials interviewed were not the principal actors in many of the events described, and focusing on their accounts gives a distorted picture of their importance.

—RICHARD B. FINN

LE SPORTSAC
CARRY-ON.



NO WEIGHTING.

Send for free catalog
WE MAIL WORLDWIDE

LESPORTSAC

GEORGETOWN PARK 3222 M ST. NW, WASH., D.C. 20007 (202)342-1505

"This book addresses a subject that cuts across all American foreign policy issues. It should be read by anyone with an interest in a thorough examination of any of our foreign policy strengths or weaknesses."

—Michael K. O'Leary, Syracuse University

Staffing For Foreign Affairs

Personnel Systems for the 1980's and 1990's

William I. Bacchus

Warning that the American Foreign Service is in serious danger of being unable to meet changing responsibilities, Bacchus discusses new international and domestic policy-making realities and offers a prescription for the design, adoption, and implementation of a revised foreign affairs personnel system.

\$25.00

Princeton
University Press

41 William Street, Princeton, NJ 08540



**DIPLOMATIC CAR SALES
AND LEASING
ALL MODELS**

OUR 20TH YEAR IN WASHINGTON

CAVALIER VW

ONLY 10 MINUTES FROM KEY BRIDGE
4045 LEE HWY. **703/525-1900**
ARLINGTON VA 22207



STATE PLAZA

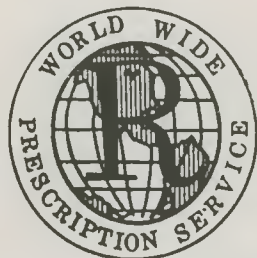
FORMERLY SHERRY TOWERS HOTEL

now offers
**Special Rates
for
AFSA Members**

2117 E St., NW, Washington DC 20037
(202) 861-8200 (800) 424-2859

**SHOP IN AN AMERICAN
DRUG STORE BY MAIL!**

An ice cream soda is one of the few items we cannot mail. Drugs, cosmetics, sundries mailed to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. **SEND NO MONEY** — pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.



Western Pharmacy, Inc.

t/a Morgan Pharmacy
3001 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

**PLUS ÇA
CHANGE . . .**

Foreign Service Journal, December 1973: "Various high-level advisers to Kennedy (and to Johnson after him) were proponents of an American realpolitik that lacked the essential component of realism. They seemingly accepted uncritically the basic ideological heritage from the Truman-Eisenhower era, and thus their estimates were laced with distortion and fantasy. In the first year of the Kennedy administration the American strategy with respect to Southeast Asia was reformulated. The new strategy was not based upon sober studies by area specialists in the State Department but upon sober recommendations of three special presidential missions. . . . Returning from Southeast Asia in May 1961, Johnson voiced his alarm: 'The battle against communism must be joined in Southeast Asia with strength and determination to achieve success there—or the United States, inevitably, must surrender the Pacific and take up our defenses on our own shores.'" —O. EDMUND CLUBB

Foreign Service Journal, December 1958: "No thoughtful reader will be able to dismiss *The Ugly American* lightly because, with all its errors and distortions, it still states candidly a problem which has long been debated with the Foreign Service itself. This is, of course, the degree to which our manner of living abroad handicaps the Foreign Service in the attainment of its objectives." —AFSA EDITORIAL

Foreign Service Journal, December 1933: "At the present writing the Department has received ratifications of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution from 30 states. . . . It appears, therefore, that the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution will be repealed on December 5, 1933." —ED.

The Foreign Service Club

has a new

Lounge & Bar

Open: 9-5 Enter on 21st St.
2101 E St., NW 338-5730

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER



**GENERAL ELECTRONICS
INC.**

REFRIGERATORS • FREEZERS
RANGES • MICROWAVE OVENS
AIR CONDITIONERS • DRYERS
WASHERS • SMALL APPLIANCES
AUDIO EQUIPMENT • TELEVISION
DISHWASHERS • TRANSFORMERS

Available for All Electric
Currents/Cycles

Immediate Shipping/Mailing
From our Local Warehouse

We Can Also Furnish
Replacement Parts for
Most Manufactures

SHOWROOM

General Electronics, Inc.
4513 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. (202) 362-8300
TWX 710-822-9450
GENELECINC WSH

SEND THIS COUPON FOR
FREE CATALOG

NAME: _____
ADDRESS: _____
ZIP: _____

Our Catalog is Sent to Administrative Officers,
Embassies, and Consulates Throughout the World.

A Double Loss to the Service

The Foreign Service and the Association lost two important friends and advocates this fall. Their obituaries will appear in the FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE section, but here we express our appreciation for their many contributions to the profession of diplomacy.

MARTIN HERZ was a career diplomat for more than 30 years and, following that, a key figure in the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. A hard-nosed realist as a political officer and as a member of the AFSA Governing Board for several terms, he predicted the downfall of the Shah 15 years before it happened and urged the Association's entry into labor-management relations 10 years before it did so. An author of prolific dimensions, his books on diplomacy and on cold war international relations are noted for their frankness. The number of his articles in this magazine far exceeds that of any other author. The publications on the diplomatic profession that he edited and wrote for the institute, as well as his memoir of his experiences as ambassador to Bulgaria, are valuable and classic works that should be read by all members of the Foreign Service.

It was typical of Martin that after more than three decades in diplomacy, he retired to educate a new generation coming into the profession as a teacher, a scholar, and an administrator at Georgetown University. Shortly before he died on October 5, the institute held a symposium he had directed and planned on "The

Modern Ambassador." The ambassador was on his death bed and in considerable pain but he listened in on the proceedings anyway. For Martin Herz, the profession of diplomacy always came first.

CLARKE SLADE was a unique friend to the Foreign Service. An experienced educator and psychiatric social worker, Clarke served first as an education and guidance counselor at AFSA, then later in the Medical Division of the State Department, advising, supporting, and assisting hundreds of Foreign Service families. Although he was not in the Service, he had vast knowledge and appreciation for the complications of diplomatic life. When the personnel at the Teheran embassy were held hostage for 444 days, Clarke and his coworkers kept the families at home in touch with events in Washington and abroad with personal visits. When the released hostages arrived in Germany, Clarke was there to pass on first-hand information on their families to each one.

For more than 25 years, Clarke's association with AFSA, with its Committee on Education, with the department, and with the Episcopal Center for Children and his own private practice kept him busy enough for a half-dozen people, but that was exactly the way he wanted it. He never retired. He lived a full, rich life devoted to helping others. Clarke Slade's death at 81 has deprived us of a wise and witty friend and a highly competent and caring professional who has made a substantive difference in many lives. □

The Modern Ambassador

*Participants at a Georgetown Symposium
Debate Questions of Loyalty and Quality,
Trust and Professionalism*

A Journal Report

“Peace could hang on the talent, initiative, and wisdom” of an ambassador. So observed Ellsworth Bunker, himself a former U.S. envoy to several countries, including Vietnam. These words were intended to set the tone at a symposium on “The Modern Ambassador: The Challenge and the Search,” sponsored by Georgetown University’s Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. The symposium, held on September 28, was apparently motivated by the concern among the diplomatic community about the quality of ambassadors and the relative merits of career and political ambassadors. But the discussion quickly moved away from the importance and characteristics of ambassadors toward the more fundamental question of how involved Foreign Service officers should be in determining policy and whether they could be trusted to implement a policy once it was established. The discussions did not resolve these questions but did demonstrate that issues of the Foreign Service’s role and loyalty are at the heart of the controversy over political versus career ambassadors.

The symposium coincided with the release of a book by the same name. According to Peter F. Krogh, dean of the institute’s parent, the School of Foreign Service, *The Modern Ambassador* is to date “the institute’s major published work” and shows that it “has come of age and securely established itself as an institution of real significance in service to an enhanced

diplomacy.” The book contains contributions by many ambassadors, both American and foreign, and addresses such matters as the characteristics of a good ambassador, the effects of changes in diplomacy on an ambassador’s duties, the importance of being attuned to the administration’s policies, and the advantages of career experience. It was edited by Martin F. Herz, director of studies at the Institute and former ambassador to Bulgaria, just before his death. (See November BOOK REVIEWS.)

Raise Consciousness

The purpose of both book and symposium, according to David D. Newsum, director of the institute, former undersecretary of state for political affairs, and ambassador to three countries, is to raise media and public consciousness on the importance of ambassadors. “The appointment of ambassadors from whatever source,” he commented to reporters before the conference, “needs to be carried out with the understanding of that importance.” But the conference itself demonstrated at least one of the difficulties involved in creating such widespread appreciation on this issue, for although efforts had been made to encourage the attendance of people with a variety of perspectives, most of the audience of more than two hundred was career Foreign Service or associated with the School of Foreign Service. Congressional and administration participants were noticeably absent.

Perhaps because of this, the symposium was marked by a remarkable degree of consensus. No one argued in favor of appointing obviously unqualified people as ambassadors nor did anyone contend that ambassadorships should be open only to career officers. Nor was there any debate about the qualities and characteristics required by an ambassador.

Instead, the discussion centered around the extent to which an ambassador should be involved in policymaking and the need for Foreign Service officers to abide by administration policies. Although some contributors to the book pointed out that modern communications allows ambassadors to play more of a policymaking role, most participants in the symposium agreed that once a decision is made, an ambassador’s recommendations should be limited to ways of implementing that decision. Similarly, Foreign Service officers should feel free to voice their opinions until a decision is taken—then they should adhere to that policy. But disagreements emerged when this ideal was compared with reality. One panelist noted that the State Department had a reputation among presidents for being obstructionist and untrustworthy. Some career diplomats in the audience admitted that some officers did not always give full support to a policy after it had been adopted. Others countered that the Foreign Service in fact was so successful in adopting an administration’s policies that it was



Institute for the Study
of
Diplomacy
Georgetown University

Moderator David D. Newsom (far left): Importance of ambassador's role needs to be better understood.

Former NSC staffer Madeleine K. Albright: Foreign Service ambassadors can be affected by "Clientism, Careerism, Can't doism."

usually punished by the next administration. By the end of the session, the differing perceptions of the Foreign Service's loyalty and its involvement in policymaking—as opposed to policy implementation—had emerged as the crux of the issue.

The symposium began with a welcome by Krogh, and some introductory remarks by Bunker, who is chairman of the institute. Both stressed the importance of ambassadorial appointments, with Krogh noting that "ambassadors are the first line of our defense." They were followed by Elliot L. Richardson, former undersecretary of state and ambassador to the United Kingdom, who linked the program to the Bicentennial celebration by speaking on the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Richardson described the treaty as an achievement of diplomatic skills and noted that today's diplomats face equally difficult negotiations.

Special Envoys

The main feature of the symposium was the two panel discussions. In the first, Madeleine K. Albright, formerly of Edmund Muskie's Senate staff and the National Security Council and now a professor at Georgetown University, and William H. Sullivan, who was ambassador to Laos, the Philippines, and Iran, addressed the notion that special envoys may be more useful than ambassadors in critical situations. There was more agreement than argument, as both panelists described situations in which using a special envoy



Former Ambassador William H. Sullivan: Special envoys can be useful for specialized negotiations, but instructions must be coordinated.



Former Ambassador Charles S. Whitehouse: Career diplomats have demonstrated that they can be loyal to each new administration.

would be advantageous. Special envoys may be better than country ambassadors, they both said, in the case of lengthy specialized negotiations, such as those with Panama over the canal and Greece over U.S. military bases. Both panelists also believed special envoys could be useful when dealing with regional problems, as Robert McFarlane's efforts in the Mideast have demonstrated. In addition, Albright said, special envoys could help develop a domestic consensus on an issue; as an example, she cited Richard Stone's mission to Central America. Sullivan said that special envoys were occasionally useful when it was desirable to insulate the country ambassador from an unpopular message—for example, if the United States wanted to encourage a dictator to leave office.

Some differences did surface, however. Albright insisted that special envoys had sometimes become necessary because career ambassadors had been affected by what she called the "three C's—Clientism, Careerism, Can't doism." Sullivan countered that special envoys could further confuse a situation if their instructions were not coordinated with the State Department and the country ambassador. This, he said, had been the problem with General Robert Huyser's mission to Iran in 1979. Huyser's instructions from the Defense Department and the White House were not coordinated with Sullivan's instructions from State. Albright, who was serving on the NSC at the time, responded that the Huyser mission was a case where a special envoy was deemed necessary because information coming in from the embassy did not correspond with information received from other sources.

Loyalty Question

Sharper disagreements emerged during the second panel discussion. In this, Laurence H. Silberman, former ambassador to Yugoslavia and a political appointee, and Charles S. Whitehouse, a retired career officer who was ambassador to Laos and Thailand and president of the American Foreign Service Association in 1981–82, debated the proposition that "political ambassadors are more in tune with the

philosophy and policy priorities of a president and are therefore better able to represent the United States in key countries abroad."

In his presentation, Silberman argued that political appointees know the president's views and better understand the connection between domestic and foreign policy. Therefore, he believed that, all other things being equal, they will better serve the president than a career ambassador. Foreign Service officers, he claimed, had a tendency to disdain the American political process, and so were less effective as ambassadors. Silberman, who is also a former deputy U.S. attorney general, went on to say that this problem of career versus political appointees only arose in the State Department—in no other department was the argument made that career people by definition are better qualified. Silberman also claimed that every president has had more difficulty bringing the State Department into line than any other department. By the time the Foreign Service stopped resisting policy changes, Silberman said, the president was confirmed in the view that it was obstructionist. The Foreign Service had no more right to set policy than did any other career group in government. "Every president since Roosevelt has distrusted the State Department. And no amount of speeches about the calibre of Foreign Service officers . . . or about the need to hold out ambassadorships and assistant secretary jobs . . . to recruit new people into the Service is going to change that. The only thing that will change it is when presidents believe that the Foreign Service will carry out his or her policies as effectively as other departments will."

Whitehouse responded that although it is important for a Foreign Service officer to be attuned to the administration's policies—officers soon learn that "they darn well better be," he said—it is not fundamental. Every new administration, he said, came into office broadcasting new policies, but few basic changes were actually implemented. U.S. foreign policy contained various shadings, but no drastic breaks with the past. Furthermore, argued Whitehouse, Foreign Service officers

have demonstrated that they can loyally carry out the policies of an administration. Indeed they have been so successful that when the Carter administration came into office, the Foreign Service was accused of being "Kissinger's stooges" and insensitive to the Third World and human rights. Later, when the Reagan people came in, they viewed the Service as being insensitive to the perils of communism and obsessed with human rights. The question of ambassadors being attuned to an administration is ephemeral, Whitehouse concluded. What is more important is preserving opportunities for promotion within the Service.

Defining the Rule

Reactions from the audience focused on how Foreign Service officers should cope with a political environment and how involved they should be in policy-making. Both Silberman and Whitehouse agreed that although ambassadors had every right to advocate a particular policy, once a decision on policy was made, their recommendations should be confined to suggesting ways of implementing it. Ambassador Leon Poullada remarked that "many Foreign Service officers, both now serving and those who came into the Service, have delusions of grandeur about how they are going to formulate foreign policy. . . . If an ambassador has a clear identification of his role, he will confine himself to making specific recommendations not on what the policy should be, but on how it should be implemented." Newsom responded with a cautionary note: policymakers in the department are not looking for "an analysis which may inherently suggest difficulties in carrying out a policy, but the ambassador's recommendations of how the objectives of that administration can be achieved." Too often, Newsom added, there has been a great deal of analysis but far too little in the way of efforts intended to achieve the objectives set out by the presidency. With that comment, and with the symposium having shifted everyone's attention from the selection of ambassadors to the more fundamental problem of the role of the Service, the symposium was adjourned.

—FRANCES G. BURWELL

Reforming Conferences

*When the World Community Meets to Resolve Global Issues,
It Relies on a Mechanism Sadly in Need of Repair*

By HARRY C. BLANEY III

For centuries, the international community has used the mechanism of conferences to solve international problems. In the past, the objectives of most conferences have been relatively straightforward—devising frameworks for preventing conflicts, dividing up the spoils after a war, reaffirming colonial conquests, or establishing a new balance of power. Only recently has the international community, specifically the United Nations, used large, universal-membership meetings to address complex global issues that need collective international action. In the last two decades, major single-agenda-item conferences have addressed the global environment, population, water, desertification, human settlements, new and renewable energy, science and technology in development, aging, the status of women, food, and the peaceful uses of outer space.

