

# FOREIGN SERVICE

J O U R N A L

\$1.25

January 1984

## USIA in the Information Age



**Puzzling Mr. Wick**  
By Daniel Southerland

**Dynamo or Dinosaur**  
By Dante Fascell

# REPORT OF OPEN MEETING

The Association held an OPEN MEETING in the Department of State's East Auditorium on November 16th. Approximately 300 members filled the auditorium. They took at face value an introductory invitation to participate actively in the proceedings. Most of the meeting was devoted to questions raised by members in attendance.

President Richard Fox opened the meeting with an overview of the Association's history and activities. He stressed the Association's "service-mindedness." He recounted the conditions, including a decline of membership and an increase in median age, that led to the Board's decision to launch the new "Tailored-to-Fit" life insurance program. He discussed the recent constraints placed on all U.S. Government subsidized medical insurance plans but pointed out that the Foreign Service Benefit Plan had experienced two good years in succession in terms of claims incurred. As a consequence the Plan's premium increase for 1984 is lower than almost any other Federal Employee Health Benefit Program (FEHBP) plan.

The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer read highlights of the Annual Report (which was published in the October 1983 Foreign Service Journal) emphasizing in particular the liberalization of eligibility for membership in the Association. The remainder of the meeting was devoted to questions raised by the audience or sent in by mail. Here are the highlights of the ensuing discussion:

## **Election of Board of Directors**

The President invited all members to submit names of prospective Directors to fill vacancies as they occur. The membership will be advised when vacancies exist.

## **The Old Life Insurance Plan VS the New "Tailored to Fit" Plan**

It was emphasized that although the new plan does not provide for any life insurance after one's 70th birthday, it provides much better coverage at considerably lower rates (in most age groups) than the old plan which does provide a limited amount of term insurance for one's entire life for persons who have had the policy for 20 years prior to their 65th birthday. The "Tailored to Fit" plan was based on the best professional advice available but modifications are always possible. Members were encouraged to submit suggestions for changes in coverage. In this regard, the Association is studying the possibility of offering some form of supplemental insurance to members who have the old plan but who are not eligible for the "Tailored to Fit" Plan.

## **Foreign Service Benefit Plan**

There were many questions about health insurance, especially the relationship between FEHBP Plans, such as the F.S. Benefit Plan, and Medicare. Excerpts were read from a pamphlet, that the Association plans to distribute soon, entitled "The Foreign Service Benefit Plan and Medicare," which concludes that a combination of Medicare A & B plus a health plan such as the F. S. Benefit Plan will almost ensure 100% coverage of medical expenses.

Many members wondered why couples without dependent children pay the same premium as those with several dependent children. The answer is that the "Self Only" and the "Self and Family" coverage are "experience rated" independent of one another. This means that even if the FEHB Act would permit a new category of coverage: "Married Couple Only" (which it currently does not) there is no guarantee that the premium rates would be lower than the current "Self and Family." Most of the persons covered under "Married Couple Only" would be of an age at which medical expenses are the highest. A husband and wife in their 60s or 70s will most likely incur higher medical expenses than a younger couple with several children.

All in all it was a lively and presumably helpful meeting for all who participated. We want to make future meetings even better and invite suggestions towards that end.



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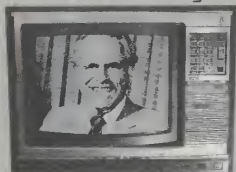
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# FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

## USIA in the Information Age



Puzzling Mr. Wick  
By Daniel Southerland

Dynamo or Dinosaur  
By Dante Fascell

This first issue of the JOURNAL's 60th Anniversary Year marks the merger of the Foreign Service information corps and the Foreign Service corps by looking at the role of USIA in the Information Age. Diplomatic correspondent Daniel Southerland reports on the agency today under Director Charles Z. Wick, and Representative Dante Fascell of the House Foreign Affairs Committee analyzes the directions in which USIA can choose to go in the future. To emphasize the role of the JOURNAL as the magazine of professionals in foreign affairs, we have created a new design that better enables us to serve as the independent voice of the Foreign Service and as a forum for debate of issues in American diplomacy and foreign policy.

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# ASSOCIATION VIEWS

## AFSA's 60th—And Beyond

This issue of the JOURNAL marks the beginning of the 60th anniversary year of both the modern Foreign Service and the American Foreign Service Association. Such occasions require suitable self-congratulatory celebrations but also provide us with an opportunity to reflect on our past and our future.

With respect to our past, we can rightly look back on the last 60 years with pride. We achieve this milestone with a strong sense of tradition and a history of dedicated service. A comparable look forward does not provide such a clear vision. What will the Foreign Service be like in the year 2000? Simply listing the questions we must address is a formidable task.

Fortunately, we have our past to guide us. The one point that becomes immediately apparent in any review of the last 60 years is that those periods of time in which we have been active participants in developing our profession have been marked with success, just as those in which we have let fate carry us along have been marked by failure.

We must, at all times, be involved in our destiny. The Foreign Service is subject to many influences—the Hill, the White House, the press, the other agencies, the public. The continued support of each of these is essential to our ability to do our job. Yet we cannot take the support of any group for granted. Support must be earned the old-fashioned way—by demonstrating our ability to do our job and building the best case possible to justify our needs.

In the coming months we propose to ask questions, and, more important, to seek answers. To do this effectively, we need the help of everyone who believes that the Foreign Service is important and worth fighting for. We ask for your support, your ideas, and your work. If the Foreign Service is to continue to be strong, nothing less will be enough.

DENNIS K. HAYS  
*President*



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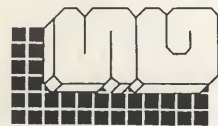
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# LETTERS

## Soviet Farming

We recently received information that helps explain one of the heretofore more puzzling aspects of the Soviet Food Program, viz: the apparent decrease in capital investment planned for 1981-85 in the U.S.S.R.'s agro-industrial complex (and especially in those industries serving agriculture), at the very time when those industries were the subject of increased attention, as noted in my recent article "Up on the Farm" [November].

The just-released *Narodno khozyaystvo U.S.S.R. v 1982 (National Economy of the U.S.S.R.)* reports that investment in the agro-industrial complex in 1976-80 amounted to only 213 billion rubles (about \$300 billion) rather than the 242 billion rubles originally cited and used in my article. Since investment data for 1981-85 remained unchanged (at 233 billion rubles), the revision would result in a modest *increase* in investment in the entire complex and in a slight increase, 2 percent, in the industries serving agriculture. In short, the new data no longer show the reversal of investment trends that complicated earlier analysis and tended to focus attention on the rhetoric rather than the substance of the Food Program.

The new data strengthen the hypothesis that the Food Program represents a significant claim on the limited investment funds available to the U.S.S.R. during 1981-85. Unfortunately, whether it is enough to enable the program to reach its 1990 goals without some sacrifice from other sectors isn't any clearer.

ANTON F. MALISH  
 Chief, East Europe-U.S.S.R. Branch  
 International Economics Division  
 Economic Research Service  
 Department of Agriculture  
 Washington, D.C.

## Another Misspelling

We bet our last "obol" (that was legal tender in "BOGATA," didn't you know?) that Ambassador Asencio knows better, therefore we acquit him right off. The first time around we thought it was one of those



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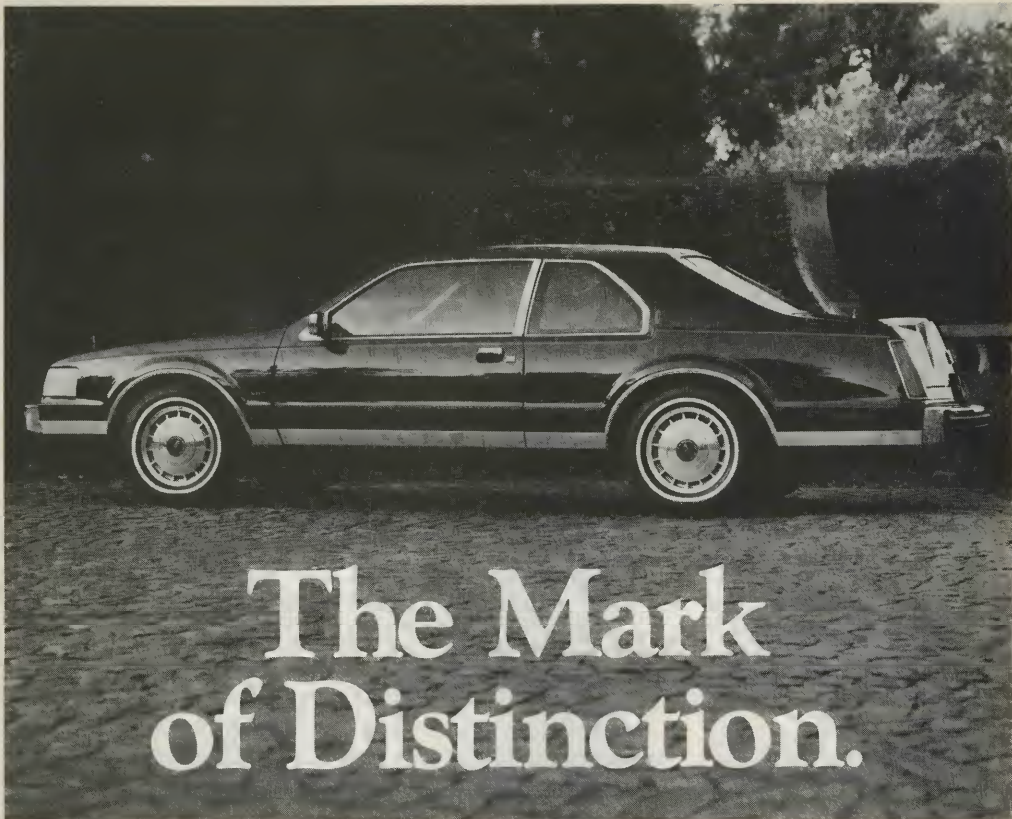
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ships that pass in the night—with apologies to the *Reader's Digest*.

But when "BOGATA" appeared for a second time we thought it was inexcusable yet we began to question our self-assurance. Maybe there was some such place that we have missed in our peregrinations?

And when "BOGATA" appeared for a third time, we knew we were wrong, intolerant, and just plain illiterate. Our research revealed that there was in fact a "BOGATA," as Dante Alighieri proves in his *Inferno*. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Fassaum that perished in a fiery holocaust of its own. It is still smoldering and the waked Bogatan souls are crying for more fuel to sustain the flames that keep them warm.

To that end we suggest we send to "BOGATA" the disembodied spirits of John Limbert and anyone else who assisted him in the writing and printing of this review [September].

Bad enough to encounter such sloppiness in the venal press, but in the *Foreign Service Journal*? For shame.

RENZO PAGIN  
 Falls Church, Virginia

### Outerbridge Horsey

I would like to submit a word of appreciation for the life and work of Outerbridge Horsey. I first knew Ambassador Horsey when I was transferred to Rome in early 1952 to work in the political section he headed. Those were days when many American observers had limited regard for the Italian Christian Democratic Party. The sparkling eloquence of the non-communist left in Italy had great appeal, and the Christian Democrats were thought to be somewhat limited and pedestrian by contrast. Outerbridge Horsey knew better, perhaps because he loved Italy and Italians with a depth of affection and knowledge that enabled him to cut through brilliance of rhetoric to perceive quieter virtues. His views produced controversy in Washington, and I understand that U.S. policy differences became even more embattled when Horsey returned to Italy as minister-counsellor at the end of the decade. I shall not try to judge that different time, but I did have the opportunity to observe Ambassador Horsey's leadership, insight, and steadfastness during the Italian tour in which I worked for him. His influence on the Italo-American relationship was profound, and it notably affected the course of our relationship with that country in the 1950s and, in some ways, until the present. He left an important and valuable legacy.



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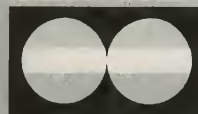
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NATHANIEL DAVIS  
*Alexander and Adelaide Hixon  
Professor of the Humanities,  
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## Caveat Kudos

Permit me to congratulate you and the Editorial Board for the outstanding November issue. For more than 20 years I have been a reader and a contributor of the magazine and, during that time, I have seen a rather wide variety of articles, notes, and book reviews. I think that the November issue is one of the best I have seen. I say this not because I happen to have a book review included in the pages of that issue but rather because it contains some very thought-provoking and well-written articles. I think that even the advertising supplement by District Moving and Storage Company provides wonderful assistance for those in the Foreign Service who are going overseas.

The one flaw with the entire issue pertains to the ASSOCIATION NEWS section. I was a member of the AFSA Governing Board when the then Editorial Board reluctantly agreed to include that section, which pertains to AFSA's role as an employee representative. It was then thought that many members would have no other way to learn what AFSA is doing on this important front. Yet in this vital section, there are less than two pages of news about employee relations activities. While I recognize that Red Top bulletins are also a medium for AFSA communications, I feel that this section of the *Journal* should be used to acquaint members from all agencies with up-to-date news. I wonder why the Association has become so reluctant to impart news of its activities to its members. During the annual meeting held in September, the AFSA president told the assembled gathering that "a dedicated and hard-working AFSA staff located in Room 3644 is laboring for your welfare." If this statement is true, am I led to believe that their combined activities merit less than two pages of coverage in the ASSOCIATION NEWS? During that meeting, and several times subsequent to it, I have sought in vain to determine what all of these people

do. Moreover, questions which I had about items in the budget were only answered by the treasurer nearly two months after they were raised. Other issues I raised during and subsequent to the annual meeting have yet to be answered. It seems rather strange to me that information is—for any reason at all—being withheld from AFSA members. I am told that other members who are inactive either from pressures of official duties or for other reasons, have also sought in vain to obtain answers to numerous queries. The thought that our respective queries might have been answered in the pages of the ASSOCIATION NEWS has been quashed.