The results of these conferences are clearly mixed. The Stockholm U.N. Environmental Conference in 1972,

for example, did establish the United Nations Environmental Program—a positive, significant step. But it was a UNEP without the necessary resources or authority. After ten years it has not yet fully achieved the complete operation of GEMS—the global environmental monitoring system that includes EARTHWATCH. However, the conference was a major step forward in that the international community acknowledged its collective responsibility for the world's environment. The U.N. Water and Desertification conferences of 1977 did help educate the world to the serious problems in these areas. Unfortunately, the spread of deserts continues unabated and clean, fresh, potable water remains far from a reality for many of the world's poorest. Despite the conferences, international resources and commitment have recently waned.

Debasing the Currency

To be fair, the conferences themselves were never designed to solve these problems, but only to marshal the international political will and financial resources needed to find and apply remedies. But for some conferences, the cost of the meeting alone is greater than the new resources generated. Too often, after the media and public interest surrounding a conference fades, the problem sinks back into the swamp of the many serious but neglected global issues. And government officials, who have survived an endless series of global assemblages, react with cynicism and indifference

even when all the evidence points to the necessity of significant joint action. To some extent, the endless proliferation of international conferences has debased the currency.

International conferences can be divided into two sorts: first, the *general* conference that discusses a particular topic and draws up a report, often with recommendations but without the power of decision-making or follow-up; and second, the *plenipotentiary* conference, which draws up treaties and takes other concrete actions such as determining the distribution of resources. The latter can often achieve specific results that have a lasting impact. Yet even they have weaknesses—one needs only to cite the Law of the Sea Conference, which ended in some disarray in 1981 after seven years of negotiating a treaty the United States now says it cannot accept. The conference's expenditures probably exceeded the total earnings that might be realized by the international community—especially the developing countries—from seabed mining to the end of this century and perhaps beyond. Cost effective it was not. It was, however, a real effort to deal with complex problems from a global perspective. But its semi-failure (the inability to secure the membership of the richest, most technologically advanced country in the world and a leading prospective seabed mining power must be judged a major deficiency) brought into question the efficacy of trying to solve complex global problems through plenipotentiary conferences.

Harry C. Blaney III, a career Foreign Service officer, completed this article as a visiting fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. For six years he served on the Policy Planning Staff, where he participated in planning for, and was a member of, the U.S. delegation to various international conferences. He also served as U.S. deputy coordinator for the U.N. UNISPACE conference. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. government or any other organization.

A vital part of any conference would be an already orchestrated "pledge session" in which each country would identify the resources it would allocate to projects resulting from the conference. Specific funding formulas would be attached to the conference document so that each would be aware of its responsibilities.

Part of the problem with large international conferences lies in their basic procedures. Usually, the U.N. General Assembly adopts a resolution calling for a conference and establishing the preparatory machinery. The conference's secretary-general is frequently selected on the basis of regional trade-offs or as a way of solving a bureaucratic problem within the United Nations. He or she is given a very small staff, again chosen more for its political and geographic composition than for its competence. Preparatory meetings feature background papers on the issues, national papers describing the views and actions of individual countries, and papers submitted by a variety of international organizations. Finally, a "draft action program" is prepared by the secretary-general with the help of experts and regional preparatory meetings. This is the primary working document which is submitted to the conference. All too often this is a laborious, time-consuming, and paper-creating effort with few concrete results. And, those chosen to preside over the conference sometimes have their own particular vision of the outcome and proceed to impose it upon all.

The conference may also be affected by the quality of individual countries' participation. Usually someone in the relevant subject ministry is given responsibility for the substantive work of the conference and the foreign ministry's international organizations directorate appoints a relatively low-level

official to follow the day-to-day issues. A government may also choose a full-time coordinator, or simply give this responsibility to an individual in the foreign ministry or substantive ministry to work on part-time. At some stage a government usually chooses the head of its delegation, who could be a foreign ministry expert. This person often acts as an ambassador-at-large for international conferences and attends one after the other. The alternative is to have the delegation headed by a high-ranking official who has domestic responsibility for the topic. This choice is often crucial, since the selection of a diplomat can politicize the subject matter and thereby degrade the conference's substantive content.

Setting Agendas

In many cases, the country develops a conference agenda of its own. At other times, especially in the case of very small countries, there is little preparatory work. The government's position is left to the discretion of the delegation head, usually with the injunction to support the consensus of the particular political or geographic group to which the country belongs or to go along with the general consensus of the conference. In this case, the country plays only a minor role unless an individual delegation head happens to be very dynamic. Very often the influence of an individual country is due less to its size and power than to the ability and activism of its delegation.

Another factor which contributes to

the quality of a government's participation is the extent of involvement by key public groups and the legislative branch. A wise government will encourage the participation of a diversity of public members not only in the delegation but in the preparatory work. For the same reason, including members of the legislature on a delegation can be a wise move. In the United States, we normally establish some kind of advisory group or at least meet with interested non-executive branch groups and industry representatives prior to the conference. But too often such participation is *pro forma* and only effective during the conference period itself, long after the key preparatory papers, action memoranda, and preliminary negotiations have taken place. Thus members of Congress often feel left out of the decision-making process and have no commitment to follow up the recommendations that come from the conference and its adopted resolutions.

Once the conference begins, nearly half the time available is wasted in endless national speeches in plenary session, often dealing with extraneous pet political topics. Too often, the energies of the delegates focus on broad generalities or abstractions, offering few concrete suggestions and real guidance for national or international decision-makers. Needless to say, bloc politics play a significant role. Before the conference there is usually a series of consultations between the major countries involved and within the regional groupings. Often the Soviet and the Western countries will caucus to try to align their positions along traditional and well-established directions. In the same way, the Group of 77 aligns its own efforts, very often establishing a set position from which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to retreat. And, since it is the most radical countries that usually have the most able and active delegations, they can often in effect dictate the general terms for the Third World position. Thus, in the LOS negotiations, the few developing countries that were also land-based producers of seabed minerals were able to obtain strong support for overly protectionist positions, and the few archipelagic states were able to carve out

huge sea areas as national jurisdictions, even though this was contrary to the interests of most states, both developed and developing.

Bloc Politics

The Soviets and their bloc members have their own agenda, one that is not always public. They usually take public positions that support the Group of 77's aspirations and political views, but in general they have little real sympathy for many of the group's economic goals. Thus, they often work closely behind the scenes with the industrialized countries, with whom they seem to share a practical desire for maintaining the status quo. For example, at the 1982 UNISPACE Conference the Soviets sought with the United States to block new LDC-sponsored restrictions on the applications of technology in outer space. The Soviet stance is very often hortatory, offering generalized statements supporting vague resolutions with little if any concrete allocation of resources that would commit the Soviets or East Europeans to undertake specific actions in support of conference decisions.

The United States and its allies are often put on the defensive by resolutions with little practical content but that contain much in the way of ideological meaning that is unacceptable to Western sentiments and traditions. When the United States attempts to propose specific initiatives, these concrete efforts are frequently buried under rhetoric. At other times these efforts are simply pocketed by the LDCs as concessions and greater demands are then made for essentially impossible transfers of resources. For example, at UNISPACE the United States tabled a long list of specific initiatives, including a proposal to examine establishing a global satellite environmental monitoring system—HABITABILITY—but no discussion took place. Instead, most of the conference was taken up with extraneous debate on banning weapons in outer space and the Mideast—responsibilities of other U.N. bodies. Sometimes, it must be admitted, the U.S. position is largely negative or disingenuous, which leads to increased rancor and mutual recrimination mak-

ing positive cooperation impossible and useful results unattainable.

By the time the conference's final action program has been adopted, only a small portion of the total effort involved in the meeting has been devoted to solving the specific issue at hand. The conference resolution is then often sent on to the General Assembly, where it is again subject to general debate. Usually, it is eventually adopted and then promptly forgotten except by a few who have always been involved in the issue or who have a stake in one of the resolutions. And, because each resolution is a product of hard-won compromise or the indifference of others, the conference's plan of action does not always have the backing from governments and concerned publics that it needs to become a reality.

There is no doubt that international conferences need to be reformed. Some critics, however, have attacked the idea of continuing to hold the conferences at all. They argue that the problems addressed are not that serious, that it is not desirable to act to solve them, and that the United Nations should be regarded with suspicion. But this myopic perspective does not allow for constructive criticism or facilitate the search for alternative multilateral mechanisms.

Given that international conferences should and can be useful in addressing global problems, proposals for reform should meet the following criteria. First, there should be a real likelihood that any proposed mechanisms would produce concrete action and be able to locate the necessary resources. Second, the conference or any other decision-making process would have to be structured to avoid pointless extraneous topics and concentrate on the main issue. Third, there would have to be a more direct relationship between conferences and the allocation of resources within the U.N. system and its associated bodies. And finally, there would have to be a specific follow-up mechanism by which the member countries and the United Nations could monitor implementation and take specific corrective action when necessary.

Efforts to reform *general*, non-plenipotentiary conferences should start by revising the way the United Nations

decides whether to hold such a universal-membership conference and the way they are prepared. It should also restructure the conference procedures and the way recommendations are considered and implemented. In the past, it has not always been considered whether a conference would be the best approach or whether the entire international community is the best level at which to address a particular issue. What frequently happens is the expenditure of an extraordinary amount of U.N. and national funds on the conference, even though the outcome may not generate as many new resources. All too often money goes to the already rich—diplomats, U.N. officials, New York and Geneva hotels—and little to the very poor.

Instead, a procedure should be developed that would require any proposal for a conference to be carefully examined and given a priority relative to other proposals. At this point, alternative methods of addressing the topic could be suggested, especially for those that affect only a few countries or some very specialized issues. It might be better for a small group of well-known experts to write a report examining the problem from different perspectives, setting forth a number of specific recommendations, and identifying potential sources of funding. The report could then be circulated to national governments, other experts, and relevant non-governmental organizations for comments and possible revision. The matter could be debated and a decision reached at one of the regularly scheduled U.N. General Assembly sessions or the Security Council. In some cases it might be appropriate to convene a General Assembly special session. Sometimes, a U.N. council or specialized agency—WHO, UNEP, UNESCO, among others—might substitute for the General Assembly, especially since the matter is often turned over to these agencies for follow-up anyway.

Lessen Polemics

This approach could lessen the probability that polemics and extraneous topics would inhibit the development of an action program and recommendations. Also, the use of highly

In the past, priorities have not been well established and there have been few effective mechanisms to sort out the competing claims or ensure that resources are efficiently spent. Action programs must be required to provide priorities so that the funds will not be wasted by too wide a distribution among competing needs.

qualified experts from different groups and countries could save a great deal of time and might engender more practical recommendations and analysis than would a large conference and general public debate. The report would be made public and so would gain the attention of concerned citizenry, the media, interested organizations, and governments. Thus, it would spur debate in much the same way as a large conference. Public hearings might be held to permit non-governmental entities to express their views and make recommendations.

It might also be wise to involve these experts in the follow-up phases, particularly in efforts to formulate specific projects. A group charged with implementing the report's recommendations could involve not only these experts but also senior-level officials from the concerned governments. Establishing a forum for discussions between representatives of both donor and recipient governments—those that will control and receive the resources—and independent experts who have thought most deeply and thoroughly about the subject could make the follow-up more effective. This would be especially valuable when there is no U.N. agency that has responsibility for the general area. When a U.N. agency is already actively engaged in the area concerned, that mechanism should be strengthened and, when necessary and possible, reoriented toward more professional, non-polemical work and decision-making.

Should the international community determine that a global conference is still the best way of addressing a particular problem, some alternate ways of preparing and holding such a conference may well improve on past experiences. A successful global conference dealing with an issue of concern to almost all countries cannot succeed without a general consensus among those who are affected. Past attempts to impose a one-sided solution on any bloc against its will have usually failed. Both need each other and a cooperative, not confrontational, world order. Conferences should be seen as two-way streets—the LDCs cannot impose a solution on the industrialized countries by simply voting their majority, and the industrialized countries cannot dictate the terms to the LDCs simply because they control the purse strings. And, to ensure success in the follow-up, all affected countries should be involved in the necessary international consultations and implementation. The exception is the Soviet bloc, which because of its unwillingness to provide resources for international projects may cut itself out of the picture—so long as it does not view the issue as vital to its foreign policy or security interests.

Appoint Experts

The reform of global conferences should start with the selection of the leadership. The conference's secretary general should be appointed from among the most distinguished world

experts on the subject and should be acceptable to all geographic regions. The senior staff should be selected by the secretary general in consultation with each geographic area. This would help ensure a balanced but highly qualified staff. No staff member should be forced upon the secretary-general by either the U.N. system, a bloc of countries, or ideological considerations.

This substantive staff, in consultation with other experts, national governments, U.N. agencies, and non-governmental organizations, would design an action program containing specific project proposals and budgets, including an indication of from where the resources would come. A short analytical section would outline the problem and the issues surrounding it. The staff would circulate this document to national governments for their comments. If it met with the general approval of most or all of the major groups of countries, including those expected to make significant resources available, the conference would be called and the paper proposed for adoption. This document would be the sole official product of the conference. If, however, the paper is not deemed satisfactory, additional negotiations would be held as a means of achieving a consensus and an agreed program.

The conference itself would be held at one of the U.N. conference centers and would last no more than a week. If necessary, working groups of experts from concerned countries would meet before or during the conference to put finishing touches on a particular project. On the first day, the conference would meet in plenary session to hear an opening statement from the secretary-general. There would also be short statements by spokespersons from each major grouping, by selected experts on each of the key recommendations, and finally by a U.N. expert on the funding implications. There would be no individual speeches by each national delegation and interested group. Rather, national or organizational statements could be submitted in written form and circulated to all other participants—thus saving almost a week of everyone's time. The conference would meet for the rest of

the week to act on the document itself, either by dividing into committees to consider each major section or sitting in plenary session to discuss the sections and then approve or disapprove them. At the end of the conference, the entire document would be acted upon. If adopted, it would have to be by "essential consensus," including approval by a majority of each geographic group. This would ensure that there is a true consensus of the world community in favor of the document and that the resources would be provided from all groups. A vital part of the conference would be an already orchestrated "pledge session" in which each country would identify the resources it would allocate during specified time periods to projects resulting from the conference. Specific funding formulas would be attached to the document by the experts so that each country or organization would be aware of its responsibilities.

Assign Priorities

Perhaps the most difficult task of international decision-makers when dealing with a global issue is assigning priorities. When the problem is so all-encompassing and complicated—improving health, making safe water available, or protecting the global environment—the temptation is to try to solve all the elements of the problem rather than to acknowledge the limitations of time and resources. In the past, priorities have not been well established and there have been few effective mechanisms to sort out the competing claims or ensure that resources are efficiently spent. Action programs, and those who draw them up, must be required to provide priorities within set amounts of resources so that the funds will not be wasted by too wide a distribution among competing needs.

After adoption, the conference action plan would be sent to the General Assembly or the specialized agency's authoritative body for formal approval, which would be pro forma and given by silent consent. At this stage it would be binding on the United Nations. Other organs of that system could only examine its procedures but could not defeat it. Since, in most

cases, new resources would come from voluntary national contributions, the U.N. budget committee should not have the last word on how these funds should be spent, especially since some monies may be given through bilateral or non-U.N. channels. This would ensure that the adoption of the document would be regarded as a serious matter and might help avoid the not uncommon situation in which a recommendation is approved by a country at a conference and then opposed by the same state in the budget committee.

Once the document has been approved by the conference and the concerned agency, a group of experts would be formed into a representative inter-governmental body—similar to that proposed as an alternative for a conference itself—to monitor implementation. This group could also make supplementary recommendations to the General Assembly or specialized agency and it would submit annual reports. Its membership would consist only of those countries contributing real resources to the projects and those receiving such assistance in a significant way. It would not be disbanded until all the recommended actions were taken or otherwise dealt with. After a specified period of not more than ten years, it would make a final report to the General Assembly.

If these reforms were adopted, there would probably be fewer conferences but more successful ones. There may be some failures at the start when countries still rely on broad generalities and polemics, but once the seriousness of the process was recognized, it could be used to solve crucial global problems.

Plenipotentiary or treaty-making conferences are a special case and need a different approach. Greater care needs to be taken that first, such an approach is necessary and, second, that a general consensus on the preferred approach is already shared by the major groups. It usually is not helpful to call for a major global conference to draft a treaty unless a workable approach has already been agreed upon. To send literally thousands of people several times a year over a decade to negotiate a treaty when there is little chance of basic agreement makes little sense.

A preliminary approach to the subject may be made in a number of ways. The General Assembly might, for example, establish an informal preparatory working group made up of those governments most interested in the subject or of representative countries from each geographic or interest group. However, there should be no more than 25 or so national participants. This group would draft a framework document setting forth the basic substantive proposed treaty provisions, which would then be sent to all countries for review and comment. The group would revise the document as necessary and decide if it should recommend holding a conference for adopting the treaty. The General Assembly and the Security Council, if the subject has security implications, would then vote to convene a plenipotentiary conference. Before such a conference were held, the chairperson or president would be appointed by the U.N. secretary-general. The original working group would be empowered, along with the president and an expert secretariat, to develop a draft negotiating text. Only when such a text has been developed, reviewed, and adopted by a two-thirds majority of the working group, including the involved geographic groups, would the plenipotentiary conference be called on to carry out its final duties. The conference would be given a specific and limited time period to act—perhaps one to three years—after which it would automatically go out of business unless re-established by the General Assembly. Its sole duty would be to decide on the text, either through a section-by-section review or by voting on the entire text. Again, approval would require either a consensus or a majority of each geographic region and a two-thirds overall majority. It would not have to be approved again by the General Assembly.

Ensure a Consensus

This approach would greatly simplify such global conferences, would lower the cost, would not exclude any country from meaningful participation if interested. It would ensure that the final product truly represented a con-

(Continued on page 29.)



Food Power

*The Carter Embargo's Failure
Shows How Agriculture
Can Be a Potent International Weapon*

By ROBERT M. HATHAWAY

The grain agreement signed in Moscow last August reminds us once again that American agriculture remains the envy of the world. Less than four percent of the U.S. labor force feeds not only our entire population, but a large overseas market as well. The Soviet Union, by contrast, channels 26 percent of its work force into the farm sector and still must import food. In committing itself to purchase 9–12 million tons of American grain each of the next five years, Moscow has now conceded that its reliance on overseas supplies is not likely to lessen in the foreseeable future. It was this dependence on imported foodstuffs, of course, that per-

suaded the Carter administration in 1980 that it could demonstrate its anger at the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by embargoing American grain shipments. But in failing to realize its publicly stated purpose of forcing withdrawal, the embargo rapidly turned into an embarrassing disappointment.

With the new agreement, the Reagan administration appears to have recognized that failure and to have rejected the possibility of employing the nation's food resources as a cudgel to influence the behavior of the Soviet Union. The Carter embargo, Agriculture Secretary John Block remarked during the signing ceremonies, repre-

sented a "distasteful chapter" in Soviet-American relations, and the newly initialed pact includes a provision expressly forbidding the United States from resorting to a similar move during the life of the agreement. The consensus seems to be that the grain embargo, in failing to induce the Soviets to change their ways, demonstrated that American foodstuffs are at best a clumsy and ineffectual weapon.

We sometimes fail to remember, however, that the Carter embargo was but the most recent in a long history of U.S. efforts to use food for political purposes. Both as a stick and as a carrot, these initiatives have by and large been quite successful. Lest we draw the wrong conclusions from our recent setback, therefore, we might profitably examine why the Carter embargo failed as an instrument of policy in the face of this rather impressive record of mobilizing American food resources as a diplomatic tool.

More than two hundred years ago, a small band of American colonials disguised as Indians slipped aboard British tea ships anchored in Boston harbor and proceeded to throw the vessels' contents overboard. By expressing their contempt for British imperial policy in such a fashion, they were initiating the linkage between food and diplomacy that Jimmy Carter sought to invoke two centuries later. In the years since then, American statesmen have turned repeatedly to the country's food resources to further the national interest. In Hungary, in the desperate months immediately following World War I, Herbert Hoover manipulated U.S. food aid to bring about the overthrow of two successive governments unfriendly to United States interests. During World War II, a substantial portion of the lend-lease shipments dispatched to Britain, the Soviet Union, and our other allies con-

Robert M. Hathaway is a staff historian in the Central Intelligence Agency. This article does not necessarily represent the views of that agency or the U.S. government. The author would welcome correspondence with readers who have participated in past efforts to use food as a political tool at 1613 Folley Lick Court, Herndon, Virginia 22070.

sisted of food. Historians today generally concede that lend-lease represents one of the most enlightened acts of statecraft in our nation's history. By giving Britain and the U.S.S.R. the wherewithall to maintain their resistance to the Axis, the \$54 billion worth of commodities shipped abroad under the lend-lease act made possible ultimate victory for the allies.

Only in the years after 1945, however, did America's agricultural bounty unveil its full potential as an instrument of diplomacy. Europe—indeed, much of the world—faced an immense task in repairing the destruction six years of global war had wrought. As former President Hoover reported in May 1946, *Famine, Pestilence, and Death* rode almost unchecked across two continents. Twenty-eight million Europeans were existing on fewer than 1500 calories a day, compared with the U.S. daily average of 3300 calories. Millions roamed the countryside, having neither homes nor visible means of sustenance. In Germany cigarettes and chocolate substituted for money. Everywhere political and economic liberalism and the values for which Americans had so recently been dying seemed in danger of being swept aside by chaos, want, and fear.

Avoiding Catastrophe

In the face of this crisis, U.S. relief supplies offered one of the few hopes for staving off catastrophe. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration funneled more than \$1 billion of food, roughly three-fourths of it American, to Europe's hungry between 1945 and 1947. UNRRA was succeeded by the Marshall Plan, usually mentioned along with lend-lease as an example of U.S. diplomacy at its most imaginative. Of the \$13.5 billion furnished our European friends under this program, more than one-fourth consisted of food, feed, and fertilizers. Over the following years, Marshall Plan assistance helped rebuild the industrial might of Western Europe. But before that could take place, American food had bought time for the Western Europeans. And then there was the Berlin airlift, which carried food and other essentials to 2.5 million West Berliners surrounded by

a sea of enmity. It was not mere happenstance that saw the airlift code-named Operation Vittles.

To credit U.S. food supplies with an absolutely crucial role in restoring the health and vigor of Western Europe in the decade after 1945 hardly overstates matters. Today this area, stable and largely democratic, consists of governments friendly to the United States and to American purposes around the world. Many are the explanations for this happy state of affairs, but the huge quantities of food dispatched to these countries in their hour of need is surely not the least in importance.

Europe was not the only area that received significant amounts of U.S. food. In fact, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, India was the single largest recipient of U.S. agricultural aid. While in the case of India food assistance did not bring all the political dividends Washington officials might have liked, it almost certainly had a positive impact on Indo-American relations. At least a succession of congresses and presidents, representing both political parties, believed this to be true, for they continued year after year to back assistance programs for New Delhi.

Indian food aid also nicely illustrates the wide range of purposes U.S. agricultural assistance has served. Some in Washington supported it for the beneficial effect it might have on bilateral ties between the two nations. Others viewed American farm goods as a promoter of democracy in the world's second most populous country. A good many hoped that American generosity would swing India into the western camp. The defeat of Chiang Kai-shek by Mao's communist armies gave this consideration a compelling urgency for those worried that if India similarly succumbed to communism, all of Asia would inevitably follow. For still others, the extension of food assistance to a country so obviously in need fulfilled certain humanitarian urges fostered by the conviction that the United States had a uniquely altruistic role to play in world affairs. Finally, some groups and individuals supported the shipment of large quantities of foodstuffs to New Delhi for reasons having nothing at all to do with foreign policy calculations.

For these Americans such aid helped to alleviate an embarrassment of riches at home: the expensive and increasingly burdensome surpluses piling up in government storage bins around the country. Each of these varied motivations pushed in the same direction: the extension of further food aid. Each appears to have been influential at some point during the two decades in encouraging the dispatch of agricultural assistance to India.

Bringing Benefits

American food aid has also brought tangible and extensive benefits of another sort. In 1965, for instance, 80 percent of all U.S. wheat exports—a huge quantity, with a market value of \$1 billion—was financed with funds supplied by the United States for the purpose of providing these importing countries with essential food supplies. American farmers, traders, and shippers prospered accordingly, and these concessional sales contributed a substantial sum to the U.S. balance of payments at a time when record expenditures abroad were heavily drawing down American reserves. Of course, this fortunate conjunction of economic gain and diplomatic purposes brought another important constituency into the coalition backing the agricultural assistance program.

One further illustration from the past—there are dozens to choose from—reminds us just how versatile food aid has been in pursuit of foreign policy goals. In the early 1970s, the Nixon administration shipped huge quantities of agricultural assistance to South Vietnam. It was not that no other sources existed to meet Saigon's food needs, nor that South Vietnam was more impoverished than other potential recipients. Rather, the providing of this food freed Saigon's foreign exchange reserves for other uses, notably the prosecution of the war against the North. One might quarrel with this particular application of food aid; many Americans at the time found it something of a perversion of the Food for Peace program that authorized the assistance. But few can deny that here, too, America's agricultural bounty helped further the national interest as Washington defined it.

The apparent uncoupling of food and diplomacy in the wake of the Carter embargo should not obscure the fact that even the Reagan administration seems unable to resist mobilizing food resources for foreign policy purposes. Two months after taking office, and in the face of candidate Reagan's pledges not to use agricultural embargoes, the administration suspended \$5 million of Food for Peace grants to Mozambique for six months after that government expelled four U.S. diplomats. More recently, as Washington has sought to repair relations with that strategically situated south African country, the spigot of American largesse has once again opened wide, and Mozambique will receive well over \$10 million of free foodstuffs from the United States this year. Similarly, when Libya's predatory Colonel Mu'ammar Qadhafi began casting covetous eyes toward Chad last year, the United States rushed in 14,000 metric tons of emergency food supplies to shore up the beleaguered government in N'Djamena. Today Washington is using commodity financing under the Food for Peace program to bolster its client regime in El Salvador. These and other actions strongly suggest that the Reagan administration is neither as dogmatic nor as convinced of the utter inefficacy of food used for political purposes as it at first glance appears to be. It too recognizes that America's agricultural resources are diplomatically useful.

Avoiding Failure

Our question then becomes: Why did the Carter embargo fail so spectacularly? Given the fact that perhaps as much as three-fourths of all Soviet grain imports prior to the embargo came from the United States—seemingly rendering Moscow vulnerable to a cutoff—how did the Kremlin manage to avoid serious food shortages at home while at the same time continuing its campaign in Afghanistan?

An answer to this question also benefits from a look at the history of food as an instrument of policy. In the early years of the nineteenth century, for instance, as the fledgling United States sought to maintain its precarious independence amidst the fury of

the Napoleonic wars, President Jefferson turned to food to make a political point. The warring nations of Europe, and Britain above all, depended heavily on U.S. agriculture. By denying foodstuffs to any country that refused to honor U.S. neutrality, Jefferson reasoned, the United States would be able to coerce the more powerful Europeans into acceding to American desires to trade with all the belligerents.

Unfortunately, the embargo act that Jefferson persuaded Congress to pass in 1807 backfired appallingly. Industrial and agricultural goods piled up on wharves to decay, ships rotted at their moorings, merchants and farmers went bankrupt in droves, and soup kitchens for the unemployed sprang up

For the Carter embargo to have succeeded, the Soviet Union would have had to have relied on the United States for a significant amount of grain

in ports all up and down the coast. Worse yet, the trade boycott had no appreciable impact on the Europeans. By almost every conceivable standard Jefferson's ploy was an economic boomerang, and repeal came in early 1809. The embargo, seemingly so promising a move, had fallen victim to Jefferson's miscalculations regarding both European need for U.S. goods and American willingness to pay the costs the initiative exacted.

The Carter embargo was to suffer a similar fate. For it to have succeeded, the Soviet Union would have had to have relied on the United States for a significant portion of its grain. But this was not the case in January 1980. While Moscow did obtain a large percentage of its foreign grain from U.S.

sources, these imports made up a relatively small part, perhaps 16 percent, of total Soviet needs, which were—and are—met primarily from domestic production. Moreover, these imported supplies did not go toward satisfying basic food requirements of the Soviet citizenry but were used to increase meat production. Stated baldly, the Soviet Union was not particularly vulnerable to outside pressure, a situation far different, one might note by way of contrast, from that which many countries face today with respect to oil supplies. Nor did the embargo keep all U.S. grain from Soviet tables. Not wanting to be accused of violating an international contract, Carter ruled that only that amount above the eight million tons the 1975 agreement obligated the United States to deliver would be barred from Soviet destinations. Thus, any potential shortfall was significantly reduced.

Trading Partners

In addition, a grain embargo offers the potential for success only if no readily available alternative sources of supply exist. Once again, such was not the case in this instance. What transpired instead was a global square dance, as the world's major grain producers in effect exchanged trading partners. Argentina, for example, turned almost completely away from its traditional customers in order to meet the considerably larger Soviet demand. The United States then eased into many of Argentina's old markets. (As a consequence, the embargo caused far less damage to U.S. producers than many claimed at the time. The serious problems besetting the domestic farm economy in 1980–81 resulted from a variety of longer-term causes. The embargo merely aggravated an already bad situation.) Our allies as well, after an initial pledge not to increase their food exports to the Soviets, eventually bowed before public pressure and moved to fill the void left by Washington's abstinence. The net result of this action, then, as Senator Edward Zorinsky (D.-Nebraska) has acidly observed, was to deny the typical Soviet citizen the equivalent of one Big Mac a week. That was hardly sufficient to bring the Kremlin to its knees.

Officials in the Carter administration were especially upset by this "perfidy" on the part of our friends, and their feelings of disappointment and betrayal promoted additional discord within the western alliance. This development raises another pertinent question that Washington decision makers did not adequately examine in 1980: what diplomatic costs are we prepared to pay in order to persuade other countries not to increase their exports as we cut back ours? Again, Argentina furnishes a particularly apt illustration. In exchange for agreeing not to sell new grain to the Soviets, Buenos Aires demanded that the State Department quit harping on Argentina's sorry human rights record and that Washington resume the arms sales it had blocked because of the regime's human rights practices. The Carter administration found this price too steep, and the military rulers in Buenos Aires responded with a new trade agreement with the Soviets.

Pressuring Moscow

An elementary understanding of human psychology, and particularly of the acute sensitivity to slights, actual or only perceived, that is characteristic of the Soviet leadership, offers a further explanation for the embargo's failure. In retrospect it appears incredibly naive to have believed that Moscow would have submitted to U.S. pressure, no matter what costs the embargo inflicted. It was not simply that in Soviet eyes essential national interests compelled their actions in Afghanistan. Even had the matter in dispute touched much less centrally on issues of importance to the Soviet state, it is inconceivable, as political scientist Robert L. Paarlberg has rightly pointed out, that the Kremlin would have allowed itself to be publicly disciplined in much the same manner one dismisses an unruly child from the table without supper until his behavior conforms to accepted norms. Certainly the United States would not have permitted itself to be so humiliated. Nor in the past had Soviet leaders shown a willingness to make political concessions of consequence for the hope of economic advantage. Their stubborn refusal to relax Jewish emigration re-

strictions in exchange for most-favored-nation status furnished a recent case in point. Indeed, U.S. sanctions only made it easier for President Brezhnev and his associates to demand additional sacrifices of the Soviet populace; once more the bogeyman of foreign threat could be trundled out to cover up the deficiencies of their own leadership.

One final reason for the embargo's abysmal performance arises from the Carter administration's failure to ensure sustained domestic support for the costs its actions inevitably entailed. After an initial period of rallying 'round the flag, farmers gradually came to believe that the embargo un-

The Reagan administration is neither as dogmatic nor as convinced of the inefficacy of food as a weapon as it appears at first glance

fairly singled them out to bear a disproportionate share of the burdens. Farm groups and legislators from agricultural regions increasingly asked why they alone should pay for decisions said to be taken to advance national interests, and in an election year, it is hardly surprising that the Republican Party and its presidential candidate adopted their cause—in Reagan's case, despite the fact that a promise to terminate the sanctions ran counter to his generally hardline approach to the Soviet Union. Nor was it only Republicans who took up the farmers' standard. Even had Carter won re-election, it is difficult to envision how he could have avoided a substantial modification of his policies.

Some embargo critics have suggest-

ed that while food aid can play a useful diplomatic role as a reward or incentive, its value as an instrument of punishment or coercion is negligible. In this view, Carter's grain cutoff was destined to fail, because the denial of food supplies leaves the United States with no leverage to influence the behavior of other states. Such an argument, however, rather overstates the case, although it is true that historically, the promise of food has been more effective in accomplishing American purposes than its withdrawal. Still, the record furnishes illustrations where the latter approach has also paid diplomatic dividends.