It is my feeling that this section of the *Journal* should be revised and revamped. Otherwise, it will continue to detract from an otherwise highly commendable journalistic product which has influence far beyond the Foggy Bottom area. Again, let me commend you for the otherwise excellent job you have done in producing the November issue.

ROY A. HARRELL JR.  
*Foreign Service Officer*  
Washington, D.C.

*Because the AFSA Governing Board is responsible for the editorial content of the ASSOCIATION NEWS, we have asked President Dennis K. Hays to respond:*

I regret that Mr. Harrell remains unsatisfied with certain aspects of the Association. As he has been informed on many occasions, he is welcome to as much information as he requires, but we do ask that he form his questions a bit more succinctly. With respect to his specific complaint—the size of the ASSOCIATION NEWS in November—it is true this section was half the size it normally is, but the pace of labor-management activity varies from month to month.

Mr. Harrell may be interested to know that we too have been concerned about AFSA communications with its membership concerning labor-management activities. To this end, we have established a new Communications Committee, which will be responsible for the ASSOCIATION NEWS, the ASSOCIATION VIEWS (premiering in this issue), and all circulars to the field such as Red Tops and cables.

*The Foreign Service Journal welcomes letters to the editor. All letters must include the name and address of the writer. The Journal will not print anonymous or pseudonymous letters. In appropriate situations, however, the Editorial Board will consider withholding the name of the writer. The Journal reserves the right to edit letters for space and clarity.*

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# BOOKS

## Reviews

*Middle East Mission.* By Elmore Jackson. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1983. \$12.95.

The entire course of events in the Mideast since 1955 might have been different had the diplomatic mission described in this volume been successful. Of particular interest to devotees of the "what might have been" school of historical writing, *Middle East Mission* describes the efforts of Elmore Jackson to bring about a rapprochement between Egypt and Israel.

The story begins in the spring of 1955 when the author, then a Quaker representative to the United Nations in New York, accepted the invitation of the Egyptian ambassador to serve as unofficial intermediary in an attempt to prevent a renewal of fighting between Egypt and Israel and perhaps to pave the way for a negotiated settlement. In pursuit of this goal, Jackson embarked on a mission of shuttle diplomacy, making three secret visits to Cairo and Jerusalem, where he met with Egyptian Prime Minister Gamal Abdel Nasser and with Israeli Prime Minister Moshe Sharett and former Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. During discussions with Nasser, Jackson quickly ascertained that the Egyptian leader fully backed the negotiating effort and had done so in the hope that an understanding with Israel would remove the need for him to turn to the Soviet Union for arms. In a fascinating precursor to Anwar Sadat's momentous visit to Israel in 1977, Ben-Gurion offered to travel to Cairo for a face-to-face meeting with Nasser.

Jackson, who subsequently joined the State Department and served as special assistant for policy planning in 1961, is eminently fair and objective in his treatment of both parties. He casts no aspersions concerning the failure of his mission, ascribing it correctly to Nasser's difficulty in controlling guerrilla attacks from Egyptian territory into Israel, to strong pressure within Israel to retaliate against such attacks, and, possibly the most important factor of all, to uncertainty in Washington as to the proper policy to be followed in dealing with Nasser.

As a well-written account by an active participant in the drama, this slim volume deserves to be read by all those interested in diplomatic history as well as by specialists in the Mideast.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

**The African Development Bank: Problems of International Development.** By Kwame Donkoh Fordwor. Pergamon Press, 1981. \$30.

In 1976, Fordwor was elected president of the African Development Bank and Fund. The AFDB—the premier pan-African financial institution—was then managing a development investment portfolio of over \$1 billion. But in June 1979 it was plunged into complete turmoil when its Board of Directors tried to fire him. Apparently the board was unhappy with Fordwor's efforts to open the capital of the bank to non-African countries, and there are also hints that they were displeased with his manner of dealing with the board itself. But Fordwor resisted their efforts to dismiss him, and the bank drifted towards chaos. Since it was unclear who could legally exercise authority, its operations were virtually stalemated. Weeks later, when the denouement finally came, Fordwor was, somewhat ignominiously, put on leave and a replacement appointed as acting president of the bank.

Despite certain flaws, Fordwor's book—which constitutes his personal explanation for the unprecedented events that occurred during his tenure as president of the AFDB—is definitely recommended reading for students of African development, politics, and institutions. And, since Fordwor's description of those events is the only one available except for scattered magazine and newspaper articles, the book has a special merit as an historical document. It also provides valuable lessons about the functioning of international organizations—their fragility and resiliency—and what can happen to them when the unimaginable occurs. Students of international organizations will find food for thought in Fordwor's account, which is detailed and supported by the actual memos and internal bank documents that reveal how issues were joined between him and the directors. His discussion of the bank's statutory weaknesses and of the political stresses in a pan-African organization are trenchant. He makes a ringing plea to attenuate undue political pressures on organizations like the bank, which he believes should attain a better balance between "the demands of politics and diplomacy and the requirements of technical

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and technocratic management; between apparently unavoidable dictates of consensus politics and the imperatives of resource management and administration."

Fordwor presents so many disarmingly frank and unflattering scenes involving important and influential personages that one can excuse him for being a little self-serving at times and for dismissing donors' concerns about absorptive capacity as irrelevant. Unfortunately, he also fails to present much analysis or philosophy on development in Africa, other than to say that more money is better, and he bores the reader stiff at times with endless recitals of airline schedules, trips, meetings, and contacts. However, even this material will interest some readers because for once we have a real insider, telling in meticulous detail how one gets elected to high office in a major pan-African institution, and describing the politics, warts and all, that goes into it. One thing is certain: like the people that surrounded Fordwor at the bank, the reader is not likely to be indifferent to him after reading his book.

—ARTHUR M. FELL

*NATO's Nuclear Dilemma.* By David Schwartz. Brookings Institution, 1983.

David Schwartz carefully describes NATO's nuclear dilemma—the Western European fear that the U.S. would use nuclear weapons and the parallel fear that it would not use them—and recounts the efforts of the United States and its allies to resolve this difficulty. He begins with the period of the U.S. nuclear monopoly and the loss of confidence after Sputnik, outlines the various proposals to deploy missiles in Europe, including the Multilateral Force, and brings us to the present with an excellent summary of current plans to deploy Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles in Western Europe. In the course of his analysis, Schwartz makes many useful points, among them that U.S. leaders have found it difficult to translate their nuclear dominance into decisive political advantage. But this history and analysis drive the reader to an unavoidable conclusion: there is no solution to NATO's dilemma.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

*Law of the Sea: A U.S. Policy Dilemma.* Edited by Bernard H. Oxman, David D. Caron, Charles L.O. Budevi. Institute for Contemporary Studies, Transaction Books, 1983.

This volume of collected essays reflects an overall disappointment with the Law of

the Sea Convention from both the right and the left of the political spectrum. For those who had hoped the convention would incorporate the goals and interests of an enlightened international community, the results are seen as deeply flawed. This view is exemplified by the essay of Arvid Pardo, the representative of Malta who first suggested the LOS negotiating process in the United Nations. He concludes that the Common Heritage principle was only imperfectly reflected in the final convention; it remained essentially only a rhetorical aspiration. He argues persuasively that the conference results were simply an official recognition of the ongoing enclosure movement in ocean space that benefits the few states with long coastlines. But in the final analysis, he believes—somewhat contradictorily for a liberal internationalist—that although the convention is fatally flawed, it is still preferable to have a convention with whatever stability it provides than no convention and the concomitant risks of unlimited, unilateral action.

On the other side of the equation are the interests and views shared by the American business community and ideological conservatives—reflected in articles by such people as W. Scott Burk, Frank Brokaw, Robert A. Goldwin, and Leigh Ratiner. While some divergence of opinion exists within this group, it generally argues that capitalistic concerns should dominate U.S. interests in the LOS treaty. For the most part, they deplore what they believe to be the "socialization" of the oceans. They fear the LOS regime may set precedents in limiting production, transferring some technology, and establishing an international enterprise to compete with private mining companies.

One of the more noteworthy essays in the book is the one by Leigh Ratiner. Ratiner—who once represented the mining industry, who opposed many compromises that might have resulted in a more satisfactory treaty, and who was a chief architect of the Reagan administration's LOS negotiations—now reasons that the U.S. decision not to participate in the LOS treaty was a mistake. He basically believes it will lead to a loss of U.S. influence over ocean issues. He presents compelling arguments that by remaining outside the LOS treaty our country will suffer more adverse precedents than those we fought against in long, frustrating years of treaty negotiations.

Overall these are an excellent set of essays on the questions of whether or not to join the LOS treaty. In this regard, the summary by Oxman is particularly useful. This book does not try to set forth a com-

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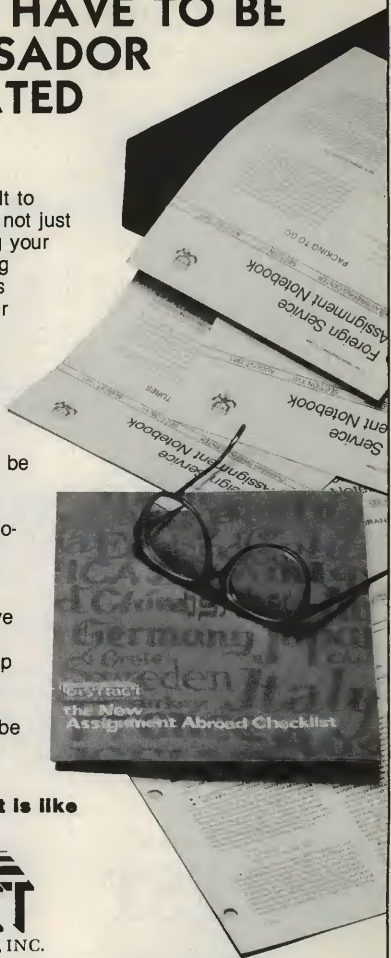
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prehensive view of U.S. ocean policy for the future, but it does act as a good starting point for those wondering why we have reached the current sorry state of affairs.

—HARRY C. BLANEY III

**The Anatomy of Power.** By John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton-Mifflin, 1983. \$15.95.

The central concerns of diplomacy remain power relationships within countries and among them. Yet Foreign Service officers are expected to learn about power on their own, as if the subject were improper to discuss in polite society. Machiavelli, Gracian, Hobbes, and Asian analogs like Kautilya are seldom read. We need a modern primer on the subject, a book treating power as an objective phenomenon of social life. Sadly, this is not it.

Galbraith does make a few trenchant observations. But much of the *Anatomy of Power* is a contemporary liberal tract, reading as if it grew out of an after-dinner conversation in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Light in weight, it lacks the universality and timelessness of a classic study.

Galbraith describes three instruments of power: condign (punishment), compensatory (reward), and conditioned (belief). Behind these are three sources of power: personality, property, and organization. After illustrating each, Galbraith describes the dialectic of power, laying down the rule that almost any manifestation of power will induce an opposite, though not necessarily equal, manifestation of power. The exercise of condign power, he writes, is regulated by all civilized communities; compensatory and conditioned power, by contrast, are protected by law and custom. He sees a decline in the use of condign and compensatory power, placing new importance on conditioning, and a decline in personality and property as sources, putting new weight on organization. The conclusion has an optimistic ring: power has been diffused, with much wider participation in its exercise. Galbraith thinks it possible that the general exercise of power has declined, that there is now much less submission of some to the purposes of others. But he warns that effective consolidation of countervailing power is essential.

While some of this is useful for debate, the book is flawed by the superficial treatment of many of the issues it raises, by a strong tilt toward conventional liberalism, and by trendiness. Some of Galbraith's analyses are just plain suspect. He describes the president as an intermediary between the "autonomous" processes of the bureaucracy and the "exterior" pro-

cesses of the legislature and interest groups. Terms are stretched beyond useful limits: people who buy goods "submit" to the seller. Galbraith endorses the nuclear freeze movement, surely out of place in an objective study of power. Perhaps most alarmingly, he implies that convincing anyone of anything is an exercise in power, that nothing is objectively true.

—MICHAEL A.G. MICHAUD

**The Truth About the Neutron Bomb: The Inventor of the Bomb Speaks Out.** By Sam Cohen. William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1983. \$12.50.

Author Sam Cohen invented the neutron bomb 25 years ago and then spent the next couple of decades trying to convince a succession of reluctant administrations and congresses to deploy the weapon. So it comes as somewhat of a surprise when the father of the N-bomb abandons his offspring in this lively book, published in response to President Reagan's decision to begin putting neutron warheads on Lance missiles and eight-inch artillery shells for possible use in Europe.

One of Cohen's major problems with the decision to at last build the N-bomb is that they are to be stockpiled in the United States because of European reluctance to have them on their soil. By the time they could be deployed in response to an attack by the Warsaw Pact, says Cohen, it would be too late. Even worse is the fact that NATO has no doctrine on using these and other battlefield nuclear weapons. The Soviets, the author says, do have such a doctrine and do have neutron warheads. Cohen concludes that the United States should stop risking itself to protect reluctant allies it is not serious about defending anyway and instead worry about the Soviet strategic threat.

When the neutron bomb was first proposed, it figured in some important policy debates. General Curtis LeMay and the Air Force snubbed tactical weapons in favor of blockbuster H-bombs. Later, the Pentagon used the N-bomb as a strawman to push for ending the test moratorium of the early 1960s. President Kennedy ultimately settled for a limited test ban with the Soviets rather than a comprehensive agreement partly because of pressure to leave a window open to test the weapon. Chief executives from Eisenhower to the incumbent have rejected and embraced the weapon, which had moved in fits and starts through the Pentagon's corridors and Capitol's hallways until 1981, when Reagan gave it the go-ahead. But opposition has been fierce because opponents—from the

Soviet Union to Western Europe to the White House—saw it as immoral.