Leasing India

In the mid-1960s, for instance, Lyndon Johnson adopted a "short tether" strategy that explicitly tied the pace of food shipments to India to New Delhi's vigor in pursuing policies designed to expand its agricultural production. As part of this approach, Johnson successfully threatened to withhold grain until the Indian authorities took certain domestically unpopular measures to boost fertilizer output. While reflecting a variety of economic, political, humanitarian, and commercial motives, this pressure primarily represented a U.S. attempt to address some of the underlying causes of India's chronic dependence on overseas food sources. And somewhat to the surprise of administration officials, the Indian agriculture minister appeared almost relieved at Washington's new and tougher line, for it afforded him additional leverage in negotiating within his own government. By the end of the decade, India had adopted many of the agricultural self-help policies advocated by the United States.

A few years later, events in Chile provided an even more dramatic illustration of the impact the withdrawal of American food might have. The election of Salvador Allende to the presidency of Chile in 1970 occasioned acute distress in Washington, an anxiety intensified by Allende's nationalization policies and his warm relations with Cuba and other communist countries. The Nixon administration responded with a number of counter-

measures, including a sharp cutback in the amount of food aid sent Santiago. In the three years Allende governed Chile, the administration slashed its agricultural assistance program by two-thirds, a disastrous reduction for a country heavily dependent on food imports. With its foreign reserves depleted and U.S. sources of credit blocked, Chile soon faced widespread food shortages and steep price increases. The resultant inflation eventually helped alienate Chile's influential middle class from the government. Increasingly besieged by domestic discontent, Allende offered in desperation to pay hard cash for American wheat shortly before the coup that toppled him in September 1973, only to have the Nixon administration block the purchase. Washington's speedy approval of a huge credit sale of wheat to Chile's new junta within a month of Allende's overthrow accented the central role U.S. manipulation of its food supplies had played in Allende's troubles. Here again, food employed as an instrument of coercion had shown itself to be a powerful weapon for the achievement of U.S. diplomatic objectives, especially when combined with the wide range of political, economic, and military pressures Washington had mobilized against the Chilean president.

This survey of past efforts to use the nation's food resources as a political weapon suggests the conditions that lend themselves to the successful coupling of food and foreign policy. While historical illustrations can offer only tendencies, not certainties, one can feel reasonably confident that a respect for these rough guidelines can keep the United States from disasters on the order of the Carter grain embargo:

Rough Guidelines

- It is much easier to bend a small state with limited resources and large needs to our will than a major country with global interests, the means to seek alternate sources of supply, and a national pride that precludes backing down before the threats of another country. One should be embarrassed even to include this obvious maxim except that it was precisely this rule that the Carter administration violated

with the Soviet grain embargo.

- Tactics should be adapted to short-term market conditions. Clearly, food will provide the most leverage for the supplying country in times of tight supplies and high prices. Conversely, it would be foolhardy to impose an agricultural embargo during a period of surpluses and depressed prices.

- For food to succeed as a diplomatic tool, the potential recipient has to desire our products more than we want to dispose of them. This has not always been the case, as when strong pressures to increase commercial sales or be rid of burdensome surpluses have left Washington officials with little flexibility in negotiating the terms of food

*Agriculture can
be useful in
fostering
international
cooperation and
understanding—
it is an
idea whose time
has come*

assistance or credit purchases. In the absence of this condition, of course, the potential recipient ends up with considerable leverage over the would-be supplier.

- Agricultural punishments will achieve maximum impact only as part of a more comprehensive package of economic, political, and possibly military measures. In addition, public policy should be coordinated with the private sector for optimal results. American cutbacks in food aid to Allende's Chile proved effective in large measure because they were coupled with an across-the-board reduction in developmental aid, Export-Import Bank credits, and other U.S. assistance. Moreover, Washington used its clout in multilateral institutions such

as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to dry up other potential sources of funds. Finally, private banks, for their own reasons, also reduced their credit lines drastically. Ultimately, the combined weight of these measures proved too much for the Allende regime, whereas the withdrawal of food aid alone would not have been sufficient.

- If the United States is to use agricultural embargoes in the future, some way to equalize their economic burdens must be found. Various suggestions have been made to guarantee a certain profit margin for farmers and other business groups dependent on overseas sales, much as defense contractors now receive. Other schemes might work equally well as long as no one sector of the public is allowed to perceive itself as shouldering an unfair portion of the costs of national policy. Again, the contrast with the grain embargo is striking.

Realistic Expectations

- Finally, we must be realistic in our expectations of what food can do diplomatically. A relatively modest program—whether it be additional aid or a partial embargo such as that imposed in 1980—is not likely to produce sweeping changes in the attitudes or policies of other governments. As a corollary, any administration using agricultural resources for national purposes must avoid overselling its program. Promoting excessive expectations will invariably foster a backlash of disappointment and frustration when the promised results are not realized.

One fact appears certain: foreign demand for American food is not going to decrease during the remainder of this century. As population growth in many countries continues to outpace agricultural production, as more and more people forsake rural life for the city, as erosion, desertification, and urbanization encroach further upon cropland and forest, and as warfare, floods, drought, and other disasters disrupt agricultural output, peoples the world over will look to Washington for both emergency relief and long-term assistance. This is not necessarily an unfortunate development for the

United States. At a time when many of our traditional diplomatic assets—armed might, economic preponderance, industrial productivity—have dwindled in relation to those of other countries, food abundance continues to provide us with a resource unmatched by any other nation. Used wisely, this advantage can serve national interests worldwide.

Moral Obligations

Of course, the possession of such riches brings obligations as well as opportunities. Some have suggested that the very idea of employing food supplies for political ends represents the negation of the values and ideals for which the United States professes to stand, and, indeed, future administrations might find it difficult to justify to the American people the ethical or moral implications of refusing for political reasons to assist the truly needy. Others have argued that the ill-will a blatant manipulation of food might engender among the world's hungry could well override any benefits the United States would receive through such actions. Still others have cautioned that Washington must not jeopardize with embargoes or similar restrictions its reputation as a reliable supplier, else it risks losing many of its customers.

But, while valid, these caveats do not fundamentally alter the conclusion that America's agricultural abundance offers significant scope for imaginative diplomacy. Even Secretary Block, at the very moment he was deploring the Carter embargo, recognized this. Indeed, he described the new grain agreement with Moscow as "an early building block" in the effort to create "a more stable and constructive relationship" between the superpowers. In other words, the denial of U.S. food might not promise much in the way of punishing the Soviets; the administration's refusal to link grain sales with the tragic destruction of Korean Air Lines flight 007 concedes as much. But agriculture can be useful in a more positive sense, in fostering international cooperation and understanding across the vast psychological gulf separating the two peoples. Food power is an idea whose time has come. □

Conferences

(Continued from page 23.)

sensus of the international community. It would also help ensure a more positive negotiating approach, one with an emphasis, not on confrontation, but on cooperation, conciliation, and compromise.

Improve U.S. Role

The United States can improve its own preparation for and management of international conferences. First, we need to make sure that our position on any particular conference and, more important, the activities that flow from that conference are fully supported by the agencies that will be assisting in the funding and by a bipartisan congressional consensus. Greater efforts should be made to involve key members of Congress from both parties well in advance of any major international conference, especially regarding possible future appropriations needed for funding recommendations. This will ensure that there will be an effective follow-up on our commitments even if there is a change in administration. The U.S. stance at international conferences should be a national one; it should not simply reflect a party position. Creating such bipartisan support will help overcome a major shortcoming of some past conferences: the failure of our own government to support international programs that we approved at past meetings. This failure to follow through on our commitments has unfortunately led some members of the international community to regard us with bitterness, cynicism, and anger.

Second, there needs to be an even closer involvement of the public, the media, and interested organizations in the early stages of U.S. planning for such a conference. In particular, background briefings, press conferences, and, for private sector experts, involvement in drafting U.S. position papers will ensure that the U.S. position is understood by the public and has appropriate support for the follow-up stages. This process would also be an important educational experience, for it would allow non-governmental entities, the press, and Congress to

witness the international constraints within which the government must operate and to understand long-range national interests in a more enlightened context.

Third, to ensure an effective U.S. follow-up, a private coordinating group should be established to review, monitor, and encourage both governmental and private participation in the approved projects. When such groups were involved in the past, national follow-up has been more effective. Finally, a standing inter-agency group should be established at a senior level within the government to coordinate and implement the pledges made by the United States. A detailed study of U.S. participation in U.N. conferences has been made by the Futures Group in a study prepared for the State Department entitled "A Handbook for U.S. Participation in Multilateral Diplomacy: The U.S. and Global Conferences."

Results of Reform

The basic purposes of these reforms would be to lessen the frequency and cost of international conferences, make their goals more substantive and focused, and impose greater discipline and restraint on the U.N. decision-making machinery. They would also increase the respect given by the public and government officials to the U.N. system as a whole. Finally, they would aid in making the necessary compromises and developing the consensus which is required for the successful implementation of any action by the international community. Although the difficulties of achieving agreement would be great, these reforms would provide more concrete results than have the sometimes aimless present procedures. We must assume a consensus can be found among the various blocs on some important problems. This is the very basis of the United Nations' existence and for attempting a global approach to these problems. These suggestions deserve serious consideration if only because the present system has, in part, broken down; other approaches may work equally well. If progress is to be made, the basic weaknesses of the current system must be recognized and remedies proposed.

Rendezvous

*It had been thirty years,
so a pair of roses
was all the former
lovers had to
recognize each other*

By FRED GODSEY

I had not seen nor heard from Henderson for some thirty years. Consequently, I was surprised when his letter from San Francisco reached me at the small farming village in the Black Forest of Germany where I have lived since retiring from the Foreign Service. His letter recalled our tour together in Salzburg shortly after the war and inquired if I would accompany him to that city in the coming spring. Since he mentioned that he, too, was retired, I assumed that his proposed trip would be a sentimental journey. Thus I was puzzled by a line in his letter saying that he would have to be in Salzburg exactly on May 26.

After a brief exchange of letters, we agreed that he would be spending a week in May as my house guest. Then we would drive in my car to Salzburg to be there on May 26. I would use the occasion for a long overdue visit with my cousin who lives there, and Henderson would either continue by train to Vienna or fly back to San Francisco from Munich. His letters were rather vague as to his plans after Salzburg.

I had met Henderson during my first week in Salzburg, shortly after World War II. The town was in the American-occupied zone of post-war Europe, and he was stationed there as a

lieutenant in the army. He had something or other to do with military intelligence. I worked in the American consulate. We both had rooms in Parsch, where each weekday morning we would board the narrow-gauge train to commute to our respective offices in the center of town. We were both bachelors of about the same age, and we soon became fast friends.

The army had requisitioned practically all of the hotels, restaurants, and coffee houses in Salzburg, but Americans were permitted to bring Austrian guests for a meal, a drink, or a coffee. Henderson's good looks ensured his instant success with the local ladies, and he often had one as a lunch or dinner guest. His favorite was a stunningly beautiful blonde named Johanna. She had the bluest eyes that I've ever seen. Johanna soon became Henderson's steady companion, and they could usually be seen evenings at Tomaselli's, the old baroque coffee house on Alte Markt square. I would sometimes join them there—always at the same table—after work for a coffee, a brandy, and some lively conversation.

Separated Friends

One of the curses of Foreign Service life is the fleeting nature of friendships. Good friends are together for a few months or for two or three years, then they are suddenly separated by assignments to other countries, sometimes half a world away. So it was that after about a year in Salzburg I received orders to go to Singapore. I said good bye to Henderson; I was not to see him again for more than thirty years.

Henderson arrived on schedule in May and took a taxi from the village railway station up to my villa. It was good that he did so, since I would not have recognized him. I greeted an elderly, bald-headed man with a considerable paunch. The fringe of hair which nature had left him was com-

pletely white and the lines on his tanned face were deep. It took a while before a vague caricature of the Henderson I had known began to emerge. We sat on my terrace with gin and tonics and talked deep into the spring night, reminiscing as old men do and planning our trip. I finally asked him why he had to be in Salzburg exactly on May 26.

He was silent for a while, and I began to think that he did not intend to answer. "When you were young," he finally said, "did you ever say to yourself—or to someone else—'someday, when I am old, I would like to come here to this place, exactly this spot, and recreate this very moment to prove that it will never be lost in time'?"

"It happened to me once, in Salzburg," he continued. "I couldn't say whether it was a result of the place, the special event, the particular time or the unusual person who was there with me. Maybe I was influenced by all of these. Do you remember Johanna? She and I always had the same table every evening at Tomaselli's—the first table on the left as you enter from Alte Markt square. That table was always reserved for us."

I did indeed remember. I also recalled Johanna's regal bearing and her incredible beauty.

"It was on the evening of my 31st birthday, May the 26th," Henderson said. "That was shortly after you had left Salzburg. Johanna and I were sitting at our usual table at Tomaselli's having coffee and brandy after a memorable birthday dinner. It had been a wonderful day, and we were both in high spirits. She had made a new dress for herself out of some material which she had scrounged, and I had brought her a scarf which matched her blue eyes. She was more beautiful that evening than ever! Suddenly, only half in jest, I said to her, 'Let's come here—to this very table—on my 65th birthday.'

Fred Godsey is a retired Foreign Service officer who lives in West Germany.

at Tomaselli's



We both laughed heartily, and then she said, 'No, you will retire only at 65. Let's make it on your 66th birthday. And we'll be too old to come late in the evening. We'll come for tea at five o'clock in the afternoon,' and with a mischievous glint in her eyes she added, 'and to make sure that we will recognize each other, we will each bring two roses, a red one and a yellow one.' I agreed, and we gleefully raised our glasses.

"I suppose that both Johanna and I were thinking that one day I would ask her to marry me. However, I knew that I would soon be transferred back to the States, and I didn't want to stay in the army. I decided that I would look for a job in private industry in California and then propose marriage

to her. Unfortunately, I also decided that it would be best not to discuss my plans with her until I had found a suitable job.

"About a month after my birthday celebration at Tomaselli's, I was ordered back to Washington. I took a train to go to the airport in Frankfurt. Johanna came with me to the railway station in Salzburg. We both cried, and I said that I'd see her soon. She ran alongside my window of the moving train as far as she could, waving her scarf. It was the last time I saw her.

"I got out of the army and found a job in California. Johanna and I corresponded regularly at first, telling each other little everyday things. She had found a job as a secretary in Salzburg. I was made assistant chief of a sales de-

partment. She had acquired a cat. I had bought some goldfish. That first year I kept thinking each month that I would ask Johanna to join me, but there was always a question of money. My salary was small, so I would have to wait for a promotion. After the second year, and no promotion, our letters to each other lessened considerably, and their contents became more stilted. By the end of the third year our letters ceased, except for the birthday cards. I received a card from Johanna on my birthday every year for six or seven years. They, too, finally stopped. But the last one contained a note. 'See you at Tomaselli's,' it said.

Lost Lovers

"I eventually married—a lovely girl who worked in the office with me. I started my own company, which was quite successful. We had a son, who is head of the company now. My wife died of cancer three years ago."

Henderson paused after this difficult tale to take a long pull on his gin and tonic and to stare morosely at the horizon. I was probably the first person he had ever told the story to. "Do you really believe," I asked, "that next week on the 26th of May—assuming that Johanna is still alive and still in Salzburg—that she will remember that it is your 66th birthday, and that she will be in Tomaselli's coffee house at five?"

Henderson was deep in thought for a while. "No. Not really. I guess that would be too much to expect, even if she is alive. It was too long ago. I suppose that all I'm trying to do is to relive a part of my youth in a place where I enjoyed some of my happiest moments."

By getting an early start on the morning of May 26, Henderson and I drove into Salzburg shortly before noon. It was a beautiful spring day, and the town was beginning to fill

with pre-season tourists. I drove directly to Getreidegasse and the Goldener Hirsch hotel, where Henderson had booked a room. I left him and his bags there and drove to my cousin's house in Anif, a village near Salzburg, where I was to have lunch and spend the night.

I met Henderson at the hotel after lunch, and we set out on foot to explore our old haunts. I had been in Salzburg several times since our post-war days, but it was Henderson's first visit. We walked to Parsch, on the other side of the river, and he was constantly amazed at the changes. The dinky railway station was gone. The Deported Persons camp had given way to huge apartment buildings. The house where we once had rooms was now a handworkers' school. Eder's hotel no longer existed; in its place was a shiny modern bank.

From Parsch we walked down to the railway station, pausing here and there to point out a familiar landmark. The old cobblestone streets were crowded with people in shirt sleeves and light dresses. The horse-drawn carriages

were doing a brisk business with groups of wide-eyed tourists. Henderson's conversation was animated and, although we hadn't talked further about tea at five, I could see that he was under considerable stress. He looked at his watch frequently. As the afternoon waned, I said that perhaps we had better make our way toward Tomaselli's.