These allegations of immorality stem from the fact that, in theory, the N-bomb can kill animate life with its enhanced radiation while the heat and blast do not reach the ground. The truth about the neutron bomb, says Cohen, is that the weapon to be built now is not the one he proposed, as it would still cause considerable collateral damage—not much different, really, than existing bombs in NATO's tactical arsenal. "The real neutron bomb was never more than a myth," the author concludes. —STEPHEN R. DUJACK

**Under the Skin: *The Death of White Rhodesia.*** By David Caute. Northwestern University Press. \$19.95.

For some years, political scientists have theorized as how best to conceptualize the politics of an African country. Some have concentrated on institutions or structures like the military—which to be sure does govern many African states—or political parties; while other political scientists have eschewed both a systematic and an institutional approach and settled instead for a detailed anthropological analysis. But as any student of African affairs knows, there is really no satisfactory way of encompassing the range and variety of political systems found in any one African country, let alone the entire continent.

Happily David Caute has come to this realization and thus combines all types of analysis in a superb manner. Zimbabwe, as Rhodesia before it, has a political system that stresses the centrality of personal relations rather than of institutions such as parliament or the judiciary. Caute carefully examines the main actors—Ian Smith, Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo and a host of others—for it is and has been these people, rather than governmental institutions, that have molded events in this African country since Rhodesia started the world with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965.

A careful reading of Caute's book will reveal that U.S. policymakers, especially Kissinger, Vance, and former U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young, committed great mistakes by focusing on political institutions rather than on personalities. The cornerstone of U.S., and certainly British policy, was to wage a war for the preservation of the ubiquitous Westminster constitution. Yet some vital concerns, such as the enactment of entrenched clauses protecting minorities, were very rarely considered in either Washington or London. What Caute so aptly illustrates is

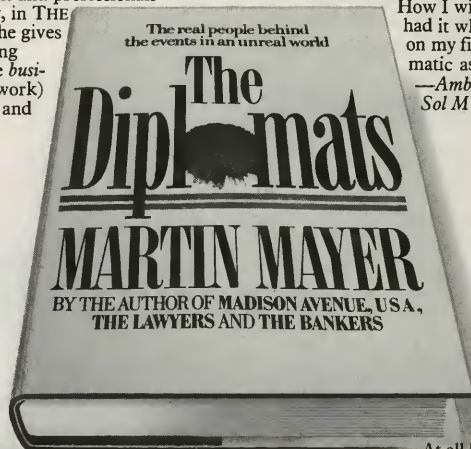
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that when Rhodesia became an independent Zimbabwe, and a "democratic constitution" did remain, the rights of minority whites and those from minority tribes, including those led by Nkomo, were forgotten. This was tragic, for the whites have a lot of technical expertise and Nkomo could greatly affect the stability of a united Zimbabwe as long as he is free; a freedom Caute questions will last.

Policy planners should take careful note of the lessons which can be learned from this well-written book. Any political system in a country like Zimbabwe can work only if there is some check on all political machines—especially tribal ones. Caute illustrates that even before independence, these checks were not present to protect either Nkomo or the white minority. Both groups are now fleeing the country in record numbers. This book should be required reading for anyone wanting to understand politics in a pluralistic society such as Zimbabwe. It well illustrates what can happen when Western values and objectives are not in harmony with African aspirations and lifestyles.

—ROY A. HARRELL JR.

*Strategic Planning and Forecasting: Political Risk and Economic Opportunity.* By William Ascher and William H. Overholt. John Wiley and Sons, 1983.

This book will be enormously important and helpful to professional diplomats and foreign policy analysts. In particular, those who have worked to bolster greater analytic competence within the Department of State and overseas missions, notably in the training of entry-level and middle-grade officers, will find a lucidly presented array of insights and recommendations.

Much as many professional diplomats may distrust the terms "forecasting" and "planning," they know that in fact this is what they do every working day. They may reject much of the abstrusely quantitative or jargon-plated methodologies popular in some academic quarters recently and they may instinctively defend "intuition" and "sound judgement" based on years of experience. Yet, the State Department now recognizes, as is reflected in the curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute, that no U.S. diplomat today can be considered professionally equipped to carry out reporting, negotiating, and policy responsibilities without a deeper, more conscious awareness of the processes, methods, assumptions, and perceptions that condition how successfully he or she will perform.

This book is a well-organized consumers' guide to a field where few Foreign Service practitioners have time to acquire specialized expertise. It provides a balanced, honest look at what works in institutions outside our own that also plan, forecast, and decide. It sensibly and fairly compares the "seat-of-the-pants" approach to analysis and decision-making to more expensive quantitative and mechanistic ones. There is also an insightful discussion of the numerous dilemmas and problems—technical, political, conceptual, bureaucratic, and epistemological—that policymakers, analysts, and forecasters must overcome if such ugly foreign policy reverses as Iran are to be avoided in the future.

The book presents a number of practical ways that insights and estimates based on judgement could be applied more systematically. Something not found elsewhere is an analysis of the assumptions underlying an array of different methodologies (aversion to the word "method" does not change the fact that each FSO uses methods, even if only unconsciously). The authors point out that the appropriateness of a given method depends on how much one understands about the political and social system under consideration. This book can help an FSO fit the method to the situation.

—EDWARD A. MAINLAND

## In Brief

*Companion to Russian History.* By John Paxton. Facts on File Publications, 1983. \$21.95.

The author, editor of the prestigious *The Statesman's Year-Book*, has produced a handy compendium of some 2500 entries, including the most prominent place names, battles, treaties, and individuals in Russian history from the sixth to the twentieth century. While the book's slim size prevents the inclusion of some leading figures (missing are Cadet Party leader Pavel Miliukov and the current ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin, among others), it would be very useful for those having a general interest in Russian history.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

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*Atlas of the Third World.* By George Kurian. Facts-on-File Publications, 1983. \$85.

*Atlas of United States Foreign Relations.* By Harry F. Young. U.S. Government Printing Office for the Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 1983. (S/N 044-000-01973-6) \$5.

**British Documents on Foreign Affairs:** *Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print. Edited by Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt. University Publications of America, Inc. Volumes appearing beginning in 1983. Price varies according to volume.*

**Cultural Atlas of China.** *By Caroline Blunden and Mark Elvin. Facts on File Publications, 1983. \$35.*

**The Current History Encyclopedia of Developing Nations.** *Edited by Carol L. Thompson, Mary M. Anderberg, and Joan B. Antell. McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1982. \$39.95.*

**World Encyclopedia of Political Systems & Parties.** *Edited by George E. DeLury. Facts-on-File Publications, 1983.*

### From the Think Tanks

**China Policy for the Next Decade.** *Report of the Atlantic Council's Committee on China Policy. Atlantic Council, 1983. 53pp. \$5.* This report reviews the U.S. relationship with the People's Republic of China and puts forward some policy recommendations aimed at developing a long-term posture of cooperation based on the real interests of the two countries (and not simply on their shared opposition to the Soviet Union), adequate consultation with our other Asian friends, and the maintenance of a strong U.S. military presence in Asia.

**Whole Earth Security: A Geopolitics of Peace.** *By Daniel Deudney. Worldwatch Paper #55, Worldwatch Institute, 1983. 92pp. \$2.* New information technologies—sensors, communication systems, and computers, among others—have created a false sense of security while actually contributing to strategic instability, but they also provide better verification and information-sharing technologies that could be useful in enforcing agreements and nurturing superpower cooperation.

**Western Hemisphere Stability: The Last in American Connection.** *Edited by R. Daniel McMichael and John D. Paulus. World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh, 1983. \$7.* This study, which includes panel reports given at the 19th World Affairs Forum, focuses on the economic relationship between the United States and its southern neighbors, the political complexities of the Latin American countries, and the effects of Latin American unrest on the mutual security problems facing the western hemisphere. The contributors include a variety of notables, among them Richard Stone and then Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

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# CLIPPINGS

"The Soviet Union has pulled ahead of the United States not only in missiles and other strategic weapons. The Soviets continue to overpower the United States on the critically important diplomatic front. On it there is no balance of forces. According to FBI estimates, the number of Soviet employees in the United States today totals about 980. In dismal contrast, the number of U.S. government employees in the Soviet Union is a mere 320. . . . The Reagan administration should act to close the diplomacy gap which Moscow exploits so well. Washington should demand that at least 100 Soviet officials leave the United States. . . . [But] the State Department seems opposed to any reduction of official Soviet presence in the United States. It argues that the [U.S.S.R.] would obtain most of the information it currently gathers in the United States even with fewer individuals." —JULIANA GERAN PILON in a *Heritage Foundation report*, 1983

"What one always forgets, writing about Foreign Service officers, is that they are patriots. It is a matter of nurture, not nature—unlike the army officer, the FSO usually does not start out with the instincts of a flag-waver. After a few years of living abroad, he grows sick of the way foreigners talk about his country, and he learns in his gut that however green other hills may be, they are not the hills of home. If clientitis makes him an advocate for the positions of the country in which he is stationed, the reason is not that he has shifted loyalties but that those positions, seen from his present perspective, seem clearly better for the interests of the United States."

—MARTIN MAYER  
in *The Diplomats*, 1983

"Mr. John J. Louis, America's suddenly departing ambassador to the Court of St. James's, will carry away with him a rather unfair burden of opprobrium. He poured a splendid martini; he was unfailingly amiable; his contribution to Republican Party funds was unquestioned. . . . Washington appoints two sorts of envoys to capitals like London: either public (quasi-political) figures with some clout, like Elliot Richardson or Kingman Brewster, or Friends of the President, like Walter Annenberg.

(The third sort of envoy—the career sort—tends to be thought too lowly in the scheme of things.) One reason for welcoming Friends of the President, from time to time, is that a president's friends tend to be rich. They spend some of their own money on martinis, or refurbishing the ambassadorial residence. John J. Louis, heir to Johnson's Wax, added a deal of polish on that front, and thus his genially admitted incapacities in world affairs seemed all part of the parcel. More than that, his benign bemusement often echoed perfectly the attitudes of the moneyed businessmen who inhabit so much of Mr. Reagan's administration. He was, in short, a good steer for Sir and we lament his passing. Unless, that is, we know only half the story, and Mr. Louis is going home to become the national security adviser." —GUARDIAN WEEKLY (London)

September 25

"Reaganism of the Week: Asked at a meeting with ethnic reporters whether he would put pressure on Turkey to solve the Cyprus problem, Reagan replied: 'Oh. I wish the secretary of state were here.' "

—LOU CANNON

in the *Washington Post*, October 24

"What is the proper arrangement for the shaping of U.S. foreign policy? The traditional answer—that the policy should be molded by the secretary of state—seems to have been proving increasingly inadequate. It would appear that the old formula can no longer cope either with the challenges we face abroad or with the distribution of power in Washington among key agencies involved in promoting national security—of which foreign policy is a part. . . . Integration is needed, but this cannot be achieved from a departmental vantage point. . . . Clarification of the role of the secretary of state as specifically responsible for diplomacy could, in time, open the way to yet another highly desirable step—the appointment of the first secretary of state from the ranks of the professional Foreign Service."

—ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI  
in the *New York Times Magazine*,  
September 18

"Hollings and some others also expressed impatience at diplomatic efforts to end the bloodshed. 'Let them put 1600 striped-pants diplomats right out on the end of the [Beirut Airport] runway,' Hollings grumbled." —WASHINGTON POST, October 25

CLIPPINGS records without comment statements appearing in the media on the profession of diplomacy and the Foreign Service.

**10-25-50**

*Foreign Service Journal*, January 1974:  
"Although mature partnership still remains something of an unfulfilled promise—with Mexico and Brazil as possible exceptions—the United States has succeeded in lowering its profile throughout the hemisphere since 1969. In certain instances where nationalistic noises suddenly grew shrill (Peru, Chile), the U.S. retreat appeared an astute choice of withdrawal over expulsion. In most other cases where the U.S. disengagement was less like a forced march, the results have brought expressions of relief from all sides. Now the United States has finally abandoned its blanket emphasis on security and Pan-American solidarity."  
—JACK HOOD VAUGHAN

*Foreign Service Journal*, January 1959:  
"As world tensions heighten, the State Department is turning more often to its 'old pros,' the career officers in the Foreign Service. This is particularly true in the staffing of posts where personal wealth is not needed to meet the social requirements of the ambassadorial position.

"Ceylon is such a post. Last week, James Lampton Berry, who has spent almost a quarter of a century in State Department service, was preparing to go there. He'll replace Maxwell H. Gluck, who resigned October 1. Mr. Gluck, a successful merchant in the United States, had volunteered for any government service that would help his country and was made ambassador to Ceylon in July 1957. His appointment was criticized by some Senate Democrats, partly on the ground that Mr. Gluck could not pronounce Bandaranaike, the name of Ceylon's prime minister."  
—U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT

*Foreign Service Journal*, January 1934:  
"There is a certain American consul somewhere in Europe whose wife is selling cakes to her neighbors in order to eke out what remains of her husband's consular salary after the Economy Act and the exchange rate have done their worst with it. There is another consul who has had to give up his flat and send his family home to be supported by his wife's parents while he maintains the dignity of his government in a boarding house."  
—NEW YORK TIMES

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## INFORMATION & DEVELOPMENT

*Foreign assistance today does not help Third World countries develop what they need most—the capability to collect data and make decisions*

BRANDON ROBINSON

**T**HE LESS DEVELOPED countries today face difficulties of growth, poverty, and resource deterioration that vary greatly from country to country and region to region. For any policy to overcome these difficulties, it must take into account the traditions, problems, and resources of the country or region. Yet too often the policy pursued by an LDC government—or encouraged by the donor country or multilateral institution supplying the technical and economic assistance—does not take these factors into account.

Policies are the outcome of policymaking processes, however disordered and unsystematic those processes may be. Thus, the general inadequacy of LDC policies is a reflection of failings in the policymaking processes. Obviously, each country has its own distri-

bution of power among individuals, firms, and communities; federal, regional, and local levels of government; public and private interests. But whatever the distribution of power, the policymaking process must be improved for there to be effective management of an LDC's poverty, growth, and natural resource problems.

The agricultural sector can serve as a prime illustration of the shortcomings of the LDC policymaking process. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, the best available evidence suggests that per capita food production has been declining during the last several years by an estimated 1.4 percent per annum. The losses have been accompanied by increasing erosion and desertification, and if the decline is not reversed, there might be a 23-million-ton food-grain deficit by 1990.

Since the food shortage in Africa is growing at a faster rate than in any other continent, one would expect the foreign assistance community to try to help African countries deal systematically with what is generally recognized to be a major underlying factor: inadequate agricultural policies. It is, therefore, distressing to listen to so much high-flown preaching about the need for improving policies, and to observe

*Brandon Robinson has been a Foreign Service officer in AID since 1961. From 1970-76 he was chief of the sector analysis division in the Latin American bureau. He is now chief of the analysis division in the Regional Economic Development Services Offices for Eastern and Southern Africa. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. government or AID.*

so much confusion and paralysis in this area. Every year additional countries declare food self-sufficiency to be a national goal, and every year there are more countries that fail to achieve that goal. The main factor behind the enormous discrepancies between aspirations and achievements is usually ignorance of the actual workings and the potential performance of the country's agricultural system. Most LDCs do not possess the information that is essential for managing their agricultural sectors. They do not have reliable estimates of the production, acreage planted, and yields attained of their main food staples or crops at national, regional, and local levels and, as a result, they cannot identify seasonal areas of deficit and surplus and take opportune emergency measures when needed.

The information required for the formulation of medium and long-range policy is even more deficient. Few countries can estimate and fewer can explain the variations in production, yields, crop patterns, costs, cultural practices, and consumption and sales of the small farmers who constitute the majority of the rural poor. Few LDCs collect the data and carry out the analysis needed to determine the relative importance of the various constraints on increasing food production and rural income and employment. Nor is there much understanding of how these goals conflict, how they could be made as complementary as possible, and how best to allocate the limited resources of the LDCs and the foreign assistance agencies.

LDC policymaking is not likely to improve significantly without better data collection, processing, and analysis. Admittedly, information by itself does not guarantee a satisfactory policymaking process. However, the absence of such information does guarantee that the process will be unsatisfactory. Continuous macroeconomic and sectoral analyses are needed to identify opportunities, constraints, and priorities, and to measure costs and benefits with gradually increasing precision. Clearly, these are national, regional, and local activities that cannot be properly planned for the LDCs by the Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome, or the United Nations Development Fund in New York. These are activities that need to be planned in and by the developing countries themselves.

**T**HE PAST RECORD of the foreign assistance agencies in helping the LDCs develop a policymaking capability is hardly impressive. They have failed to help the LDCs establish the means of data collection, processing, and analysis that would provide the information needed to formulate sound policies. And they have compounded the problem by thrusting many more activities and projects on the developing countries than they can manage. If the FAAs had emphasized the information and deliberation needed to identify priorities, the LDC tendency to adopt a piecemeal, problem-by-problem approach to policy formulation may have been checked. Instead they have strengthened the unfortunate LDC proclivities for ad hoc policymaking and crisis management. There are an excessive number of development projects in the LDCs, many of

which were conceived and designed by the FAAs. Indeed, the FAAs are the principal source of project proliferation and the related incoherence of LDC policies.

Most developing countries are host to a disturbingly large number of bilateral and multilateral agencies that make very little effort to coordinate their activities. Under the present rules of the game, the overriding purpose of each FAA is to obligate its funds by initiating new projects: it is usually competing with other FAAs for the attention of the host government so that it can get its most-recently proposed project accepted. But countries that host a very large number of projects cannot effectively use much of this assistance. The problem of absorption has been demonstrated by numerous audits and reviews and is continually identified as a major obstacle to development, but the rush to obligate funds on a project-by-project basis follows the same foreign assistance rules today as it did 35 years ago.

The plain fact is that FAA officials give insufficient attention to LDC priorities, and even less attention to LDC procedures for selecting priorities. This neglect is reinforced by the parochial tendency of each FAA to view its program as if it were the only one underway in that country and by a gentleman's agreement with the host government to treat the FAA program in relative isolation.

Zambia can serve as an excellent example of project proliferation. In 1978, more than 50 different institutions provided Zambia with \$56.3 million of technical assistance. There were 108 different projects in the agricultural sector alone, and more than 200 foreign technicians working on these projects. Along with the difficulty of effectively absorbing this amount of "free" or granted technical assistance in agriculture, Zambia struggled with the common problem of effectively absorbing its loans. For instance, the original estimate of funds to be transferred from abroad under previously made loan agreements had been set at \$110.6 million, \$80.9 million, and \$99.2 million for the years 1976, 1977, and 1978, respectively. However, these externally financed projects were implemented at a slower rate than expected, and the actual drawings were \$52.9 million, \$57.8 million, and \$47.2 million, less than half of the expected amounts for the three years in question.

This brings up the question of how many projects can be effectively and efficiently managed in any given sector or country. An examination of existing management problems and an estimate of the maximum management workload which the host country can handle is urgently needed. Without an estimate of workload capacity, the feasibility of any given sectoral program is obviously open to doubt. It is certainly open to doubt in Zambia, where 108 foreign assistance projects have been added to Zambia's own agricultural program.

The lack of analysis, the proliferation of projects, and the failure of absorption are closely related and mutually reinforcing tendencies. If the technical assistance provided by the FAAs is to have an enduring effect, it must be matched in various ways by the developing country. Obviously, the probability of proper matching decreases as the number of projects

*Few countries collect data on agricultural output and analyze their consequences*





*Estimating crop yields, acreage planted, and production helps identify areas needing agricultural resources*

and foreign technicians increases. For each foreign technician there is usually a need for a counterpart: a host country official collaborating with the foreign technician and receiving on-the-job training so that the procedures being introduced under the project will continue after the project is terminated and the foreign technician has left. Foreign assistance programs also have the effect of increasing the financial demand on both the LDCs and the FAAs. The FAAs have started to acknowledge the problem of recurrent cost, that is, the need for estimating and assessing the future financial burden placed on the LDC by the establishment of new organizations and the introduction of new activities under foreign assistance programs. But they have not helped the LDCs establish the procedures required for effective financial control. In short, the project-by-project approach of the bilateral and multilateral assistance agencies has frequently contributed to an increase in the incoherence of an LDC's macroeconomic and sectoral policies, an expansion in an LDC government's workload beyond its management capacities, and an increase in an LDC's public recurrent costs beyond its financial capacities.

These miscalculations and setbacks in Third World development can be traced rather directly to the executive branches of the LDCs and somewhat less directly to the FAAs. Both institutions suffer from weaknesses that are characteristic of bureaucracies. First, they tend to concentrate on budgets and organizational survival at the expense of social and economic functions and responsibilities. Second, they tend to spend most of their organizational energy and time on internal affairs and neglect the relevant external realities. Since these bureaucratic characteristics appear to be inhibiting development, it is crucial that they be considered in any analysis of a sector's or country's capabilities.

Under the present rules and regulations of their bureaucracies, the FAAs need to obligate their funds in the form of projects at a rate that is equal to or greater than their rate of receipts. At the worst times—when the foreign assistance tail is most vigorously wagging the development dog—the ministries in the LDCs are acting mainly as catchments for funds from abroad, and the FAAs are designing and implementing projects pretty much on their own. There is insufficient prior analysis of the LDC economy and its sectors; little, if any, development of an institutional memory; little learning or evaluation; and a profusion of foreign advisers acting as officials without training a host-country successor.

Developing countries usually accept such unsatisfactory arrangements because of financial motivations. The developing countries are in great need of funds and believe they cannot afford to turn down a grant or concessional loan, even when it is not to their liking. Besides, they lack criteria for making selections. Without coherent policies at the macroeconomic and sectoral levels, it is difficult for the LDC to determine which donor proposals are the most appropriate.

It is easier for both LDC and FAA bureaucracies to accept all the proposals and ignore the great waste of resources: agricultural research, extension, and pricing

policies that are not effective in increasing production; school systems that provide sufficient student-places and teachers for the entire school-age population but allow only a small percentage to graduate because of structural and operating defects; highly subsidized manufacturing industries and public utilities that, despite considerably lower wage rates, have much higher unit costs than similar organizations in the developed countries; grain and marketing boards, banks, ministries and cooperatives that fail to distribute opportunely the agricultural equipment and technical guidance needed for planting, harvesting, and marketing. Periodic macroeconomic and sectoral analyses that could identify this waste and lay the groundwork for more efficient use of resources should be a major priority in attempts to improve policymaking and management.

**I**NSTEAD OF CONTINUING with these wasteful policies, the FAAs should turn to a kind of foreign assistance that has been provided on lamentably few occasions. It would not be the conventional planning project—so dear to the FAAs and so often resented by the LDCs—in which a team of foreign advisers tries to formulate LDC policy and prepare LDC macroeconomic or sectoral plans. Rather, the advisers would *not* arrive in the LDC with the false but not uncommon presumption that they are ready to formulate policy. Nor would they, at any later time, attempt to enter into this sovereign terrain. This program would be a collaboration in inquiry, designed in accordance with the existing LDC capabilities in data collection, processing, and analysis. The collaboration would fully involve these LDC capabilities and systematically broaden them through technical assistance, professional education, and on-the-job training. When needed and desired by the developing country, the collaboration can be extended to a second and third inquiry, each of increasing scope and depth.

A successful collaboration would produce two major accomplishments. It would provide analytical findings of immediate utility for the formulation of policies. These policies would be formulated by the host-country personnel—not by FAA advisers. And a successful collaboration would establish a permanent process of data collection, processing, and analysis that would continue to function even after the foreign technicians leave. Such a program would provide the information needed by the developing country to make its macroeconomic and sectoral policies more coherent and effective.

Such an approach will not go unopposed. Although everyone expects a government to formulate policies, practically no one expects it to carry out inquiries to provide information for policymaking. The design and execution of inquiry is not a traditional government function. Indeed, it may be objected that the proposed inquiries call for the government to assume an additional function despite its already excessive workload. Though factually correct, this objection is not valid. A central purpose of the proposed inquiry would be to determine the feasibility of alternative policies. The feasibility in question is administrative,

as well as financial and social. Once established as an ongoing process, the macroeconomic and sectoral analyses would help bring about periodic reassessments and, when appropriate, the termination of programs. These inquiries would work against the tendency of government to expand through the continuous accretion of activities.

Furthermore, the current pace of change in the Third World—brought about by the introduction of different technologies, new ideologies, rising expectations, and population growth—has created a need for information that is a quantum jump over previous requirements. In a static or very slowly changing society, inquiry of the kind proposed may not be needed. If it is, the need may be much more limited and could be provided from sources outside of government. But in a more rapidly changing society of increasing interdependencies, or a society in which past equilibriums have been radically upset, large amounts of new or updated information are needed at fairly regular intervals. The collection and analysis of these data constitutes a process of inquiry that will be carried out by government—or not carried out at all.

Although the gravity and complexity of economic and social problems have obliged governments to undertake inquiries that were not previously done, almost no attempt has been made to understand this expanding activity. Apparently viewed as a temporary aberration, these inquiries and the key role they should play in the development of the Third World have been ignored by the FAAs, as well as by the LDCs. It is now time to overcome this neglect and to accept the logical precedence of analysis to the formulation of policy and to recognize that improving the processes of inquiry in the relevant LDC institutions is a precondition to improving policymaking.

Fortunately, the collaboration of the FAAs with the LDCs to strengthen macroeconomic and sectoral processes of inquiry will not involve major institutional changes. For each area or sector, such as food production and nutrition, industry, transportation, education, health and population, communications, energy, and natural resources, there is at least one ministry that is now involved in some kind of analysis and policymaking or planning. And every LDC government has a ministry or planning secretariat which reports to the chief executive and is responsible for monitoring and guiding the economy as a whole. But for establishing the processes of data collection, tabulation, and analysis, the LDCs will require the assistance of the FAAs. Indeed, passing on the more appropriate methodologies of social science inquiry would be one of the more important technological transfers sponsored by the FAAs.

The advantage of such transfers is that—unlike standard development formulas—methodologies of inquiry are universally applicable. Since the problems of each country are in many ways peculiar to that country, each national solution is necessarily different. However, the proper techniques of data collection, processing, and evaluation do not vary. In the medium and long run, much more progress in solving growth, poverty, and resource problems can be expected if LDCs receive technical assistance and training in the three key areas of data collection, process-

ing, and analysis than if they are simply urged to adopt this or that policy. Furthermore, the findings and conclusions of a completed inquiry can help guide not only the developing country but the FAA as well in the allocation and use of resources.

This technical assistance and training should not be provided in the scattered and disorganized way that has characterized development assistance in the past. A continuing process of inquiry in, for example, the agricultural sector should consist of a sequence of discrete undertakings, each one with its own findings and conclusions. The first collaborative data collection, processing, and analysis should be adjusted to the developing country's existing capabilities, with the involved assistance agency providing the needed equipment, technical aid, and training. The collaboration should result in obtaining findings of immediate utility for policy and management and developing LDC capabilities in data collection, processing, and analysis. Much of the training is on-the-job, although formal or academic training should be provided to men and women who later will be involved in macroeconomic or sectoral inquiry.