We stopped at the flower stall at the railway station, and Henderson bought two beautiful roses, one red and one yellow. He asked the salesgirl to tie them together with a blue ribbon. This caused some confusion but she finally found a piece of ribbon and made a lovely bow.

It was half past four when we walked into Tomaselli's through the Alte Markt entrance. Henderson immediately remarked that everything was the same as when he was last there—the somber waiters in their shiny black suits, white shirts, and black bow ties, the marble-topped tables and uncomfortable straight-backed chairs, the racks of newspapers on wooden sticks, the circular *pissoir* in

the back, the long sideboard covered with dobos torte, Linzer torte, apple strudel, rum cakes, cheese cakes, and chocolates. Indeed, Tomaselli's appeared to have survived the years since the war and the occupation better than had Henderson.

The afternoon tea crowd had not yet arrived. There were a few German teenagers with backpacks sitting in the front and a cluster of elderly English tourists, including a bearded man with one arm and a woman in a wheelchair, chatting away over tea and cake in the back. There were two gentlemen with beards and knee breeches and an elegantly dressed old lady wearing dark sunglasses and with her gray hair combed neatly in a bun. She was addressed by the waiters as "Gräfin." She seemed to monopolize the conversation at her table but showed no interest in us.

We went directly to Henderson's old table, which was unoccupied, and he took a chair which would allow him a view of the entire room and both doorways. I sat opposite him and we placed an empty chair at the table.

SANDOZ & LAMBERTON

INCORPORATED

is pleased to announce that

Floyd H. Middleton

formerly with **A.C. Houghton & Son, Inc.**

has joined our firm as

Vice President

Property Management Department

5100 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington DC 20016

(202) 363-9800

Real Estate Since 1921

Will Your Home Still Be A Castle When You Return?

Personalized Property Management by Mrs. Wyatt

- Serving Foreign Service personnel since 1959.
- Planning for necessary expenditures
- Leases tailored to fit owners' needs
- Updates on real estate laws and regulations
- Frequent inspections • Sales
- Licensed in D.C. and Maryland

Call Mrs. Wyatt — 202/362-7397



WALSH, MESMER & ASSOCIATES, INC.

4713 MAPLE AVE., BETHESDA, MD 20814

Leigh & Schwab, Inc.

REALTORS — Since 1962

Sales and rentals in
Washington, D.C., Bethesda,
Chevy Chase, and Potomac.
Multiple Listing Services.

Temporary Accommodations Available

5025 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Phone:
202/362-5800

U.S. Postal Service

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685

1A. TITLE OF PUBLICATION: Foreign Service Journal 1B. PUBLICATION NO. 00157279 2. DATE OF FILING: 10-1-83 3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE: Monthly except August 3A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY: 11 3B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$10 4. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 2101 E St., NW, Washington, DC 20037 5. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHER: 2101 E St., NW, Washington, DC 20037 6. FULL NAMES AND COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR: Editor — Stephen R. Dujack, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, DC 20037; Managing Editor — Frances G. Burwell, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, DC 20037 7. OWNER: American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, DC 20037 8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES, AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING 1 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES, OR OTHER SECURITIES: none 9. FOR COMPLETION BY NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AUTHORIZED TO MAIL AT SPECIAL RATES (section 423 12 DMM only): The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes: (1) HAS NOT CHANGED DURING THE PRECEDING 12 MONTHS 10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION (Average of last 12 months): A. TOTAL NO. COPIES (new press run) 8900; B. PAID CIRCULATIONS: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 0; (2) Mail subscription: 8108; C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION: 8108; D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER OR OTHER MEANS, SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY, AND OTHER FREE COPIES: 500; E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION 8608; F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 292; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. TOTAL 8900 EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION (Most recent issue): A. TOTAL NO. COPIES (new press run) 9000; B. PAID CIRCULATION: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 0; (2) Mail Subscription: 8130; C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION: 8130; D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER OR OTHER MEANS, SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY, AND OTHER FREE COPIES: 500; E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION: 8630; F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 370; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. TOTAL 9000 11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete — Stephen R. Dujack, Editor.

After looking around the room carefully, he made a big show of placing the roses in the exact center of the table.

"It's really no good," Henderson said. "I know I wouldn't recognize her. We can only rely on the roses. If she comes, she'll see them; she knows the table." I agreed and waved for a waiter. We ordered two coffees, at outrageously high prices, and Henderson mentioned to the waiter the names of several people who had worked at Tomaselli's in the old days. The waiter shook his head slowly. Sorry.

Shortly after five o'clock all of the tables were filled. Many people spend an entire afternoon in an Austrian coffee house with a coffee and a newspaper, and I noticed that only a few of the patrons who were there when we arrived had left. Many of them were probably there for the whole afternoon. The "Grafin" was on her third cup of coffee and once, out of the corner of my eye, I saw her staring at the roses on our table.

It was almost six o'clock, and I sensed that Henderson was resigned to

the fact that Johanna would not come. We talked of old times, and he showed me pictures of his family and his home in San Francisco. I was about to suggest that we leave when suddenly a well-dressed, elderly Austrian lady approached our table. She looked for a moment at the roses. "Excuse me," she said in German, "is this seat free?" She waved at the empty third chair. We stared at her for a few seconds before Henderson shook his head sadly. "I'm sorry, he said, "we are waiting for someone." Her eyes were brown. →

BEGG Inc.

2121 Wisconsin Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 387-2480

SALES • RENTALS • INSURANCE
• MANAGEMENT • INVESTMENT • COMMERCIAL •
Specializing in the management of:
Private residences and apartments. Condominium complexes. Commercial sales and management.

Our sales staff of over 100 experienced agents includes the following presently or formerly associated with the Foreign Service.

Mrs. Virginia Barberin	Mrs. Pamela Jova
Mrs. Betty Battle	Mr. Thane Kuhlman
Mrs. Elrem Calingaert	Mrs. Barbara Lawrence
Mr. Robert Campbell	Mrs. Jeanne Livingston
Mrs. Wendela Carwell	Mrs. Susanne Madden
Mrs. Georgia Devlin	Mrs. June Ogino
Mr. Willard Devlin	Mrs. Ellen Ozga
Mrs. Monique Dragoi	Mrs. Joanne Pernick
Mr. Donald Haher	Mrs. Louise Sullivan
Mrs. Anne Hawkins	Mrs. Ellen Swihart
Mrs. Ilse Heintzen	Mrs. Giselle Theberge

BRANCH OFFICES:

Maryland (301) 657-2760 Chevy Chase, (202) 686-9556
Virginia (703) 893-2300

For Caribbean and European properties:

Begg International Inc. (202) 338-9065

"Specializing in the Finest
Residential Properties for over 33 years"
telex no: 440036UI



MGMB, inc. Realtors

362-4480

Experienced competent staff ready to serve your needs in sales, rentals, management, investments.

Pauline Barnes*	Carole B. Hersman	Susan Raehn
Patricia Garrison Boorman	Lynn Moffly Magruder*	Carolyn Rayfield
Rosemary Dircks	Starke Meyer*	Henrietta Seitz
Fran Dixon	John Y. Millar*	Mary Ann Stoessel*
Mary Hanstad	Diane Noble	William C. Trueheart*
Nancy Harding*	Carol Owens*	John Turner*

Foxhall Square 3301 New Mexico Ave.
*Foreign Service Washington D.C. 20016

JOEL TRUITT

PERSONAL TOUCH

Construction: Under my direction, we are general contractors with broad capability and over 10 years experience, ranging from authentic restoration, remodeling, new construction, repairs, design and drafting.

Property Management: For private residences, multi-unit and commercial property, and condominium associations.

JOEL TRUITT—BUILDER—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT
737 Eighth Street, Southeast, Washington, D.C.
547-7207 — Quality Since 1972 — 546-6958

COMING or GOING

You can count on

PERSONALIZED SERVICE

from

W. C. AND A. N. MILLER
DEVELOPMENT CO

A Complete Real Estate Service Since 1912

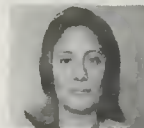
NEW HOUSE SALES • BROKERAGE SALES
RENTALS




4701 Sangamore Rd. 229-4000
Bethesda, Md. 20816 229-4016

COME IN CONFIDENCE COME TO THE EXPERTS

Luz Marina Robertson
Foreign Service Wife
Licensed Realtor



For All Your Real Estate Needs

MOUNT VERNON REALTY 

8137 Leesburg Pike
Vienna, Virginia 22180

Res.: (703) 938-2648

Office: (703) 893-2510

We switched from coffee to brandy and sat for another hour. The crowd finally began to dwindle. "Well, that's it," Henderson said with a wistful smile. "Of course, I really didn't expect her." I silently nodded agreement.

Blue Eyes

We paid our bill. Henderson left the two roses, tied with their blue ribbon, on the table, and we walked back to the Goldener Hirsch. We sat for a while in the small lobby, which was almost too narrow for the many deer horns decorating the walls, and had two more drinks. Henderson said that he would take the train the next morning for Vienna, spend a few days there, and then fly back to San Francisco. I would spend the night at my cousin's and drive back to the Black Forest after breakfast. We said our good byes, promised to write, and shook hands. I started down the Getreidegasse to pick up my car. The day was ending and the streets were filled with shopgoers walking home. I was crossing almost in front of Mozart's birthplace on Getreidegasse when I saw her. She was sitting in a wheelchair, looking into a shop window. I recognized her immediately as the gray-haired woman in the wheelchair who had been sitting with the English group. Then I noticed the young woman pushing the wheelchair. She was probably in her early 20s, had long blonde hair and blue eyes. For a moment my thoughts raced back through the years to Tomasselli's. I could clearly picture her sitting at Henderson's table, laughing and talking. I stopped immediately and pretended to look into the window of a neighboring shop. I could see that the old woman's legs, partly covered with a light blanket, were tightly bandaged. At that point she turned slightly and looked toward me. Apparently a stroke had left the right side of her body paralyzed. Her head was held erect by a metal brace. Her mouth hung open. But her white hair had been beautifully combed and her eyes were the bluest I had ever seen. At that point I glanced into her lap. Clutched in her gnarled, twisted fingers was a pair of roses, one red, one yellow, tied with a blue ribbon. □

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

AFSA Scholarship Applications Available

Complete information on the Merit Awards and Financial Aid Grants offered to dependent children of career Foreign Service personnel (active, retired with pension, or deceased) is now available for eligible students by writing to Dawn Cuthell, AFSA Scholarship Programs, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037.

The following letter was published in this section last December. Because it gives sound advice to students and parents regarding the Merit Awards, we are publishing it again to assist applicants in 1984.

DEAR PARENTS:

At a point where you are struggling with college applications, financial aid forms, and holiday planning, it is a bit daunting to bring another topic before you.

AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Programs 1983-84

Who? For dependent students of Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad for foreign affairs agencies covered by the Foreign Service Act.

What? Merit Awards for graduating high school students in 1984 only, based on academic merit. Financial Aid Grants to full-time undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

How? Apply immediately for applications to AFSA Scholarship Programs, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037, phone (202) 338-4045. Specify type of scholarship and Foreign Service affiliation.

When? IMMEDIATELY. All applications must be completed and materials returned before February 15, 1984.

Children of Foreign Service personnel in the lower grades are especially encouraged to apply.

Nevertheless, if the high school senior in your household has not applied for the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards, it could be rewarding to encourage that application.

Briefly, the Merit Awards are \$500 each, and about 22 are awarded annually. These awards are determined by a total scoring of academic average, class standing, College Board scores, extracurricular activities, letters of recommendation, and a short essay on one of three suggested topics.

The first five categories will already have been established at the time of application. The final determinant—the essay—has not. A good essay is in itself a delight. The best capture and communicate with special freshness an experience or view of life unique to the writer. It is a crucial element in the scoring and can make the difference between a winner and just another applicant. We arrange for publication of the best of these essays (perhaps you have already enjoyed some of the selections) regardless of the final standing of the applicants. In recent years, however, we have noted a rather casual approach taken toward the essay that frequently affects final placement of candidates. Many submissions are characterized by poor organization, elementary errors in spelling and punctuation, and hackneyed phraseology or comment. This is *not* to suggest heavy-handed "parental guidance." (Adult authorship is fairly easy to identify.) Discussion with your student beforehand, however, could be rewarding to both of you in recalling shared Foreign Service experiences or gaining a fresh perspective of your child's reaction to changing school experiences. Urge your student to review carefully his or her submission for spelling and grammar to present its best face to a judging panel. We hope the experience will be as interesting for your family in its creation as it will be for us to review.

A final thought: Not everyone can be a winner. Your student may have the SAT scores of a genius and the extracurricular achievements of a Michelangelo, but so do a lot of others. If disappointment comes, it can be a valuable experience in learning "good loser-ship."

Good luck to all your students.

DAVID T. JONES
State Member

AFSA Committee on Education

Deaths

MARTIN F. HERZ, professor of diplomacy and director of studies at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, former ambassador to Bulgaria, former member of the AFSA Governing

Board, and long-time writer for the *Foreign Service Journal*, died of cancer October 5 in Washington, D.C. He was 66 years old.

Herz entered the Foreign Service in 1946 and served as political officer in Paris, Phnom Penh, and Tokyo. He served as counselor for political affairs in Teheran from 1963-67, when he wrote a cable on "Some Intangible Factors in Iranian Politics" that predicted the downfall of the Pahlavi regime 15 years before it happened. Herz then went to Saigon as minister-counselor for political affairs, arriving just after the Tet offensive. He later became a critic of the role of the media in affecting U.S. policy in Indochina, publishing a book on the subject, *The Prestige Press and the Christmas Bombing*, in 1980. He also faulted the media for failing to report "individual acts of bravery and heroism on the part of our South Vietnamese ally."

In Washington, Herz served in several posts, including that of senior deputy assistant secretary for international organization affairs. In 1974 he became ambassador to Bulgaria. He served there until 1977, when he retired. His experiences as chief of mission were recorded in his book *215 Days in the Life of an American Ambassador*, considered a classic in expressing the realities of the joys and limitations of the career of diplomacy.

After retirement, Herz was for a year a senior research fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, then affiliated with Georgetown, which published several of his studies. In 1978 he became director of studies at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service. He systematically developed the institute's focus on the operational problems and processes of diplomacy through a series of case studies, symposia, and other monographs published by the institute. Herz also taught courses on diplomacy and international relations at the School of Foreign Service. He gave the prestigious Oscar Iden Lecture on diplomacy at Georgetown in 1981. Ellsworth Bunker, who was ambassador to Vietnam during Herz's tenure there and who is the founding chairman of the institute, said in introducing the speaker: "The institute is forever in his debt for the prodigious work he has done almost singlehandedly in bringing the institute to its present healthy state of development. Throughout his years in the Foreign Service and in the years since he left it, Martin Herz has consistently demonstrated high standards of intellectual integrity, personal sacrifice, professionalism, and dedication to public service." When the *Journal* published excerpts from his speech on "Making the

World a Less Dangerous Place," the *New York Times* called it "must reading."

Herz was a prolific author and editor. He produced more than 20 publications at the institute, the most recent being *The Modern Ambassador*, the subject of a colloquium he organized at Georgetown this fall. He wrote numerous articles in professional journals, magazines, and newspapers, such as *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Military Review*, *Orbis*, *Encounter*, and *Commentary*. His dozens of articles in the *Journal* outnumber by far the contributions of any other author. His most recent article, "View from the Top," was the June cover story and a well-received memoir that concluded that the true pleasures in a Foreign Service career lie not in reaching the top of the ladder but in what one does on the climb. He wrote several books besides those already mentioned, including *A Short History of Cambodia* and *Beginnings of the Cold War*.

An active member of AFSA, Herz served several times on the Governing Board and in 1963 was vice chairman. A self-professed member of the "Young Turk" boards of the 1960s, in a memo in 1963 he advocated more participation from junior and mid-level officers on the board. He urged that AFSA eschew its traditional "quiet diplomacy" and instead vigorously defend "the career principle and other important interests of the Foreign Service." He pushed for greater Association involvement in grievance representation and in labor-management relations. Citing Executive Order 10988, he declared it offered "a wide-open door through which the Foreign Service Association can march" to represent its members' interests before management. He urged the Association to become involved in the legislative process. Concluded Herz on his feelings about the Association: "Its purposes are close to my heart."

In this memo, as in his long cable on the future of the Shah, Herz proved to be prescient. There is no doubt that the Foreign Service and the Association are much in his debt.