**A** FEW SUCH INQUIRIES, mainly sector analyses, have already been successfully carried out and have produced findings of importance for policy. But the initiative has seldom, if ever, received continuing high-level support in the FAA. The large number and variety of projects that are initiated each year create a thick curtain that hides these few collaborative inquiries and prevents them from being noticed, assessed, and corrected when necessary. The drive of the FAAs to obligate and spend their funds in the form of new programs and projects absorbs their bureaucratic energies, discouraging and resisting any activity.

Obviously, the FAAs are not going to provide effective assistance if they do not put their own houses in order. A countervailing force is needed—a group of professionals concerned, above all, with helping generate capacity in the developing countries for examining and understanding social and economic realities and the effects of government programs. This will require cadres with new sets of incentives—in both the LDCs and FAAs. In the assistance agencies the professional careers of these men and women would not depend on their success in obligating funds. That responsibility would belong to others. Instead, advancement in this new career would depend on the success in helping the LDCs establish their own processes of macroeconomic and sectoral inquiries.

Helping the LDCs establish these processes would be the most effective and appropriate contribution that the FAAs could make to help improve the policymaking and governing capabilities of the LDCs. By making macroeconomic and sectoral policies more coherent and effective, and improving management at the national, provincial, and local levels, the developing countries would increase their efficiency, accountability, and absorptive capacities. This would in turn provide a sounder basis for coordinating assistance among the various foreign assistance agencies and for improving relations between North and South. □

*Helping host countries collect information logically precedes formulating development policies*



# PUZZLING MR. WICK

*USIA's dynamic current director has given the agency a higher profile and budget, but his style has made his achievements enigmatic*

DANIEL SOUTHERLAND

**O**F THE TEN MEN who have headed the U.S. Information Agency over its 30-year history, none has been as controversial as the current director, Charles Z. Wick. His critics have accused him of politicizing the agency. His defenders say he has energized it and given it a new visibility and influence. Deciding whether the accomplishments outweigh the criticisms is like weighing the personality of the director himself: a difficult puzzle.

Most observers agree that Wick has several achievements to his credit, particularly in terms of securing more funds for USIA, raising the agency's profile in the executive branch, placing it in closer contact with top administration decision-makers, and improving its performance in new communications technologies such as satellite television. Even among many of the most disgruntled agency employees there seems to be a recognition that the director has brought in more money and given USIA a greater role among the foreign affairs agencies. Unfortunately for Wick, however, his public image—that of an ultra-conservative who has a tendency to shoot from the hip—detracts from his achievements. And the image he projects, together with his management practices, have caused some serious morale problems in the agency, at least at the Washington end.

In fairness to Wick, critics sometimes overlook that morale has often been a problem at USIA and that the director has learned in his two and a half years on the job. Officials say that during the course of his wide and much-criticized travels he apparently has come to respect agency officers working around the world. (Some of those in Washington, however, say that—Wick's declarations to the contrary—he does not show much admiration for them.) Wick has also learned from the mixed reaction to his half million dollar 1982 television spectacular "Let Poland Be Poland," most of which was funded by corporate donations. His error, he has conceded, was to try to get European networks to put the film on the air sight unseen. Many Europeans saw the film, he said, but more might have had he not rushed things.

Wick's biggest problems, it sometimes seems, have come not from Europe but from Congress. At the outset, the main concern on Capitol Hill was that the new director would transform USIA into a propaganda agency. Later, Wick got into trouble on the Hill for cutting exchange programs. (Congress restored the funds.) Then came congressional heat over last

spring's so-called Kiddiegate affair, involving the hiring by USIA of several friends and relatives of high-ranking officials in other agencies. Wick had trouble selling the administration's proposed Project Democracy to the Congress, which, along with the two major parties and a private non-profit endowment, eventually took over the program. Controversy also erupted on the Hill over the agency's awarding of grants to several private conservative organizations. Most recently, a minor flap arose over which national youth groups are to get USIA money for the United Nations International Youth Year, to be observed in 1985.

While strong criticisms have come from outside the agency, the most telling ones surfacing in both the press and in Congress are coming from some of Wick's more than 8000 employees, of whom about 3400 are in Washington. Within USIA, critics and defenders alike tend to agree that Wick is a difficult man to work for. He drives his employees hard. He is notorious for outbursts of temper. Some people who work closely with Wick are quite simply afraid of him, either because of his power to fire them or because he strikes them as mercurial in his decision-making.

Nearly 30 agency employees, former employees, or persons from other agencies who work closely with USIA spoke about the controversial director in interviews for this article, but few agreed to go on the record with their comments. What emerges is a picture of a complicated man, a man of contradictions. He can be generous to some employees but a blowtorch to others. He sometimes appears thin-skinned and insecure. With jokes and piano playing, he can entertain a roomful of people at a party which might otherwise languish. But although he may be quick to lighten the atmosphere with a pun, Wick is also quick to lose his temper. One high-ranking USIA official insisted that when Wick lost his temper, however, he often had reason to do so. He is also capable of losing his cool and then quickly recovering, another official said. For instance, after a misunderstanding arose over the handling of a satellite television program by USIA in London, Wick lost his temper. This led to unsubstantiated but widespread rumors that he had "fired" the agency's chief public affairs officer in London. After the situation in London was explained to Wick, a USIA official said, Wick saw no reason to be upset, and, in a meeting, the director had good things to say about the PAO. The rumor that was

*While Director Wick (far right) has given USIA increased visibility, he has also crossed words with bureaucratic opponents and national allies. His remarks on Margaret Thatcher led 18 representatives to call for his resignation late last month (below). His secret taping of phone conversations also led to resignation calls.*

## Democrats Urge USIA Chief Be Fired

House members blasted USIA Director Charles Z. Wick for politicizing the agency and for crossing words with bureaucratic opponents and national allies. The House Foreign Affairs Committee on Thursday urged Wick to be fired, saying he had "seriously damaged the agency's reputation and credibility." Wick, who has been in the post since July 1981, was accused of "using his position to advance the interests of a narrow group of people and to undermine the agency's effectiveness." The committee also criticized Wick for "secretly taping phone conversations" and for "crossing words with bureaucratic opponents and national allies." Wick's remarks on Margaret Thatcher led 18 representatives to call for his resignation late last month. Wick's secret taping of phone conversations also led to resignation calls.

finally circulated to the detriment of Wick by those who were not close to the situation was that the director had "fired" and "rehired" the London PAO in the course of one day.

"I think the director has a little shorter fuse than he should have," explained one USIA aide. Wick's rages are described by some as uncontrollable, but one official said they have grown less frequent now that Wick has settled into the job. What is most unfortunate about Wick's explosions of anger, according to some of his aides, is that they do not occur in private. Wick tends to fly off the handle in meetings, thus embarrassing the subject of his displeasure in front of his or her peers.

One sign that Wick is not easy to get along with is the turnover that has occurred at the top of the agency. Not all of it can be attributed to the director, of course. But there are few survivors left among the top dozen or so officials whom Wick appointed to USIA after he took over in June 1981. The Office of Public Liaison, for example, has had five directors or acting directors in two and a half years. Of those who have left top agency jobs, a number have resigned to go on to other posts or to academic and research institutions. But whatever may have been said for public consumption, Wick quite simply fired several.

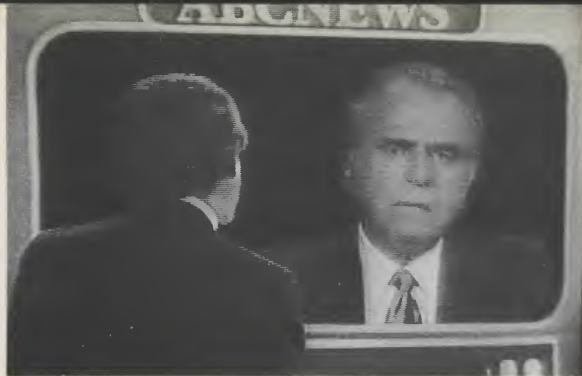
Along with his management style, Wick has also become controversial because of his public statements, in which he tends to live up to his quick-draw image. In November, he took a day off from a busy schedule to go to Boston for a ceremony honoring a much-respected agency deputy associate director, Jodie Lewinsohn. But the only publicity Wick got came from remarks he made concerning the legitimacy of using what he called the "police power of the state" to invoke curbs on the press during the Grenada invasion. In his most recent public gaffe, Wick told newspaper publishers at a meeting of the California Press Association last month that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher opposed the U.S. invasion of Grenada because she is a woman. "He's insensitive to women," said one USIA employee who is no enemy of Wick. "He puts his foot in his mouth so much you can't look at anything he does objectively."

Though he can be remarkably awkward with words, aides describe his raw intelligence as high. Yet, when he took over at the agency, he probably knew less about foreign policy than did William P. Clark when he became deputy secretary of state. "I'm no newspaperman, and I don't know anything about foreign policy," Wick commented to a colleague when he first came to Washington. "But I can get things done."

**T**HE ENERGETIC DIRECTOR regularly puts in 12-hour days, barely slowing down for weekends. One of his aides concluded that Wick must be an insomniac because of the many overnight memos that he dictates into an ever-

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The director is interviewed on ABC's Nightline by Ted Koppel in the aftermath of the destruction of KAL 007. USIA led the U.S. diplomatic response to the Soviet act with coverage by the Voice of America and a videotape on the evidence.

present pocket recorder. They become known as "Z grams" when they take the form of action directives. He bubbles with ideas that one State Department official described as seven parts creative and three parts "lousy" and "dangerous." A former employee says that working under Wick was one of the most difficult experiences of his professional lifetime.

"Too many people see Charlie as either an angel or a devil," said a longtime observer of USIA who can be highly critical of Wick at times. "He is neither. Charlie can't manage anything. He doesn't know anything about management. The people who keep the agency going are the pros. But Charlie's a very creative thinker. He's got lots of ideas—some silly, and some quite good. He's grasped the fact that the agency has been given short shrift.... He's got a marvelous increase in resources for the agency."

The temptation when writing about Wick is to focus on his misuse of words, his well-known anti-Soviet attitude, and his Hollywood past. In an interview for this article last November, the 66-year-old director commented on the last tendency, noting that reporters like to mention in profiles that he wrote and produced *Snow White and the Three Stooges*, a movie he originally conceived for his children. "*Snow White* was a very beautiful picture," Wick said. "But my so-called show-business career ended about 29 years ago." He pointed out that in addition to his work in motion pictures, television, radio, and musical productions, he has been engaged in the financing and operation of health care and mortgage businesses. He holds a degree in music—in fact, he helped pay his way through the University of Michigan, where he led a band, by arranging scores for Tommy Dorsey—and he also holds a degree in law.

Wick commented in the interview that his biggest disappointment at USIA has been the press he has received—much of it, at least the lengthier stories, focusing on his personal style while ignoring what he is actually doing with agency programs. After the *Washington Post* published two long stories on him, the director got a mild boost for his view that it was time to look at agency programs from the paper's ombudsman at the time, former ambassador and State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey. In a May 1982 article, the *Post* had featured Wick's shakeup of the agency and his "Hollywood Hustle." In July 1983, it published a piece describing USIA-paid trips abroad and grants to conservative organizations under the title "Hollywood Style Diplomacy: Wick

Adds Flair to U.S. Story." The latter article included a description of Wick's personal style and high-life travels with information obtained through an interview and the Freedom of Information Act. In 1982 the *Post* also came up with an internal USIA memo giving dos and don'ts on how the staff should treat the director; it was sufficiently detailed to admonish staffers to arrange airplane seats for Wick so that the sun would not get in his eyes. The story revealed Wick to be a man who demands special attention and careful treatment from his staff. But, McCloskey concluded, "We've had all we need to know about Mr. Wick. It's time for equal space on those many USIA programs—whether and how they've been altered under this administration."

CHARLES Z. WICK presides over a far-flung empire, with 206 posts scattered through 126 nations. He requested appropriations totaling \$908 million for fiscal year 1985, of which almost \$880 million has been authorized, including over \$16 million for Radio Marti. Although that may be decreased somewhat during the current budget process, he had already increased the USIA budget 44 percent in the three previous fiscal years. When Wick took over at the agency, its annual budget of \$457.8 million was little more than half of what it may be in fiscal 1985. A self-made millionaire, Wick knows the business of fundraising. One person who has worked closely with him said, "He does have the capacity to get on the phone and call 20 heads of corporations and say we need \$50,000 to build this exhibition, or make this film." As a personal friend of President Reagan, Wick put together some \$10 million for the 1980 campaign as a principal fundraiser. He also knows how to spend money on a grand scale. He was a co-chairman of the president's inaugural festivities, and he says he spends \$20,000 to \$25,000 a year out of his own pocket for USIA entertainment and other government business.

Wick's friendship with President Reagan—a president who has placed a good deal of emphasis on public diplomacy—is clearly an advantage. Unlike Wick's predecessor, who rarely sat in cabinet-level decision-making groups, he has been a key member of a special planning committee on public diplomacy that includes, among others, the national security adviser, the secretary of state (usually represented by the undersecretary for political affairs), and the secretary of defense. A year ago, the president issued National Security Decision Directive 77 to give USIA an enhanced and revitalized role in the conduct of foreign policy. Wick or his deputy attends Secretary of State George P. Shultz's daily 8:30 a.m. staff meeting. Wick would like the USIA director to become a statutory member of the full National Security Council, but this group sometimes swells to a dozen participants and so there is a reluctance to add one more, though Wick does attend NSC meetings when it is appropriate. What is important, officials say, is that USIA is now part of the top-level flow. It is back on the high-level bureaucrat's map.

"There was a reluctance in the bureaucracy to accept USIA as a full-grown adult," said a White House

official recently. "Charlie argues that it is better for USIA to be in on the takeoffs as well as the landings.... He has energized the agency. It took somebody with a lot of energy to kick around some people with very tired blood over there."

In the interview, Wick gave his view of what he has achieved in his two and a half years. The director was excited by his improvements in getting the government's message overseas through the use of satellite television. As he saw it, this is a "product" with great potential for further expansion. This past autumn the agency introduced a new satellite service—the EURONET system. Its first program was a two-hour news conference on Grenada. Journalists in five European capitals questioned U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick in New York and Prime Minister J.M.G. (Tom) Adams of Barbados and John Compton of St. Lucia, both in Bridgetown. An excerpt of 11 minutes was carried on evening television in Britain. U.S. embassies in Europe reported that the program was a major success. As Wick described it, the Grenada program involved putting European journalists in touch with "hard, highly credible sources." Another high point for EURONET was a complex live satellite hookup in early December linking President Reagan in the White House, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Athens, and three of the six orbiting astronauts on NASA's space shuttle, one of whom, a German national, was the first West European in space and was aboard to help operate the billion-dollar space laboratory built by a European consortium. Journalists in the Hague, Brussels, Bonn, Cologne, Geneva, and Rome got to question the astronauts. Members of the European Broadcasting Union network carried segments of the program on evening newscasts. Wick later declared that the 50-minute show was a "technical triumph that marks a new era in international and space communications for USIA." He also claimed that the "monumentally successful satellite hookup" involving several nations on two continents and an orbiting space vehicle makes it clear that "we can push this new technology beyond its original limits and give us communications opportunities that never existed before." Wick said the EURONET system will eventually link Washington with all U.S. embassies and posts throughout the world.

Among other achievements Wick listed was modernization of the Voice of America's seriously deteriorating transmitting capability. According to Kenneth Y. Tomlinson, head of the Voice, when the Office of Management and Budget tried to decrease the VOA budget last year, Wick "rolled into the Roosevelt Room" of the White House and successfully fought the cut. The first steps have already been taken in a billion-dollar modernization and expansion program.

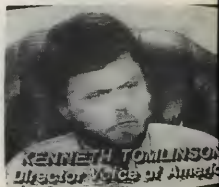
Wick also spoke excitedly about President Reagan's International Youth Exchange initiative, which he described as the revitalization of a traditional program. Over a three-year period a combination of public and private efforts will be used to double the number of young people exchanged between the United States and its major economic partners. But the director is most proud of a 10-minute period at the United Nations last September when, as the *New York Times* said in a front-page story, "a hushed and intent Secu-

urity Council" watched and listened to a USIA-produced videotape carrying the voices of Soviet pilots and their ground-control officers in the moments before they shot down Korean Airlines Flight 7. Starting just two days before, an agency team had organized an intense series of round-the-clock meetings, studio tapings, and translation sessions to produce the tape. USIA supplied English translations of the terse Russian radio exchanges that were seen on five television screens placed around the council chamber. Soviet diplomats made no attempt to challenge the translations or the authenticity of the original tapes supplied by Japanese ground stations. Wick called the preparation of the tape "one of the finest hours for USIA." And, he said in the interview, had he not been present at the first NSC meeting on the incident, the agency might not have been able to mobilize quickly enough to prepare the tape.

**D**ESPITE THESE SUCCESSES, Wick's reign at USIA has not been without its very real problems. There is no denying that the morale of some employees has suffered, not simply because of Wick's impetuous personality, but because some in the agency's Foreign Service corps fear he is, at best, ignorant of their professional concerns. The so-called Kiddiegate affair which hit the press last spring brought many of these fears to the surface. The press revealed that the agency had hired several friends and relatives of high-ranking administration officials. Some, such as Barbara Haig, daughter of the former secretary of state, proved to be highly qualified, in the view of many officials. A few others, however, were not, but received premium posts that ordinarily take career officers more than 20 years to attain. The criticism over Kiddiegate subsided after Wick gave Senator Edward Zorinsky (D.-Nebraska) what the senator considered to be a forthright and detailed explanation. Caspar Weinberger Jr., son of the defense secretary, resigned from USIA after it was disclosed that he had received a raise of which Wick had not been aware and that the director and some other officials considered to be unwarranted. But more than the Kiddiegate hirings, what worried some career officers was Wick's appointment of a total of more than 60 non-career officials, some of them to key positions and ones that had traditionally been held by career personnel. The critics accused Wick of damaging Foreign Service morale and of making political appointments and personnel shifts at deeper levels of the agency than any previous director. USIA spokespersons responded that the agency has filled "99-1/2 percent" of its Foreign Service positions overseas with career personnel.

For all the agency's communications triumphs under its new director, Wick had trouble explaining to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee one of President Reagan's pet ideas—Project Democracy, which has since been metamorphosed into the National Endowment for Democracy. In a speech in June 1982 to the British Parliament, Reagan had sketched the outlines of an ambitious program to advocate the principles of democracy and help build democratic institutions overseas. Reagan called on the West to engage

*Voice of America Director Kenneth Tomlinson speaking on TV about the KAL incident. Wick has successfully fought budget cuts and started a billion-dollar modernization of the Voice's transmitting capabilities.*





*USIA technicians working in round-the-clock session (top) to produce videotape of U.S.-Japanese evidence of Soviet culpability in the KAL incident. The tape (bottom) was used at a U.N. Security Council meeting.*



in a peaceful but more vigorous "competition of ideas and values" with the Soviet Union. He pointed favorably to the efforts of West European and other political parties and governments to assist fraternal political and social institutions in other countries and committed the United States to take new steps toward promoting the "infrastructure of democracy."

At first it appeared that USIA would take the lead in pursuing this goal, which might have involved expenditures of up to \$65 million or more. But members of the Foreign Relations Committee and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, which were charged with oversight of the project, feared that the administration would turn it into a propaganda effort and thus jeopardize already proven programs, such as the Fulbright scholarships, even if they were not formally part of Project Democracy. Convinced that the country had already been advocating democracy by example and through a variety of programs, some senators and representatives felt that the administration was reinventing the wheel.

Last March, Wick appeared before the Senate committee to defend the proposal. But he quickly got bogged down trying to explain the sprawling project using charts that looked like they were drawn by Rube Goldberg. Senator Paul Tsongas (D.-Massachusetts), a liberal, was quick to label the program "Project Right-Wing Democracy." Republican Senators Nancy Kassebaum (Kansas), Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Maryland), and Charles Percy (Illinois) raised questions. Former committee chairman J.W. Fulbright (D.-Arkansas) appeared before the committee to defend the student exchange program that bears his name. The principal academic exchange program of the government was not to be linked with the project, but the former senator warned that the 24 foreign governments that partially fund the program might drop their support should they decide the United States is turning its overseas cultural and exchange programs into propaganda efforts.

Two months later, Representative Dante Fascell (D.-Florida), chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations, submitted a report summarizing congressional concerns. The president's speech before Parliament attracted "largely favorable reactions," the report said. But Congress was concerned that the program would become geared toward gaining the short-term partisan advantage; would exploit for propaganda purposes a research study proposed by the bipartisan American Political

Foundation and the Democratic and Republican party chairmen; and would adopt a "dominant political tilt in defining the context and recipients of democratic political assistance."

In his report Fascell took note of what he described as "the recent history" under Wick of USIA grant-making and personnel activities, and summed up his concerns as follows: "Over the past two years, USIA has arguably violated the letter and spirit of its charter by (a) attempting, unsuccessfully, virtually to eliminate the funding for the educational and cultural affairs programs which have stood the test of time and proved their worth; (b) reflecting partisan political ideology in its choice of USIA grantees; (c) providing funds to friends of USIA officials without regard to the USIA charter, or proper grant guidelines and procedures; (d) attempting to influence the activities and comments of USIA grantees so that they reflected executive branch policy positions; (e) withholding or delaying the granting of USIA funds to grantees due to partisan political considerations; and (f) placing in career Foreign Service and Civil Service positions, political appointees who reflect partisan political views, or who are friends and relations of current government political appointees, without regard to the requirements of specific positions, or the effect on the career services."

These are strong charges, but Fascell's report went on to say that Wick responded to them to the representative's satisfaction. As the report explained it, when these matters were brought to Wick's attention, "He took immediate steps to make the necessary adjustments and corrections to restore the integrity of these programs, and to restore the confidence of the grantees, the Congress, and the public. He is to be commended for his prompt, sincere, and effective efforts to remedy the situation."

But partly because of these congressional concerns not only about the project but about the character of the agency under Wick, USIA eventually lost any hold that it might have had on Project Democracy. Following the recommendations of a presidentially endorsed study under the auspices of the American Political Foundation, the Foreign Affairs Committee authorized the establishment of a private, non-profit corporation called the National Endowment for Democracy. As the Fascell report explained it, the endowment charter provides a structure better able to carry out the initiative originally proposed for USIA by the president of the United States.

SOME USIA OFFICERS blame Wick for losing control of the Project Democracy. Certainly it did not help that the director had trouble explaining the program on Capitol Hill. And it certainly did not help that some senators and congressmen decided early on that Wick was pushing a program that would cause the agency to lose its credibility overseas; credibility that had been built-up over many years. The very name "Project Democracy" frightened some, who saw in that title echoes of the ominous-sounding "Project Truth," a program meant to counter Soviet disinformation. "Project Democracy would have been a very good chance to speed up the

process" of Soviet retreat in the war of ideas, in the view of one bitter USIA official. "The idea was to try to create a flow of ideas to show that we had them on the defensive, politically and militarily. We were given the lead but lost it."

But a White House official defended Wick in an interview. It would not have been easy to get funding for the project under any circumstances, he said, unless other parts of the USIA budget were cut. He said that this accounted for what he described as Wick's hot again, cold again attitude toward the program. As it is, much of the money originally proposed has been approved by Congress for the non-profit national endowment. As Wick explained: "We get \$18 million and we pass it through to NED...and they in turn will make the various distributions. The original idea was that we would have quite a bit of that [\$65 million] that we would use to enhance the existing methodologies we had for fostering the infrastructure of democracy, i.e., exchanges, dealing with universities, etc."

Just as it has managed to transform—some would say tame—Project Democracy, so has Congress managed to tighten the leash on USIA's grant-giving. Fairly early in Wick's term, senators and representatives began to question some grants the agency planned to award for fiscal year 1983. They included a \$162,810 grant to the Mid-America Committee to bring press spokespersons from Latin American and Arab regimes to Washington so that they could be advised on how to deal with the American press, and \$428,927 in grants to the Claremont Institute to bring foreigners here to study American political institutions and culture. The latter is a good example of how things had gone wrong. The agency's private sector program was established to provide grants to private educational exchange projects of a non-partisan nature with long-term impact. But the institute, which is unrelated to the better known Claremont College, apparently has had little experience in such matters. As one USIA official who asked to remain anonymous explained it, the institute proposed a USIA-funded program that primarily consisted of "a bunch of American right-wingers selecting a bunch of cronies from around the world."

The Claremont grants were subjected to lengthy reviews by the General Accounting Office, by USIA inspectors, and by the agency's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Claremont's grant agreement with USIA outlined a program of giving foreigners with established positions and influence direct exposure to American history and values through seminars at the institute. Participants would then return to their home countries and disseminate the information. Three unclassified evaluation reports commissioned by the ECA bureau from non-government academic experts that were subsequently sent to the Foreign Relations Committee described several aspects of the problem.

According to one report, Claremont President Peter Schramm "acknowledges the organization's 'conservative' political position." It added that "the ideological stance of the institute poses potential problems to free and open academic inquiry." But the criterion of "scholarly integrity and non-political

character...is generally met" and the "political ideology" it is committed to "is not specifically partisan." Nonetheless, "the range of point of view is limited and tolerances narrow. The advocacy role of the institute may be infringing on the academic and scholarly independence of the seminar." One foreign participant called it "indoctrination rather than dissemination."

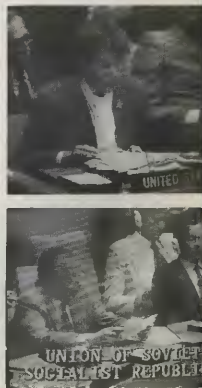
Claremont is relatively new—it was founded in 1979—and "does not yet enjoy the credibility of an academic research institution," one report noted. Though "the core staff are not major scholars...and both their strength and their limitation is the very tight ideological commitment which they share," the leaders of the institute do hold "full professional credentials" in their fields. Also on the positive side, one report said that applications and screening procedures for European and Canadian participants are "well managed" and that "the results show in the quality of the participants." Readings for seminars are "well chosen" and their leaders are "well versed" in American democracy.

A USIA official familiar with the reports said, "We are not going to fund Claremont again." The official criticized USIA for ignoring legislative criteria for the grants. But a specialist who monitored these and several other controversial grant cases said, "There has been nothing illegal about these grants. There have been only a handful of grants involved. My chief regret is that they have tarred the agency's image on the Hill. Now they have set up some very elaborate, almost too tight guidelines for grants." It was decided that grant review panels would include at least a majority of members who were career Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel. Foreign Relations Committee staffer "Peter Galbraith's got us now," said one top USIA official in regard to the guidelines Galbraith helped to negotiate.

Congressional scepticism, however, over the agency's grant-giving has not completely subsided. Last October, Zorinsky, one of the most persistent Senate critics of USIA grants, got the chamber to approve an amendment to place a cap of \$7.1 million on agency funds for its Office of Private Sector Programs at the previous year's level. The office had awarded grants "tarnished with favoritism, conflict of interest, deficient management, and lack of supervision," he said on the Senate floor.