Herz is survived by his wife of 27 years, Dr. Elisabeth Kremenak Herz, who is associate professor in obstetrics and gynecology and psychiatry at George Washington University Medical Center. He is also survived by a brother, Stephen V. Hart, of San Francisco. —S.R.D

EVELYN JOHNSON, who was formerly Evelyn "Tommy" Catherman and a Foreign Service wife, died on April 15 in Winfield, Alabama, following a long illness. She is survived by her current husband, Farnham

Johnson, of Winfield, Alabama, and her sister, Joan Thompson, of Roanoke, Virginia.

CHARLES SEDGWICK, a longtime linguist with the State Department, died at his home in Newport, Rhode Island, on July 9. He was 71.

Sedgwick was part of a New England family whose ancestors settled Boston in 1629. After graduating from Harvard in 1934, he acted on Broadway and in Hollywood with such talents as Katherine Hepburn and Olivia de Havilland. Sedgwick enlisted in the Navy after Pearl Harbor and taught at the Naval Academy. He served on assignment with the French Naval Mission in Washington, then in 1948 returned to Harvard to receive his doctorate in French literature.

A member of the State Department for more than 25 years, Sedgwick was chosen as President John F. Kennedy's interpreter for a 1961 visit to Paris. He also received the Award for Superior Honor from Secretary of State Dean Rusk for his contributions in translation and languages.

Sedgwick is survived by his brother, the Reverend Canon Harold B. Sedgwick, and several nieces and nephews.

BURL STUGARD, a former agricultural attaché at several embassies, died of a heart attack on August 4 at his home in Fort Worth, Texas. The heart attack followed a ten-year bout with Parkinson's disease.

Stugard, a graduate of the University of Kansas with a bachelor's degree in economics and a master's in entomology, was a pioneer citrus developer in the lower Rio Grande valley of Texas. He was also associated with the Plant Quarantine Division of the Agriculture Department before joining the Foreign Service in 1950. He was assigned to the embassy in Madrid, Spain, where he served for two tours as agricultural attaché. He was decorated by Generalissimo Francisco Franco for his outstanding work between Americans and Spaniards. He also received the honor of being invited, together with his wife, for a farewell audience with Franco. After serving four years at the embassy in Mexico City, where he received the Agricultural Award of Merit from the Mexican government, Stugard toured the Philippines and then returned to the Agriculture Department in Washington. He retired in 1968.

Stugard is survived by his wife, Christine Moore Stugard, of Fort Worth, Texas.

Items for this section should be sent to FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

BOOKS

IF YOU ARE LOOKING for an out-of-print book, perhaps I can find it. Dean Chamberlin, FSIO-retired. Book Cellar, Freeport, ME 04032.

CURRENT PAPERBACKS airmailed within 5 days at reasonable prices. Send for monthly list to Circle Enterprises, Box 1051, Severna Park, MD 21146.

REAL ESTATE

NORTH MYRTLE BEACH. Thinking of a vacation or retirement home, or other investment in coastal South Carolina? If so, call or write Bill Dozier (FSO-retired), Dozier Associates, P.O. Box 349, North Myrtle Beach, SC 29582. (803)249-4043.

SOUTH FLORIDA: prestigious BOCA RATON area. We will reimburse air fare for two (\$750 limit, Boca Point, \$500 limit Boca West) plus free hotel room for two nights at the new Sheraton Hotel on any Boca West or Boca Point purchase. Many other Retirement Investment opportunities here. For information call Fred R. Marti (FSR-retired) or Ruth Marti, Realtor Associates, Kessler Realty Inc., 9746 Lancaster Place, Boca Raton, FL 33432. (305)487-4565.

95 ACRES, 19 miles west of Winchester, VA. Road frontage, pond (needs repair). Will sell all or substantial part for \$925/acre. Financing. W.N. Harben, 5831 Quantrell Ave., Apt. 212, Alexandria, VA 22312. (703)256-9674.

PROPERTY CLAIMS

MOVING LOSS & DAMAGE CLAIMS: Professional preparation and processing of claims for the recovery of money due from property loss and damage when moved by the U.S. government. NO UP-FRONT MONEY. Fee for this service is 10% of the amount recovered. We pay for all estimates. Write or call and ask for one of our agents. PERSONAL PROPERTY CLAIMS, INC. 2000 Virginia Ave., McLean, VA 22101. (703)241-8787.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

PEAKE PROPERTIES LTD.: Muriel Peake, Broker, specializing in residential property management in McLean, Vienna, N. Arlington, etc. Caring, personal service. 6723 Whittier Ave., 303C, McLean, VA 22101. (703)448-0212.

MOUNT VERNON REALTY: Jim Claps, REALTOR and AID/Washington engineer (FVA ASHA), formerly managing privately, is still providing personalized attention to Foreign Service family needs, but is now supported by the full spectrum of services offered by Northern Virginia's second largest firm. Fees moderate—response immediate. PO Box 9599, Arlington, VA 22209. (703)323-1033.

APARTMENT RENTALS

FOR RENT: Apartments one block from State Department, \$450-550 per month, minimum three months. Write: MONROE House, 522 21st St., NW, Washington, DC 20006.

ROSSLYN: Co-op luxury apartments. Fully furnished. Health club/pool. Minimum 3 months. Walk to FSI, Metro, State bus. Efficiency and penthouse. One bedroom. From \$650/month. Write Oper. Donnelly, #202, 479 N. Armstead, Alexandria, VA 22312. (703)642-1081.

PHOTOS

AUTOGRAPHED PHOTOS WANTED OF FAMOUS PEOPLE including world leaders. B. Hoffman, 31 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02116.

NURSING HOMES

100 MILES SOUTH OF D.C. Renowned among Virginia physicians for excellent nursing care, latest equipment, and parklike setting. Skilled, intermediate, and residential. 198 beds, national accreditation (JCAH). Owner formerly with AmEmbassies S. America and ConGens Barcelona, Zurich. University Park, 2420 Pemberton, Richmond, VA 23233-2099. (804)747-9200, Mrs. Jacobsen.

TAX RETURNS

TAX RETURNS. All tax matters including consultation, extensions, filing one return, IRS representation, for one average fee (\$140). Milton E. Carb, E.A. 833 S. Washington St., #8, Alexandria, VA 22314. (703)684-1040.

TAX COUNSELING on any problem. No charge to AFSA members for telephone advice. Bob Dussell (ex-FS), enrolled to tax practice by the Treasury Dept., 3601 N. Fairfax Dr., Arlington, VA 22201. (703)841-0158.

TAX PROBLEMS, returns and representation. T.R. McCartney (ex-FS) Enrolled Agent, and staff. Returns now completely computerized. Business Data Corp., P.O. Box 57256, Washington, DC 20037-0256. (703)671-1040. INVESTMENT GUIDANCE.

RENT-A-USED CAR

AFFORDABLE RENT-A-CAR offers LATE model used cars for rent from \$16.95 per day, with FREE mileage allowance. Even less by the week or month. Ideal for when on HOME LEAVE or shipping POV. Located one block from FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE — Rosslyn. Write for brochure; and get an additional 10 percent-off coupon—Affordable Rent-A-Car, 1900 N. Fort Myer Drive, Arlington, VA 22209. (703)276-8125.

GIFT & SHOPPING SERVICE

NEED A GIFT for someone at home? FORGET SOMETHING AT POST? We'll shop and ship for you. Write for details and brochure. Janet Kerley (ex-FS wife), 5010 N. 27th St., Arlington, VA 22207. (703) 241-1505.

INVESTMENTS

FINANCIAL PLANNING PORTFOLIO MANAGEMENT: E.F. HUTTON & CO., INC. G. Claude Villarreal, Account Executive, 1825 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20006. (202)331-2528 or (1-800)368-5811.

CHILD CARE WANTED

NEEDED: INFANT CARE in our condominium for happy 3-month old son. Light housework. Monday through Friday, 8am-6pm. January through May. Non-smoker preferred. References helpful. Salary negotiable. English or French speaking. L. Curtin, 4621-A. S. 28th Road, Arlington, VA 22206. (202)632-3224 days, (703)998-0750 evenings.

BRIDGE CLASSES

ALL LEVELS. Convenient locations, days and evenings, games too. Contact Steven Hognlund, ABCL, 1414 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202)387-8907.

BARTENDING

FSO offspring, graduate student seeks bartending and waiting work for private parties. Call Philip Bergman (202)829-2312.

ART RESTORATION

OIL PAINTINGS RESTORED. Museum conservation standards. Moderate prices. Virginia Devine, 1323 Fourth St., SW, Washington, DC 20024. (202)484-0766.

EXCHANGE RATES

Classified advertising in the FOREIGN EXCHANGE is open to any person who wishes to reach the professional diplomatic community. The rate is 50 cents per word per insertion. Telephone numbers count as one word and zip codes are free. To place a classified ad or to receive our rate card for regular display advertising, write or call the Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037, (202)338-4045. Checks should accompany all classified insertion orders. The deadline for FOREIGN EXCHANGE ads is approximately 5 weeks before the publication date.

Association News

New Club Lounge & Bar Opens



Foreign Service Club manager Alberto Gracia has announced the opening of the new Lounge & Bar on the second floor. Accessible through the 21st Street entrance, the Lounge & Bar is open from 9 to 5 for drinks, and members can meet friends or relax and enjoy complimentary coffee and magazines. A serve-yourself unlimited sandwich and wine bar for \$5.85 is available from 11:30 to 3, and Happy Hour is from 3 to 5.

Credit Union 'Stonewalls' Request for Information

State Department Federal Credit Union President James C. Lewis has three times refused to answer Association requests for information regarding recent reports in the press on management problems at the credit union. AFSA made the requests because of concern that Foreign Service employees who are members of the credit union, which has been placed on a problem list by federal regulators, could be adversely affected.

Lewis refused to honor requests for information made in a letter from AFSA on August 26, calling instead for a meeting. At the meeting between Lewis and AFSA board members on September 19, Lewis "completely failed to address the charges made against you," according to a letter to Lewis from AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. "Far from providing information which might alleviate the concern of your membership, you have chosen to stonewall all legitimate inquiries into the past and present management of the credit union."

In that letter, dated October 7, Hays asked whether press reports were true that the dismissed general manager had been given \$100,000 severance pay; why the credit union chose to sell its office building in Rosslyn and then rent space in the same building for a yearly amount

close to the principal due on the mortgage; to explain certain employee benefits, including a personal car for the executive assistant; and to provide minutes for credit union board meetings.

In his response, Lewis said, "I do not believe that a summation to you of specifics requested in your letters . . . will serve any constructive purpose" because SDFCU had covered "the salient points of our financial difficulties in recent membership-wide correspondence." He also cited progress in correcting "a serious imbalance between savings and loans" and said that a net operating gain is projected for the fourth quarter as a result of management reforms.

These Words Were Transmitted on the Telephone

All the type in this issue was keyboarded in the *Journal* offices in Washington on the magazine's new word processor and transmitted over the telephone to a typesetting machine in Hanover, New Hampshire, about 500 miles away. Before, manuscripts had been sent by courier to the printer, where typists entered them directly into the typesetter.

The new system will save several thousand dollars a year by eliminating most of the labor involved in setting the type. In addition, the *Journal* should save money in authors' alterations.

Danger Pay Finally Awarded After Year-long Fight

A year-long fight by the Association to get danger pay for Foreign Service personnel posted to Beirut and San Salvador ended in late October when the State Department finally authorized payment. Though an amendment by Senator Claiborne Pell (D.-Rhode Island) unlinking the awarding of danger pay from the presence of dependents at post had passed on September 23, the department waited until the State authorization bill reached conference two months later because it feared that some senators unfriendly to the Foreign Service would see the debate on the pay as an opening for altering the entire allowance system.

The Association, through its contacts on the Hill, felt that this fear, while based in fact, was exaggerated. Earlier, in fact two days after the terrorist bombing of the embassy in Beirut, the Association had filed an unfair labor practice charging the department with bad faith, dilatory bargaining regarding implementation of danger pay. That charge came more than five months after AFSA had notified State in November 1982 that it wished to renegotiate the existing agreement on danger pay because management had interpreted the provision on dependents at post so that only employees in Kabul would receive it. At the time of the bombing, the department still had not responded to the Association's request. State eventually notified AFSA officially that it would refuse to negotiate because it interpreted the legislative history to preclude the awarding of danger pay when dependents are present at post. The Foreign Service Labor Relations Board viewed this as an allegation of non-negotiability, which would have to be addressed through a negotiability appeal. The Association instead decided to go the legislative route, a strategy that succeeded in getting the pay for employees at posts where terrorism is a daily threat. Of help in formulating AFSA's positions in this battle were the many submissions from posts, particularly Beirut and San Salvador.

AID Standing Wins Improvements in Selection Precepts

After marathon negotiating sessions with management, AFSA's AID Standing Committee has secured several valuable changes—and preserved some of last year's hard won gains—in the precepts for the 1982–83 Selection Boards. Negotiations over precepts are always important, but this time they were especially vital because this is the second year selection-out procedures have been in effect for AID and other important changes were proposed by management.

Management submitted their proposed precepts just as the promotion boards were convening, forcing negotiations to be held on an incredibly short deadline. The agency's proposals contained a number of undesirable changes from last year's precepts, so AFSA launched a successful challenge. First, AID Standing was able to retain the principle that annual percentages for low-ranking and referral to selection-out panels should be by class (grade) only. Management had wanted to set these percentages by both grade and backstop. However, AFSA does not believe selection out should be used as a selective manpower planning tool. The committee also obtained agreement that only the lowest 10 percent of each backstop cluster would receive low-ranking notices

AFSA Membership Record Set in Last Fiscal Year

The Association's membership roll, which increased by 695 persons in fiscal year 1983, reached a record level of 7617 in June, according to Acting Executive Director Cecil B. Sanner in the AFSA 1982–83 Annual Report in this issue. The 10 percent increase completes a rise of about 25 percent since the Governing Board initiated a series of membership campaigns in the summer of 1980. The old record of 7316 was set in 1975.

Some 224 State Department employees joined AFSA in the last year, as did 400 retired constituency members. AID and Commerce Department membership levels were also up, Agriculture stayed even, but the USIA membership went down by seven.

and only 50 percent of these would be referred to selection-out panels. This cuts in half the number of officers who can be considered for selection-out.

Second, AID Standing was able to eliminate a proposal that Senior Foreign Service officers' salaries could be decreased if they are deemed to have been comparatively low performers.

Third, the committee managed to preserve the principle that an officer had to be in a grade at least one full year before being eligible for promotion. Management had wanted to be able to promote "high flyers" at successive panels, but AFSA believes that allowing the back-to-back promotion of inexperienced officers could be detrimental to the professionalism of the Service and would represent poor career development practice.

In other changes, AID Standing and management jointly developed language on assignments that will highlight AID's development context. For example, implementation of projects will be just as important as development of programs, and management of resources as important as management of personnel. Also, there is now reference to the role of an assignment (e.g., lack of supervisory opportunities, the complement) that should not be allowed a priori to work to one's disadvantage. And, language was inserted into the precepts to encourage the promotion of technical specialists into the SFS. Finally, the precepts now call for SFS officers to be able to function in another language.

Journal Cites 'Banner Year' in Annual Report

The 1982–83 publishing season was a "banner year" for the *Journal*, with "notable successes both editorially and financially," according to the AFSA 1982–83 Annual Report in this issue.

The magazine received two Gold Awards for editorial excellence from the Society for National Association Publications at its annual meeting in June. The *Journal* also cited improved finances "because of a second record year in advertising sales and continued reductions in production costs." Ad revenue rose by 33 percent and production costs dropped by 11 percent. The financial improvement, according to the report, has "resulted in a \$57,000 positive change in the Association's treasury over the last two years."

Assignment of Tandems Subject of AFSA Survey

In response to a proposed policy statement submitted to AFSA by management, the Association is conducting a survey of members' views on State Department policies that affect tandem couples, particularly with respect to assignments. The results will be useful to AFSA in its discussions with the department. The Association is interested in hearing both from tandem couples and from non-tandems, while for the moment seeking primarily comments on those concerns that affect assignments.

The survey has been transmitted to the field by a cable. AFSA representatives at post have been asked to compile data on employee responses to the questions as well as to provide personal observations on tandems. Both tandems and non-tandem couples have been asked to fill in the questionnaire and return it to the representative or directly to AFSA.

The Foreign Service Club

has a new

Lounge & Bar

Open: 9–5 Enter on 21st St.
2101 E St., NW 338-5730

Club, with Revenues Up More than 50%, Bringing in Money

For the first time in many years, the Foreign Service Club is "bringing money into the AFSA treasury," according to AFSA's 1982–83 Annual Report in this issue. Citing "sharply increased patronage," the report notes that revenues rose by 53 percent over fiscal year 1982, from \$100,000 to \$153,000.