Wick's critics within USIA, and they are many, tend to grant that he has been effective in improving the agency's communications capabilities, especially through EURONET, which can hardly be called a propaganda program. Some also say that the worst they feared has not happened. For instance, VOA news broadcasts are, for the most part, judged to be free of ideology and political tampering. Voice editorials, an innovation brought in by former VOA director John Hughes, now the State Department spokesman, are clearly labeled as such. "Project Truth" has been institutionalized in the form of interagency groups that travel overseas to brief on the subject of Soviet disinformation and a "Soviet Propaganda Alert" bulletin which is sent bimonthly to overseas posts. The critics in the agency now focus on the handling of grants, a fear that the VOA is losing credibility through hard-

*U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick plays the USIA-produced videotape at Security Council meeting on KAL 007 (top). Soviet diplomats watch the tape but do not dispute the accuracy of agency translations (bottom).*



USIA officials in the television studio during the inaugural transmission of EURONET. Wick (far right) has said the network, which will eventually link all U.S. diplomatic posts worldwide, marks a new era in communications.



line editorials and too heavy an emphasis on East-West issues, and, most important of all, what some describe as a "savaging" of the career Foreign Service corps in the agency.

Ironically, Wick is now beginning to draw a bit of criticism from the right. A few of the conservatives within the agency—and there are more of them now that Wick is in charge—have begun saying in private that Wick has gone too far to placate Congress and the USIA bureaucracy. In the view of these critics, liberals and Democrats dominate the agency career ranks. They say that contrary to his public image, the director is no ideologue. Indeed, they contend that Wick has no coherent political philosophy whatsoever.

**I**N THE END, even after Wick's management of the agency has been scrutinized by the Congress, the press, the GAO, USIA's own inspectors, and specialists on public diplomacy, the director remains a contradictory puzzle, even to some of those who have worked most closely to him. Some of his seemingly revealing and most notorious gaffes leave them wondering how a man of such energy and intelligence could blunder so badly. Take the case of his statement in Boston about the "police power of the state" in managing public information regarding Grenada. That expression came when a student asked Wick about government restrictions on the press during the invasion and about the National Security Directive of last March that, among other things, calls for life-long prepublication review of writings by former government employees who handled secrets on intelligence sources and methods.

The student wanted to know if Wick thought this indicated a trend toward denying the American public's ability to gain independent access to information or independent opinions. Wick's answer was not all that disturbing when taken in its entirety but he did hit a raw nerve. He denied there was such a trend—in fact, he defended freedom of the press—but did say there were cases in which the greater public good required restrictions on the press. However, in his infelicitous use of the words "police power of the state" to invoke those restrictions—a phrase not used in the Constitution—Wick shocked his audience and the local press. He said he personally thought that an alleged "rash of leaks" before the Grenada invasion "border[ed] on sedition." Asked later what leaks seemed to "border on sedition," he said he did not

have anything specific in mind. Wick indicated that he did not see anything wrong with the wording "police power of the state." It's all right there in the Constitution and in the judicial process, he said.

Wick distressed many officials in the agency by his remarks and gave cause for the *Boston Globe* to depict him as a strutting dictator in an editorial cartoon. The cartoon may have been unfair to the director, but, say those at USIA who criticize his style, he constantly makes himself vulnerable to such attacks. "Charlie doesn't understand the importance of words," said a USIA official who has served in various positions in the agency. "Maybe it's because his cultural background is a musical background. If a word sounds good, if its mellifluous, he goes with it without thinking much about what it means."

Some agency officials cringe when the director goes off on a speaking engagement. But more frightening to them still is the prospect of what he might say during the question-and-answer period. "All the talking points the staff spends hours on, he just ignores," said one close observer of Wick who claims that he needs "media effectiveness training." Wick counters that because he is perceived as close to the president he is a natural target. Some USIA veterans agree with this. One goes so far as to suggest that critics of the president find it difficult to attack Reagan and instead target a controversial political appointee.

The final word has yet to be written about Charles Z. Wick. One veteran USIA official who has served around the world—and who reserves final judgment—puts his conclusions in the form of questions: Will the increases in agency resources under Wick outweigh losses in morale? How much can the agency take in the way of short-term "politicization" before it loses long-term credibility? When Wick leaves, how long will the agency hold on to its new high-profile position in the foreign affairs community? What will be the legacy of Charles Z. Wick?

And, of course, there is that question which many USIA employees ask with increasing frequency: With an election campaign coming, how long will the veteran fundraiser stay at USIA? Here is a part of the Wick puzzle that can seemingly be answered with certainty. Wick says that the Reagan campaign will not need him this time around. Reagan will have no trouble getting donations. The USIA director told business acquaintances last month that if Reagan is re-elected, he would like to stay on for one more year. □

# DYNAMO OR DINOSAUR

*As the United States approaches the 21st century,  
USIA will play a vital role in determining the  
success or failure of our foreign policy efforts*

DANTE B. FASCELL

**D**URING THE FINAL two decades of this century, the United States will face one of the most difficult challenges in its history—whether it can adapt to and control the technology and challenges of the new "Information Age." How we deal with these challenges will determine whether the United States will be a leader or a follower in the world and will decide the fate of the democratic ideals we cherish. The U.S. Information Agency must be a central actor in this drama. Its response to these challenges will be critical to our national interests.

USIA, as the centerpiece of the U.S. public diplomacy effort, must maintain its effectiveness in a world where advances in communications technology now allow immense quantities of information to reach many more millions of people throughout the world in less time than ever before. If the agency is to achieve this goal, the concept of its mission and the way it is pursued may well have to be re-evaluated. USIA must also consider the possibilities offered by the new technologies for better disseminating an accurate picture of the United States and its policies. If USIA is to be a dynamo, a vital leader in our public diplomacy, rather than the repository of outdated approaches and technology, these issues must be continually reassessed and the best creative minds applied to the task.

In reviewing our public diplomacy efforts, we should remember that in the international community, perception is the same as reality. If people believe it, then in political terms it is the same as true—at least as long as people go on believing it. In the United States, free expression makes possible the correction of false assertions, but most of the world's people do not have untrammelled access to multiple and independent sources of information. This problem is compounded by tremendous cultural diversity. Furthermore, unfortunately, most people, both Americans and others, know too little about each other. Worse, many think they know quite a bit about the United States, but in fact their information and impressions are distorted or very wrong.

It is useless, however, to demand that they better educate themselves. If the United States is to be correctly understood and our policies accurately evaluat-

ed, we must do the educating ourselves. No one will tell our story if we do not tell it ourselves, and no one will appreciate our views unless we communicate in a way that ensures they will be heard and understood. This is not merely a matter of winning a popularity contest, or trying to make ourselves feel better by making others feel better about us. It is a matter of defending ourselves, our interests, and our national security by giving a good account of ourselves in the worldwide contest of ideas.

That contest is going on now and will continue no matter how or to what degree we take part. It does not require a cold war mentality to notice that we have been challenged to a competition that ranges across a broad array of political, economic, military, cultural, and scientific activities. But this competition centers on ideas—the ideas of people, about people, and, above all, ideas about how they will organize themselves, or be organized, in the expression and fulfillment of their essentially social nature.

Through public diplomacy—the exchange of ideas and people—we seek both to inform the rest of the world of the American reality and to persuade others that our policies and practices are both correct and benign. Viewed most broadly, this effort includes private as well as government activities. From student exchanges to Hollywood movies, these private activities offer, despite occasional distortions, multiple and varied pictures of the United States. They effectively represent what we are about. These activities, however, are private and should stay that way. Here we are considering the status and future direction of the governmental effort in international public diplomacy, with USIA at its heart.

**U**SIA, NOW 30 YEARS OLD, is still seeking to fill its legitimate role as part of the U.S. foreign policy effort in the new Information Age. Until 1978, the agency's mission was fundamentally unilateral—to tell the world about the United States. In 1978, with the merger of the State Department's Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs into USIA, it acquired a second, equally important mission—to tell the United States about the world. This second mandate remains unfulfilled, a stepchild to the first mission. Yet this mandate can and should be carried out through the involvement of USIA with the American educational community. U.S. teachers at all levels should be trained in interna-

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*Technicians patch in live worldwide remote transmissions with hookup from orbiting space shuttle for EURONET telecast. As the centerpiece of U.S. public diplomacy, USIA must be in the forefront of communications advances.*

tional affairs, programs for developing area and language experts should be established, and the United States should cooperate with other countries to identify appropriate resources that can be used in improving international education. Some informational material produced by the agency might, with proper authorization, be adapted by American schools and colleges for their own use.

This issue of domestic dissemination of USIA materials remains difficult to resolve. On the one hand, the question of the use of such materials for political or propagandist purposes—which gave rise to the legislative prohibition on domestic dissemination—remains a valid concern. In addition, the problems of copyright infringement and government competition with private-sector production of similar materials must be resolved before USIA materials can be freely disseminated. On the other hand, the right of the American people to public information produced by their government must be a strong argument in favor of making such materials available. If USIA is to fulfill effectively its second mandate to tell the United States about the world, these problems must be resolved.

The original mission of USIA has also suffered, largely because of a lack of resources and policy decisions being based, not on U.S. foreign policy needs, but on resource allocations. This has been evident both in programming and in personnel management. For example, the total number of positions currently existing within USIA is approximately 8600, down from 12,300 in 1957.

Even if this shortage of funds were alleviated, USIA should review some of the concepts behind its programming so that it can be as effective as possible.

Over the past 35 years, the agency's programming has been wide and varied, but one policy decision has governed its use—the targeting of so-called "elites." Due largely to resource constraints, but also as a result of a lively debate about the best way to get our message across, the United States has spent little time and less effort in educating and supporting this planet's young people—from kindergarten through high school. Instead, we have offered information and education largely to adults—many of whom formed their opinions about the United States at a young age on the basis of information that was distorted or absent.

In the years following the end of World War II, the formation of the United Nations, and the successes of the Marshall Plan, such a policy was probably not unreasonable. Yet, once the conflicts of the Vietnam era rolled into the resource scarcities of the 1970s, and the spread of nuclear technology imparted a sense of urgency to the quest for peace, it became noticeable that the United States had no public diplomacy effort specifically geared to post-World War II generations. The United States cannot afford such a gap in its foreign policy.

Fortunately, USIA has come to this realization and is beginning to develop programming to meet the needs of the world's young people—including those of our allies. The Youth Exchange Initiative, which promotes exchanges of high school students, is a beginning. Few exchange programs can match the effectiveness of those for high school youth, since at that age such programs leave lifelong impressions of the cultures, needs, and concerns of other people. The expansion of these programs to the people of developing countries could play a particularly important role in building a better awareness of critical world issues. Incidentally, the exchange programs represent one place where USIA's dual mandate comes together. By sending Americans overseas and bringing foreign visitors to the United States, we sensitize our own people to other cultures at the same time that we are exposing foreigners to ours.

USIA must also consider other improvements and areas of program expansion. First, important books and periodicals could be made available in translations into many more languages than is now the case. Not only are such translations useful from a teaching standpoint, but access to American writers, ideas, and techniques is an important function of public diplomacy.

Second, overseas post programming for all young people could be expanded. This could include greater availability of libraries, increased production and dissemination of books and periodicals, and more use of television, radio, and cultural programming to reach kindergarten through high school groups in individual countries. As a start, existing materials could be made available to more individuals and schools than is now the case, and library collections could include more magazines and basic reference materials on the United States. Another effective means of reaching youth would be to increase distribution of textbooks and other teaching materials on the United States for use in schools and universities, both in English and in translation.

Third, USIA should consider actively cooperating

with Agency for International Development programs in the international communications and information field. USIA could usefully complement a number of AID's development activities by helping to train journalists, communications technicians, engineers, teachers, and the like. By permitting each agency to undertake the activities to which it is best suited, the missions of public diplomacy and development, as well as the foreign policy goals of the United States, would be strengthened.

Fourth, the partnership between USIA and the Department of State in international communications and information policy should be strengthened. Our efforts to preserve the free flow of information can only be bolstered by having USIA officers promote and explain U.S. policy initiatives. The traditional diplomatic efforts of the State Department in international trade, bilateral and multilateral assistance, environmental and agricultural matters, as well as several other areas, should be adequately and accurately publicized.

**D**EVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING such improvements in USIA is a process that could spark much creative thought by individual Foreign Service employees and encourage programming tailored to individual countries. But although increased resources, both financial and personnel, and the promotion of individual initiative and creativity could do much to enhance the agency's efforts, one large area of effort remains to be exploited—Information Age technology. The planned modernization of the Voice of America—neglected for far too long by too many administrations—and the improvement and expansion of the television and film service are vitally important. The United States will not win the battle of ideas with antique technology soldered together with faith, glue, and good intentions. It is beyond belief that the most technologically advanced country in the world should be communicating its ideas and ideals through a technology worthy of a place in the Smithsonian.

Furthermore, at a time when television is acknowledged to be a powerful force in the molding of ideas and opinions, it is unconscionable that USIA's television and film service should be viewed as the agency's stepchild. It should not be a matter of preferring radio to television or vice versa; rather, we should recognize that they each have their individual indispensable roles to play in the dissemination of information and ideas. Both are integral players in the foreign policy process. Anyone who doubts the importance of either need only review the Voice of America's coverage of the Korean Air Lines tragedy and the television and film service production of the video tape used at the United Nations to demonstrate Soviet culpability in that disaster.

The advent of satellite broadcasting—now a reality for some twenty years—has put the need for a dynamic television and film service beyond dispute. Yet very little has been done to analyze and respond to this need or to improve and expand USIA's capabilities. The agency could usefully expand its endeavors through the establishment of a satellite delivery sys-

tem serving all principle posts. With such a system, the agency could provide broadcasts of varying lengths, including press conferences, news program interviews, and the like. Of course, there would be some financial and technical problems to be overcome, particularly in developing countries. Nonetheless, this capability would noticeably enhance USIA's current efforts in this area, which now include a TV satellite file, the video dialogues program, and facilitated satellite coverage. Currently, the satellite file—a syndicated weekly news feed designed for use by European television networks—enables broadcasters to use certain stories in their own news shows. This service should be expanded to the developing world. The video dialogue program permits foreign journalists to interview U.S. cabinet members and other high-ranking officials. Facilitated satellite coverage enables USIA to assist national television organizations to cover foreign heads of state and other important persons visiting the United States. By expanding the satellite delivery system, USIA could develop teleconferencing between posts and with Washington for a variety of purposes, including staff meetings and information sharing. In times of crisis, a satellite delivery system would permit instantaneous communication with the president and the secretary of state.