The upswing comes as a result of a "year-long campaign to upgrade and improve the Club's food, service, and facilities," the report states. The Governing Board authorized expenditures to improve the physical plant, expand the banquet facilities, and build a club lounge. It hired a new manager one year ago who has revamped the menu, lowered prices, and upgraded the training of the staff.

Senate Blocks Life Censorship; AFSA Testifies in House

The Senate attached an amendment to the State Department authorization bill last October blocking until at least April 25 the implementation of the life-long pre-publication review portion of President Reagan's national security directive of March 11. Meanwhile, AFSA President Dennis K. Hays, other employee representatives, and outside experts criticized the directive as unfair, unnecessary, and unworkable in statements before the Legislation and National Security Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. Though efforts to blunt the effects of the directive have met with some success, including a vote by the Senate Armed Services Committee blocking expansion of polygraph testing in the Defense Department mandated by a similar directive, the Justice Department is still continuing to implement it and to strengthen it—most recently with an order permitting random polygraph tests of government employees with access to information on intelligence sources and methods.

The directive has endured a storm of criticism since its implementation began last winter. The *New York Times* called it "madness" and John Chancellor of NBC News said it was an attempt at government censorship "unprecedented in the history of the nation." Former Undersecretary of State George W. Ball told a House subcommittee it is "an appalling document [that] would require the establishment of a censorship bureaucracy far larger than anything known in our national experience. . . . As a lawyer, I would fire a young attorney who drafted it."

The Association has objected to both pre-publication review and the use of polygraphs in its testimony and in the press. Hays predicted an unfavorable effect on public discussion of vital topics of national security. "If the pre-publication review portion of the directive had been implemented," he told a national television audience on the Cable News Network, "only now would we be reading the important analyses by former government officials that have appeared in the press on the Korean Airlines incident." Hays's remark came during the course of what was to have been a debate on the issue with the directive's author, Deputy

Assistant Attorney General Richard K. Willard, but the Justice official refused to appear at the last moment.

The directive's "restrictions on access to the media, use of polygraph examinations, and pre-publication review requirements are ill-conceived overreactions to the perceived problem of unauthorized disclosure of classified information," Hays said in a statement to the House Subcommittee on Legislation and National Security. "The directive is unnecessary. There are already in place appropriate safeguards to preclude disclosure of sensitive information. We are not aware of any instances where members of the Foreign Service have published information detrimental to our national security." Approximately 4500 State employees handle the specially sensitive information that could subject them to random polygraph tests and lifetime pre-publication review, and thousands of others handle classified information that could subject them to lie detector tests as the result of an investigation of a leak. More than 2.5 million government employees may be affected by the directive, according to the General Accounting Office.

Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R.-

Maryland), who cosponsored the amendment postponing pre-publication review of former employees, said there was "little evidence [that] former officials have abused their trust by revealing classified information." In fact, the Justice, Defense, and State departments could come up with only one confirmed incident in the past five years among them of an unauthorized disclosure, and the information security office for the entire executive branch could only cite "half a dozen" reports of leaks from current or former employees in the past three years, most of which did not make it into the press. Willard has admitted in congressional testimony that the administration undertook no study to justify its restrictions. "This record . . . hardly justifies a crash program which infringes on important free speech rights," said Mathias. Concluded Senator Thomas F. Eagleton (D.-Missouri), the other cosponsor: "A flagrant and indefensible violation of the First Amendment."

Back in 1980, before the current administration took office, the Merit Systems Protection Board ruled that federal employees cannot be punished for refusing to take lie detector tests because of the polygraph's inaccuracy.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



WINNER: "Even a first-tour junior officer like you must know what we do to officers who serve Gevrey-Chambertin 1959 and burritos to senior inspectors."

—ALBERT E. FAIRCHILD, Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE MENTION: "The DCM would like you to come back to the embassy and get those telegrams out. Now." —DOROTHY HALL, Miramar, Florida

COMPETITION #6

All readers are invited to enter Competition #6. Winners receive a certificate for a free lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club.

Send entries to:

LIFE AND LOVE #6
Foreign Service Journal
2101 E Street NW
Washington, D.C.
20037
Deadline is January 15.



ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNING BOARD 1982-83

President's Overview

The mission of the American Foreign Service Association is simple—we must do for ourselves what no one else can, or will, do for us. To succeed, we need resources, imagination, and a large measure of involvement by the membership.

During 1982-83, the Governing Board worked to strengthen the structural framework of the Association—membership and finances—while carrying out an ambitious labor-management and legislative schedule. The challenges of the past year—to our retirement system, to our physical safety, and to the very concept of a career Foreign Service—have been firmly addressed but remain a constant threat.

Membership: Membership, the lifeblood of the Association, reached an all-time high of 7617 in June—a 10-percent gain in just one year. The board has placed a high priority on the recruitment of new members and is conducting an aggressive campaign to increase the rolls of the Association.

The Club: For the first time in many years, the Club is bringing money into the AFSA treasury. When the Unity Slate came into office we began a year-long campaign to upgrade and improve the Club's food, service, and facilities. We began by hiring an experienced, professional manager who has revamped the menu, lowered prices, and retrained the staff. We have also expanded the banquet rooms and built a club lounge on the second floor (with a brass-rail bar). The result of these improvements has been sharply increased patronage and, as a consequence, improved finances, with revenues running 53 percent above their level in the previous fiscal year.

Journal: The 1982-83 publishing season was a banner year for the Journal, which significantly improved its finances and won two editorial awards. A second record year in advertising sales and continued reductions in printing costs resulted in a \$57,000 positive change in the Association's treasury over the two years of the current editors' stewardship.

Insurance: The new, broader accidental death and dismemberment policy offered by the Association has filled a previously unmet need of the Foreign Service community and found wide acceptance, with more than 1100 members signing up for this program in its first year. The Association, through its Insurance Committee, has continued to improve the coverage available to members that is specifically tailored to the unique needs of the Service.

Media: The Association has taken an active role as the spokesman for the Foreign Service. AFSA officers have spoken out on such diverse issues as retirement, political appointments, danger pay, use of lie detectors, etc., on network television and in the national press. In addition, the Association has adopted a policy of directly responding to misstatements of fact, uninformed criticisms, and possible libel—no matter what the source.

Retirement: The unprecedented assault on federal employee benefits in the past year has been stalled—at least for the time being—by the concerted actions of the Association in conjunction with other federal-employee organizations. Massive membership involvement and the formation of the Legislative Action Fund have left us well prepared to continue the battle.

Congressional relations: The Association has engaged a professional congressional liaison officer, a retired member of the Foreign Service, to step up activities on the Hill. Association spokesmen have testified on ambassadorial appointments, the use of lie detectors and pre-publication review, trade reorganization, etc. We have also worked actively behind the scenes with key senators, congressmen, and their staffs to inform and educate them on the unique problems and needs of the Foreign Service.

Labor-management relations: Three years after the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the State and AID Standing Committees are still spending a large portion of their time negotiating with management on the implementation of the law's various provisions. The Association negotiates on three fronts—State specific, AID specific, and joint five-agency. The joint five-agency, two-union

negotiations were always difficult because of the large number of parties involved, and this year they became worse because agency negotiators were reluctant to make commitments while knowing that federal personnel policy was being set at higher levels. As a consequence, most of our negotiating victories were won at the State and AID specific levels, where many key provisions of the Foreign Service Act were implemented and other agreements won.

—DENNIS K. HAYS

Finances

AFSA ended fiscal year 1983 on June 30 with a healthy surplus of income over expenditures. Most notably, membership dues, Foreign Service Club income, and *Foreign Service Journal* advertising showed impressive gains over the prior year and over budget predictions, while *Journal* printing costs were again substantially reduced.

Given this surplus and the need for long-deferred general refurbishment of AFSA's headquarters building, the Governing Board authorized expenditures totaling \$30,000 for renovations to the Club and to the AFSA offices, and \$30,000 for the purchase of Wang word-processing equipment for AFSA headquarters and for the AFSA office located in the State Department. Additionally, the board authorized disbursement of \$15,000 to pay back a portion of a loan from the AFSA Scholarship Fund, reducing the balance to \$60,906.

The value of the AFSA Scholarship Fund has also increased remarkably over the past year. As of June 30, it was valued at \$802,155, compared with a value of \$549,291 one year previous—a gain of 46 percent. This increase is a result of \$188,402 in capital appreciation and income, and \$64,462 from new contributions, making for a total gain of \$252,864. The budget for fiscal year 1984 set forth here is based on the following assumptions: membership will remain fairly constant, showing only a slight increase, and there will be no increase in the dues structure; club sales will continue to increase by approximately 10 percent; *Journal* advertising revenue will also show modest gains; staff salaries will increase by an estimat-

BUDGET

	Actual FY 1982	Actual FY 1983	Estimated FY 1984
Income			
Membership Dues	\$424,000	\$484,000	\$485,500
Club Income	100,000	153,000	170,000
<i>Journal</i> Income	63,000	81,200	89,600
Interest	—	5,600	5,600
Reimbursements	28,000	25,000	25,000
Legislative Action Fund	—	26,600	5,000
Insurance	—	6,350	6,000
<i>Total Income</i>	\$615,000	\$781,750	\$786,700
Expenses			
Administrative Salaries	\$182,000	\$196,200	\$208,500
Club Salaries	64,000	83,200	91,000
Club Expenses	60,000	77,200	77,500
<i>Journal</i> Salaries	36,000	45,000	53,200
<i>Journal</i> Expenses	86,000	78,000	97,000
Operations	86,000	103,100	110,500
Occupancy	72,000	103,200	95,700
Legislative Action	—	17,600	16,000
Capital	—	23,400	7,500
<i>Total Expenses</i>	\$586,000	\$726,900	\$756,900
Reserve	—	\$50,000	\$25,000
Surplus	\$29,000	\$4,850	\$4,800

ed five percent; and a five-percent upward adjustment in operating costs to compensate for inflation.

—JOANN JENKINS

Membership

AFSA membership rose from 6922 in June 1982 to 7617 in June 1983, an increase of 695, or just about 10 percent. That membership level represents a record for the Association, breaking the previous record by more than 300.

The membership categories showing an increase were: State, from 3040 to 3264; AID, from 1116 to 1168; Commerce, from 28 to 40; Retired, from 2135 to 2535; Associates, from 429 to 430. Agriculture remained at 9; USIA decreased from 165 to 158.

The number of active members paying their dues by pay allotment increased from 3097 to 3440. The payment of dues by pay allotment continues to be popular with the active membership, with 76 percent of those eligible taking advantage of this convenience.

—CLAUDE B. SANNER

State Standing Committee

The State Standing Committee has primary responsibility for State Department labor-management issues under Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act and for internal AFSA/State business. In State Standing, different points of view are aired and policies hammered out that are acceptable to all. Membership has expanded in the last two years in what we believe has been a successful attempt to be sure all interests are represented. Voting membership on the committee is recommended to and approved by the Governing Board.

Every year the State Standing Committee makes a valiant effort to make sure all interest groups are represented. This year the committee had members from every cone and almost every grade, from the Senior Foreign Service Association, security officers, junior officers, the Thursday Luncheon Group, the Consular Officers Association, and September 17. We would welcome a representative from any Foreign Service interest group not currently represented.

The State Standing Committee again found itself operating on two levels, joint and single regulations, as it has since the Foreign Service Act went into effect in 1981. It has continued to work closely with the committees in dealing with joint regulations.

The five-agency, two-union negotiations are fizzling out, since under the current administration labor-management decisions are being made at higher levels. As a result, management negotiators are reluctant to make changes, knowing the lengthy re-clearance process they face. This harder line means more and more agreements end up at the Impasse Disputes Panel. In some cases, such as the special incentive differential, we have been unable to even get management to the table, despite appealing to the Federal Labor Relations Board.

We concluded a one-year agreement on performance pay and presidential pay—a considerable achievement allowing the distribution of a lot of money that would otherwise be lost. We are before the Impasse Disputes Panel on standby pay.

On the single-agency level, we have regulated the precepts and open assignment policy for this year, a new Career Mobility Program, and a rationalization of the skill codes system.

We have requested negotiations on, among other topics, policies for tandem couples and regulations concerning CDC (career development) files, weight allowances, and "informal guidelines" used in certain offices. The status and future of the Office of Security has had a very high priority this year and will continue to do so until the necessary steps are taken by management to clean up its act and make the crucial decisions to put security's house in order.

One of the biggest tasks we have taken on since the Foreign Service Act is the monitoring of all its implementing regulations. There are still those, particularly in middle management, who see little correlation between negotiating an agreement and actually abiding by it. This concept, believe it or not, is still alien to many.

For instance, the ink was barely dry on the sale of personal property agreement before management began reading between nonexistent lines and issuing unilateral directions to the field.

—ANTHIA S. DE ROUVILLE

AID Standing Committee

During the past year, the AID Standing Committee has dealt with several issues of importance to the AID membership. Among these are:

Commissioning: AID's commissioning agreement includes all personnel ranked PS-3 through PS-1 without distinction as to job category. Our agreement, the standing committee feels, is therefore more modern and equitable in outlook than State's.

Tenuring: The new tenuring agreement is in place. More strict standards are used due to the Foreign Service Act, but the procedural aspects of the agreement provide for less arbitrary management action. A new tenuring agreement for the Senior Foreign Service is also in place incorporating the same procedural safeguards.

Selection out: The Foreign Service Act stipulates that mandatory retirement for relative performance has to be implemented even for AID. The first group of officers so designated by the Performance Standards Board—a part of the 1982 Selection Boards—numbered 27. Of these, 19 were eligible for an immediate annuity, so selection out is proceeding. This has led to many appeals to the Foreign Service Grievance Board. Eight were by virtue of management's grudging acquiescence to AFSA's interpretation of Section 2106(e) of the act.

Open assignments: The open assignments agreement signed in 1982 operated rather well, but there were management abuses. Some jobs—obviously not in bumper posts—were filled without advertising. AFSA filed an institutional grievance against AID. Management offered to settle in the context of recently concluded negotiations for the follow-on open assignment agreement. In a nutshell, no positions in the bargaining unit may be filled, for any reason, without advertising.

Performance pay: This item of interest to our Senior Foreign Service members was implemented recently. It had been hung up because of USIA machinations.

In conclusion, the AID Standing Committee has been very successful in keeping out "management discretion" from important areas of employee interest, e.g., performance pay, tenuring, commissioning, and selection out.

—DOUGLAS BROOM

USIA Standing Committee

The past year has been a critical one for AFSA, as is made clear in other sections of this report. The effects of the administration's efforts to revise retirement benefits and terms of employment have either affected directly or threatened the benefits of all government employees which, of course, includes USIA Foreign Service personnel. The Association's activities were dominated by the need to defend the gains of the past and prevent erosion of benefits in the future. These concerns have also been central to the activities of the USIA standing committee.

During the year the standing committee was enlarged to enable it better to keep members in Washington informed of developments on the personnel front. Members in the field were kept informed through the active participation of standing committee members in the Governing Board and the *Foreign Service Journal* as well as in other Association committees and activities. In addition to many small meetings with members and other interested individuals, the standing committee organized an open meeting for USIA employees on retirement and other personnel issues of concern. Association officers and our congressional liaison officer, Robert M. Beers, briefed the membership in full.

The luncheon series sponsored by the standing committee, "Pub-

lic Diplomacy 80s," continued during the year. David Gergen spoke on the White House perspective of our public diplomacy and Frank Shakespeare spoke on international broadcasting in international affairs. Attendance was excellent, but participation by USIA members was rather disappointing.

AFSA activity in defense of members' interests has been amply chronicled in the ASSOCIATION NEWS section of the *Foreign Service Journal*. What is not so well known, however, is the support AFSA has given on USIA-related problems. An excellent example is the performance pay case. AFSA submitted an *amicus curiae* brief in AFG's case, and this brief was cited and relied upon by the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel and the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board when both bodies ruled in AFG's favor. Other similar cases and actions could be cited, but the point is the same: AFSA continues to be concerned about the well being of all Foreign Service personnel.

—JAROSLAV VERNER

Legal Actions

Lawsuits

OPM directive: AFSA joined with a coalition of other federal unions in a lawsuit to block implementation of proposed OPM limitations on collective bargaining. The directives were intended to cover bargaining over conditions of employment in the Foreign Service as well as the Civil Service. The suit was filed in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. The court has yet to rule on the government's motion to dismiss the suit or the Association's motion for judgment in its favor.

Termination of limited employees: AID has recently ignored an order of the Foreign Service Grievance Board and denied prescriptive relief to two limited appointees who grieved their terminations. In disobeying the order, AID stated that the board lacked jurisdiction over cases involving termination of limited appointees. The two employees filed suit in U.S. District Court seeking a temporary restraining order and other injunctive relief. The Department of State and USIA then joined forces with AID, contending that the court should deny the employees' request. The court dismissed the action, and the employees appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals. AFSA was granted permission to intervene on behalf of its bargaining units as *amicus curiae*, and the Association awaits oral argument on its brief urging the court to uphold the Grievance Board order. Both State and AID have interpreted the District Court decision as precluding grievances of nontenured employees seeking extension of a limited appointment.

Obey regulations: In AFSA's suit contesting AID's amendment of its regulations to implement the Obey Amendment, the court held that the amendments were legal. The amendments allow AID to fill Foreign Service positions with GS employees in order to avoid a reduction in force, and to fill up to 15 Foreign Service positions on a time-limited appointment basis with non-Foreign Service employees. The thrust of AFSA's contention was that the Obey Amendment requires AID to seek congressional approval prior to implementing such changes. The court agreed, but found the portion of the amendment requiring legislative review unconstitutional, in keeping with a recent Supreme Court decision. AFSA is taking other actions to ensure that AID does not take the court ruling as an invitation to erode further its Obey regulations.

Ambassadorial nominees: Shortly after AFSA filed suit against the State Department seeking release of competency reports prepared on nominees for chief of mission, the department capitulated and released copies of the documents. AFSA had sought their release under the Freedom of Information Act for use in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. When the department denied the request and ignored the Association's appeal, AFSA filed suit. The court ordered the lawsuit dismissed without prejudice to allow AFSA to file again if the department refuses to provide the reports in the future.

Unfair Labor Practice Charges

Special incentive differential: AFSA filed a charge against the State Department for failing to negotiate on the Association's proposal to implement the special incentive differential allowance authorized by the Foreign Service Act. The Foreign Service Labor Relations Board found merit to the charge and issued a complaint against the department. The day before the hearing was scheduled, the department settled the case, agreeing to negotiate. Even after signing the settlement agreement, however, the department still refused to negotiate, and AFSA has petitioned the board to reopen the case and charge State with violating its settlement agreement.

Sale of personal property: AFSA reached agreement with State and AID on procedures concerning sale of personal property by employees serving overseas. The department then unilaterally amended the agreement by implementing arbitrary limits on conversion of profits from the sale of the items. AFSA charged the department with engaging in unfair labor practices. After investigation, the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board issued a complaint. The case was to be heard in the fall.

Danger pay: AFSA charged the State Department with refusing to negotiate on AFSA's proposal to implement the danger pay allowance. After many months of assurances that the department would negotiate on the Association's proposal, the department wrote to AFSA refusing to negotiate, claiming that the legislative history precluded danger pay where dependents were present at post. The FSLRB interpreted this letter as an allegation of non-negotiability and declined to address the case until the Association pursued a negotiability appeal. AFSA decided to short-cut that interminable route by seeking legislative assistance on the issue.

AID PERs

AFSA charged AID with changing a past practice of providing prescriptive relief to employees grieving their Personnel Evaluation Reports. Following the FSLRB's finding of merit to the charge, AID and AFSA reached settlement agreement.

Negotiability Disputes

AFSA filed two negotiability disputes, one regarding payment for standby duty and another seeking to allow employees to grieve denial of their claims. Both were found non-negotiable, and AFSA has sought legislation to address the issues.

Institutional Grievance

AID open assignments: AFSA charged AID with a breach of the negotiated open assignments agreement by filling unadvertised positions with preselected candidates. The grievance was settled after AID agreed to renegotiate the new assignment agreement along the lines of the Association's proposal and to implement the new agreement immediately.

Impasses

AFSA, State, and AID sought assistance from the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel on three issues: grievance regulations, standby pay, and family visitation travel. The panel issued orders on the grievance and family visitation travel regulations. The standby duty issues are still pending. —SUSAN Z. HOLIK

Grievances, Members' Interests

Grievance representation, counseling, and members' interests remain a major function of AFSA activities. The grievance process is lengthy and can take up to a year or more to resolve, especially if the case has to be taken on appeal to the Foreign Service Grievance Board. Of the 90 cases AFSA handled this year, 40 had been adjudicated at the end of the board year.

The number of AID grievances has increased considerably, due to

the inconsistent and arbitrary application of the agency administrator's instructions for stricter ratings and due to AID's first experience with selection out and commissioning and tenure board review this year.

The bulk of grievances concern performance evaluations, violation of regulations, administrative error, and disciplinary action.

Equally important as representation is the grievance and career counseling AFSA provides. Grievants often do not understand the process, are unrealistic in their expectations, and frequently require assistance in properly preparing their cases. Many potential grievances arise out of misunderstandings or lack of communication and can be resolved informally after a counseling session, by talking things over and taking a common-sense approach to solving the problem. Counseling extends to interpretation of regulations, law, and agency policy. Frequently employees bring a matter to our attention which is simply not addressed in regulations. As a result, AFSA has successfully negotiated new or amended regulations.

We continue to answer numerous tax questions, in particular concerning state income tax liability and home leave deductions. AFSA's annual Foreign Service Tax Guide will appear in the January issue of the *Journal*. —SABINE SISK

Retired Interests

As the new 98th Congress convened in January 1983, the National Commission on Social Security Reform submitted to the president its recommendations for overhauling the faltering Social Security system. High on its priority list was a proposal to bring all employees entering the federal workforce on or after January 1, 1984, under the Social Security system. Concurrent with the release of the commission's report, Senator Robert Dole (R.-Kansas), with nine co-sponsoring senators, introduced a bill "to implement the consensus recommendations of the National Commission on Social Security Reform."

Thus began the long-anticipated drive to dismantle the 60-year-old federal retirement program, with mandatory Social Security coverage of all new employees as the first step in that process. In coordination with a coalition of other federal employee organizations, AFSA campaigned vigorously to eliminate the mandatory-coverage provision from the Social Security "rescue" package in appearances before the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance committees and in meetings with individual committee members and staff. Despite the most intensive federal employee lobbying effort in years, however, the complete Social Security reform bill was enacted and signed into law within 10 weeks from the day it was introduced.

Hard on the heels of the introduction of the Social Security reform legislation came the submission to the Congress of the president's fiscal year 1984 budget, in which the administration proposed penalizing employees who retire before age 65; increasing employees' retirement contribution from 7 percent to 11 percent; and revising downward the basic formula under which retirement annuities are calculated. Predictably, these proposals were greeted with dismay and outrage throughout the entire Foreign Service, expressed in hundreds of letters and telegrams received at AFSA headquarters. Stemming from their deep concern, AFSA members contributed to a new Legislative Action Fund established by the Association to finance a campaign to oppose any measure which would undermine the present structure of the Foreign Service personnel and retirement system. Contributions to the fund stood at nearly \$30,000 from almost 600 donors after the first six months.

To spearhead this effort the Association appointed its first-ever congressional liaison officer who, subject to the direction of the Governing Board, represents Foreign Service interests on Capitol Hill. Working in concert with other federal employee organizations, AFSA helped generate strong opposition to the president's federal retirement proposals, with the result that they appear to have been shelved, at least until after the 1984 elections.

Crucial threats to the future of the Foreign Service retirement system still lie ahead, however. The drive to reduce benefits and increase costs for current employees has not been abandoned; it has only been suspended. Meanwhile, beginning in 1984 new employees entering the system will be required to pay into both the Social Security and the Foreign Service retirement funds. A new retirement system to supplement Social Security must be developed and enacted into law as soon as possible.

As for those AFSA members already retired, they may confidently expect that renewed efforts will be launched to reduce or limit their future cost-of-living adjustments.

Looking ahead into the new year, our efforts to ensure the preservation of the Foreign Service personnel and retirement system must continue to remain at the top of AFSA's list of priorities.

—ROBERT M. BEERS

Foreign Service Journal

The 1982-83 publishing season was a banner year for the *Foreign Service Journal*, which achieved notable successes both editorially and financially.

The *Journal* received two Gold Awards for editorial excellence from the Society for National Association Publications at its annual meeting in June. One award was for the article "The Foreign Service and the National Interest—An Interview with Malcolm Toon" (April 1982), the other for the single-topic issue "The Press and Foreign Policy" (July/August 1982). "Rarely does a single magazine article have the impact not only in its own field but beyond that the *Foreign Service Journal* achieved with this skillful interview," the awards committee said of the Toon article, which was cited by the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Time* magazine, and NBC and CBS news, as well as scores of other publications, and was reprinted in the *Kansas City Star* and the *Christian Science Monitor*. During the same year, other *Journal* articles were reprinted by the *Star* and the *Post*, the essay "Lessons in Diplomacy" by the late Martin Herz was called "must reading" by the *Times*, and "The European Question" by Robert Olson was featured in the *Wilson Quarterly*. To judge by the number of reprints and citations as well as the increasing number of letters to the editor, the *Journal* seems to be succeeding in its role as a forum for debate within the Foreign Service.

The magazine's finances were significantly improved because of a second record year in advertising sales and continued reductions in production costs. Advertising revenue rose by 33 percent and production costs dropped by 11 percent. The improvements in the *Journal's* finances resulted in a \$57,000 positive change in the Association's treasury over the last two years. With the editorial and financial ship on an even keel, the editors are looking toward an expansion of the magazine's features and services as it enters its 60th anniversary year in 1984.

—STEPHEN R. DUJACK

Scholarship Fund

All scholarships are limited to eligible dependent children of Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad in the foreign affairs agencies of the U.S. government operating under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act (State, AID, USIA, and Foreign Service personnel of Agriculture and Commerce). There are two separate programs: *Financial Aid Scholarships*, based solely on need, for full-time undergraduate education in American colleges and universities; and *AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards*, for graduating high school students based on academic excellence and outstanding achievements and leadership qualities. The bulk of the scholarship grants are given for financial aid, and range from \$200 to \$2000. For academic year 1982-83, some 68 financial aid scholarships were awarded for a total of \$56,515. The Merit Awards for 1983 were named in honor of the late Clare Timberlake, former ambassador and long-time supporter and friend of the scholarship programs. Of the 32 finalists, 22 were winners and received \$500 each, plus certifi-

cares of commendation. The \$11,000 of the Merit Awards were provided equally by AFSA and AAFSW.

By vote of the Governing Board in May, a perpetual Beirut Memorial Scholarship in memory of the Foreign Service personnel killed in the bombing of the embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, in April was established.

Tax deductible contributions to the Scholarship Fund come from AFSA members, the AAFSW Bookfair, overseas groups, bequests, current memorial donations, and perpetual scholarships established as named memorials for Foreign Service people. These contributions supplement the income from the scholarship investment portfolio. For 1982-83, in the two programs, 90 students received awards for a total of \$67,515.

The AFSA Committee on Education is chaired by Claude G. Ross. The members are Janet Biggs (AAFSW), Robert Caffrey (State), David Jones (State), Susan Modi (USIA), James Singletary (AID), Dawn H. Cuthell is the program administrator.

—DAWN H. CUTHELL

Insurance

During fiscal year 1983 the AFSA Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs was concerned primarily with the renegotiation of two contracts providing group insurance for AFSA members: Accidental Death and Dismemberment, and Hospital Income. We were able to make major improvements in both cases, but this required transferring the master policies from the Mutual of Omaha to another carrier, the Federal Insurance Company, a member of the Chubb Group of Companies. In both instances the new contracts provide more comprehensive coverage at generally lower rates. In addition, AFSA receives more by way of reimbursement for administrative expenses.

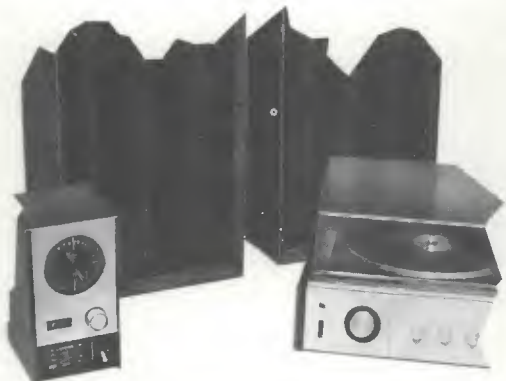
Accidental Death and Dismemberment Insurance, which is the larger of the two programs, was transferred to the Federal Insurance Company on September 1, 1982. At that time the coverage was broadened to provide benefits up to 50 percent of the principal sum for accidents arising from acts of war, declared or undeclared, occurring outside the United States. Even though war coverage generally requires a substantial premium increase, the trustees were able to get the premium reduced. We were pleased that virtually all of those members who had been insured under the old plan signed up immediately for the new one and that many of them increased the amount of their coverage. A general solicitation was sent to all members in December, and by June 30 the total enrollment was more than 1100. This is a good start, but we believe that this AD&D insurance, which is available to members and their families at a cost of only 70 cents per \$1000 of coverage, should be of interest to all AFSA members.

Hospital Income Insurance was transferred to the Federal on January 1, 1983, after the Mutual of Omaha had refused to meet our requirements for improved coverage. The new policy provides a choice of daily cash benefits (\$30, \$50, or \$100) payable during hospitalization, with the daily benefit doubled while an insured person is confined to an intensive care unit. Here too the cost is less per dollar of benefit than before. Coverage is available for the entire family from either the first or the fourth day of hospitalization except for persons over 65, who are, of course, eligible for Medicare. For this age group the waiting period is seven days, and for the first 90 days the cash benefits are reduced by 50 percent, again because of Medicare. The premiums are also reduced for this group. We believe that this revised Hospital Income plan fills a growing need for members because of the continuing rapid increase in hospital costs and the chipping away of benefits under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Plans. In 1984, for example, the hospital benefit deductible under the Foreign Service health plan will be increased from \$100 to \$225.

The trustees are continuing to strive for improvements in existing insurance programs and to explore the possibilities for new programs that would fill a need for our members. Your suggestions are welcome.

—TERESITA C. SCHAFER

Fact ■ Overseas insurance either replaces your household effects at today's prices or it doesn't.



Actual Cash Value

Most overseas insurance policies cover your household effects for their replacement cost less depreciation. This means that your \$500 stereo system purchased 5 years ago may have an actual cash value of only \$250 today. That's what most overseas insurance policies (or the Claims Act) would pay if it were lost or destroyed—hardly enough to replace the entire system at today's prices.



Current Replacement Cost

The American Foreign Service Association is sponsoring a Package Insurance Program for AFSA members only. The AFSA program covers you for the replacement cost of household furniture and personal effects that are lost or destroyed.

This means that your \$500 stereo system would be replaced with a similar system at today's prices even though they may be higher than \$500, subject only to the policy deductible of \$50.00.

Under the AFSA plan you can also add coverage for valuables or worldwide personal liability for you and your family. All with the assurance that you'll get fast, fair claims service.

And the rates are low. Basic property insurance costs only 75¢ per \$100 of coverage.

Give yourself some peace of mind before you move overseas. Send for our free brochure to help you determine how much insurance you need and how much it will cost. Or call your AFSA insurance specialist at:



The AFSA Desk, The Hirshorn Company
14 East Highland Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19118 (215) CH2-8200.

Send me your free brochure
(with built-in application form) that
answers my questions about
overseas insurance.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State/Zip _____

Chrysler means quality around the world.

Get big diplomatic discounts.

As an active member of the diplomatic corps, you are eligible for Chrysler's 1984 Diplomatic Purchase Program. Which means, no matter where you are, you can get a big diplomatic discount on a new quality-built Chrysler-made car.

And 1984 is one of Chrysler's most exciting model years ever. The beautiful Chrysler New Yorker is the most technologically advanced luxury car we've ever built. Dodge Aries can suit just about anybody's needs in 2-door, 4-door or station wagon models.

Also offered, from the Chrysler line, are LeBaron, 5th Avenue, E Class and the all-new Chrysler Laser. Plymouth has Horizon and Reliant, and Dodge offers Omni, Aries and 600, and more. You can order any one of these fine cars overseas and have it waiting for you when you arrive home.

For full details on these and other vehicles, as well as the Diplomatic Purchase Program, contact:

In U.S.: Any Chrysler-Plymouth or Dodge dealer or the Diplomatic Sales Office, Chrysler Corporation, P.O. Box 1688, Detroit, MI 48288. Phone (313) 956-0818. TELEX 0235264 CHRYEXIMDET.
Overseas: TELEX 961320 CHRY-NEWCAR Attn: Diplomatic Sales. Or mail the postage-paid reply card enclosed in the magazine.



Chrysler New Yorker



Dodge Aries Station Wagon



The New Chrysler Technology