The agency could also enhance its efforts through the development of a direct-broadcast satellite system. The agency would then be able to beam its products directly to television receivers overseas, in much the same way that the Voice of America now broadcasts to radio receivers. While the issue of a direct-broadcast satellite system is quite controversial, USIA has been involved in discussions aimed at producing a workable policy that will permit the

*President Reagan, on camera himself, views monitors showing West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Athens and astronauts in space during EURONET program. New technologies can help to explain U.S. policies overseas better.*





*VOA announcer broadcasts in Russian on KAL incident. USIA's public diplomacy grows ever more important because, to the international community, perception is the same as reality in the superpower war of ideas.*

agency to develop just such a capability.

Satellite broadcasting also offers an opportunity for the agency to expand its coverage of international conferences, arts festivals, and similar meetings. This in turn would allow the television and film service to assist in making USIA products better known, and in sharing information with other interested posts and other countries. Such coverage would also help posts determine the most effective placement of private sector programming and develop more effective educational and cultural exchange programs and improved speaker programs.

Another area which should be evaluated is the extent to which USIA's television and film service acquires outside products. Years ago, it produced much of its own material. Due largely to declining resources, the agency in recent years has acquired more outside materials than it has produced. A balancing of in-house production and outside acquisition of films and videocassette materials would meet USIA's programming needs more effectively than would choosing one method over the other. This might also ease the dissemination of USIA products within the United States in cases where the Congress approves the release of materials.

If USIA is to meet the special challenges and take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Information Age, however, the agency must consider not only ways to improve its programming techniques and media products, but how it can make better use of its most important resource: its personnel. Broadly speaking, the role of USIA personnel should parallel the agency's place in the foreign policy effort—that is, USIA's Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel should be partners with other foreign affairs agency

personnel. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 views the Foreign Service as a whole, not as separate officer corps operating out of different foreign affairs agencies. The goal for USIA, as well as for the State Department and the other concerned agencies, should be to ensure that all Foreign Service members are provided the same opportunities for career development and advancement, regardless of their agency. The same goal should exist for Civil Service career development within USIA. Only when the foreign policy effort is viewed as a whole will the United States be able to meet the challenges of the future with some hope of success.

This type of coherent, coordinated foreign policy management must include an evaluation and improvement of short- and long-term training for USIA personnel, both Foreign and Civil Service, together with a dynamic recruitment program aimed at meeting the agency's changing needs. Both quality management training early in the career path and substantive courses in language, area studies, and key international issues are essential. The needs and problems of the foreign affairs agencies are quite similar on the matter of personnel. On the one hand, we need personnel who can function overseas in a variety of jobs and who possess analytical and managerial skills that can be adapted to specific jobs—the so-called generalist. At the same time, we need personnel who have specialized skills, such as the engineers and technicians who serve the Voice of America, and the officers pursuing specialized careers in the international communications and information policy field. Both generalists and specialists are needed, not only in the Foreign Service, but in the Civil Service as well. The recruitment and training of generalists and specialists and their integration into the appropriate personnel service are problems that remain to be resolved in a manner benefiting both individual employee and agency.

**I**F THE AGENCY is to improve its programming and personnel management, it must give more attention to setting policy goals. It often seems that policy determinations on programming and its implementation are made in a vacuum. USIA must spend more time listening to and reporting on the needs and wishes of other countries so it can better determine the kinds of programming and activities that would be most useful. The Voice of America, for example, does not broadcast in English to a country whose national language is Swahili. By the same token, USIA programming should be more closely tailored to the needs and desires of individual countries. Programming decisions should be decentralized so that overseas posts can play a larger role. This in turn would strengthen a country team's sense of responsibility for and control over important aspects of the U.S. foreign policy effort. With effective back-up from Washington, this could produce more coherence in U.S. foreign policy, as well as a stronger, more confident Foreign Service.

To complement the efforts of USIA and the foreign affairs agencies generally, a new player is about to enter the public diplomacy arena—the National En-

dowment for Democracy. The endowment represents a dynamic new idea in public diplomacy—the use of a nongovernmental organization, albeit funded by the government, to encourage the active participation of more private sector groups than ever before in the promotion of democratic institution-building overseas. It is a response to the need to promote greater private sector involvement in U.S. initiatives to strengthen democratic values and institutions abroad. The endowment is intended, among other things, to serve as a complement to USIA's public diplomacy efforts. By involving numerous private sector groups, including the business and labor communities and the two major political parties, it will be able to provide assistance to interested groups in other countries in ways the U.S. government would not be able to match. For example, the task of assisting other countries in establishing viable political party structures reflecting democratic principles is not the kind of job suited to a U.S. government agency. Second, the business community in the United States is better equipped than the government to train entrepreneurs in business management, ethics, and the concepts of free enterprise. Other areas that might be explored under the endowment's umbrella include the training of foreign journalists in First Amendment concepts, the training of legislators, the strengthening of judicial institutions and procedures, democratic leadership training, and the development of seminars and exchanges that would explore various aspects of a functioning democratic society. Ultimately, the endowment should emerge as an effective partner to the governmental activities led by USIA. However, the endowment is not a substitute for the agency's activities, nor an excuse for any failure to upgrade and expand USIA's programming and operations.

Beyond the problem of increasing USIA's resources to make up for years of neglect is the challenge presented by rapidly changing technology and the competition we face from other countries. The new Information Age presents both opportunities and pitfalls for USIA. The blurring of traditional boundaries between the content of information and its transmission, and the speed with which information is transmitted, not only demands new technologies, but also an understanding of how those technologies can be used in the service of competing and opposing ideals. As our ability to reach larger audiences with more accurate information increases, so does the danger that such information can be used as propaganda.

The question of what constitutes propaganda will always be controversial, but it seems best to view it as a combination of the character and presentation of the information. Truth is our most important asset. Lies should be absolutely prohibited in any effective public diplomacy effort. So, too, should be attempts to extol the virtues of democracy without any discussion of the difficulties of sustaining a democratic society. As with any serious effort, the watchword should be "balance." At the same time that USIA seeks to avoid stridency in its tone, it must also not be afraid to articulate the virtues and strengths of American democracy and to compare democratic societies to totalitarian societies. Essential to democracy is the belief that, given a choice, human beings will always

prefer citizen government to dictatorship, as well as the recognition that the struggle to sustain democratic values is the most difficult task faced by a free society. The technologies and other changes resulting from the Information Age not only represent a new wrinkle on an old problem, but add the uncomfortable realization that humanity will not be given decades to adjust to these new realities.

Fortunately, we start with a tremendous advantage in the worldwide contest of ideas, because reality is on our side. For all of our undoubted deficiencies, we Americans are the fortunate heirs of a rich legacy of liberty and justice. We certainly have the managerial ability to organize ourselves for the tasks involved in public diplomacy, and we definitely have the talent and skills to express our message clearly and effectively. But the most important element of all may be acquiring the political will and commitment needed to place the highest priority on meeting the challenges presented by the contest of ideas, and dedicating the necessary resources to the task.

If the U.S. Information Agency is to be part of a dynamic solution to these new challenges, rather than part of the problem, it must fight for a priority place in the foreign policy community. In its 30 years of existence, USIA has developed and expanded the U.S. public diplomacy effort in creative and useful ways. Through its programming and the work of its Foreign and Civil Service personnel, the agency has demonstrated its unique and vital role in the foreign policy effort. Now, as the United States enters its third century, USIA must develop new ways to meet the challenges of U.S. leadership in the new Information Age. □

*Journalist and EURONET host Harry Ellis on the set. The new network has allowed foreign journalists to interview U.S. foreign policy officials during international crises for use in television news broadcasts overseas.*



# Travels with

*Some trips abroad by American secretaries of state represent genuine turning points in the conduct of world affairs. More often, however, a tour by the secretary is a show-the-flag exercise destined to become, at most, a small footnote in a large textbook. This was the situation in the spring of 1982, when then Secretary Alexander Haig traveled to a number of European countries. He generated some good will and increased understanding, but for the traveling press there were a lot more laughs than stories.*

## GEORGE GEDDA

FOR ALEXANDER HAIG, this trip represents a return to normal diplomatic life after more than a month devoted almost entirely to the Falklands crisis. Now it is time for more conventional pursuits in territory more familiar to him. He will be visiting those old NATO rivals Greece and Turkey, then on to Luxembourg for a meeting of alliance foreign ministers. The journey lacks urgency but, for Haig, who spent five years as commander of NATO forces in Europe, the change of pace seems welcome.

His South Atlantic peace effort collapsed a week earlier but the crisis still continues to fill his schedule. At the time his plane is to depart on the afternoon of May 12, he is still at a State Department meeting with the British ambassador. The plane takes off an hour late. When the secretary appears in the press section minutes before takeoff, he offers no apology for the delay. But there are no complaints from the press, many of whom have already started their second drink. Haig is dressed in a navy blue windbreaker with "Special Air Missions" inscribed on the breast pocket. Bob Pierpoint of CBS asks him if he has brought along warm clothing in case he has to make a sudden trip to the South Atlantic. "We're ready for a quick turnaround," says Haig. The plane nonetheless heads for Turkey.

*George Gedda, senior Associated Press correspondent in the State Department, is a member of the JOURNAL Editorial Board.*

There are many advantages to traveling with the secretary. The State Department takes care of your visas and hotel reservations. It provides free vaccinations—a gamma globulin shot was recommended for this trip—and information on weather conditions. Your baggage is picked up at Andrews Air Force Base and appears as if by magic outside your hotel room, which already has the key in the door so you can skip check-in. The U.S. embassy will provide local news clips, change your money, and sell you liquor at cut rates. Secretaries of state have two 707s at their disposal for official travel. On this trip we are on "the bad one," notes ABC's Barrie Dunsmore, a veteran of travels with four secretaries. Besides having a less desirable VIP section, some of the amenities like the air blowers don't work. "You've got to realize this is an old plane," one of the Air Force stewards explains helpfully.

The secretary, of course, has the best accommodations on the plane, a small meeting room and private sleeping quarters in the front. Behind them are two tables where Haig's spokesman, Dean Fischer, sits with seven other key aides facing each other. Meant for paperwork, on the way to Turkey the tables proved admirably useful as ottomans. Behind them sit a cadre of State Department aides and

staff, behind them are several rows of security officers, and behind them sit the press. At least we are the closest to the lavatory.

About ninety minutes after takeoff, Fischer drifts back to the press area. He starts a lengthy discussion with correspondents from the *Washington Post*, Reuters, NBC, UPI, and the *Los Angeles Times*. The subject is a piece by Leslie Gelb in the morning's *New York Times* declaring that, after 17 months of internecine struggle, Haig has won out over his more conservative rivals in the administration and can at last wear the vicar's mantle he declared for himself 16 months earlier. "For the purposes of this trip, I fully subscribe to the conclusions of the *Times* piece," says one reporter. "They're thinking of putting it to music," says Bernard Kalb of NBC. Fischer enjoys the jokes. Word is passed that the secretary will see us soon. "If Haig gives us any news, is there any way to file?" asks Bob Horton of Reuters. "A, he won't, and B, there ain't," comes the reply.

The time difference between Washington and Ankara is seven hours, and the plane's crew makes a somewhat pathetic attempt to adjust our bodies to the new time zone. At midnight Washington time, which is 7 a.m. in Ankara, just four hours after dinner, "breakfast" is

A "senior official" talks with Bob Pierpoint and Bernard Kalb.



JOYCE-NEWMITH

# the Vicar



JOYCE NESMITH

Reporters crowd the secretary for a statement on the record.

served. Then at 4 a.m. Washington time the crew decides it's time for "lunch." Afterward, well beyond the time promised, Haig invites the press to the meeting cubicle for a briefing. Following long custom, the ground rules forbid attribution by name. Haig becomes "a senior official aboard the secretary's plane." By remaining anonymous, Haig can relax without having to weigh each word. More important to the press, he can chide allies or criticize adversaries without the force that an official remark by the secretary has. As it turns out, little of what he says is worth reporting.

Because of his NATO experience and military past, Haig has a keen appreciation for the role Turkey plays in guarding the alliance's southeastern flank. He also looks with favor on General Kenan Evren, the head of state as the result of a coup two years before, believing the general has performed superbly under adverse conditions by revitalizing the economy and controlling terrorism. The other NATO partners regard Evren with distaste because of perceived footdragging in restoring democratic rule, but Haig believes they don't understand how desperate the situation there was before the coup. Because of the secretary's support for the military, it's hard to think of a capital where he can count on a better reception. Haig looks forward to arriving in Ankara.

For the traveling press, however, a warm welcome means no hot news. This is not true for the local reporters, who see the visit as one of the journalistic highlights of the year. "No news here," shrugs Pierpoint. "You mean you haven't filed a TV spot?" asks an incredulous Turkish correspondent. "Hell," replies Pierpoint, "I haven't even done radio." Others take advantage of the lull to shop. Kalb comes away with a \$230 rug. He invites a few reporters to his hotel room to show it off after an eventful dinner at the foreign ministry. Someone asks Kalb why he hasn't filed yet. "You're wrong," protests Kalb. "I filed a radio spot."

**A**BOARD THE PLANE for Greece, Kalb is more optimistic that the news will pick up. Maybe the Greek left will enliven things by staging an anti-American demonstration, one correspondent suggests. Kalb is confident they will: "I've ordered one." During the descent into the Athens airport, Bernard Gwertzman of the *New York Times* wonders just what it would take for Haig to make TV that night. "If he leaped out of the plane at 30,000 feet he still wouldn't make it," says Kalb. "Unless he survived." John Goshko of the *Washington Post*, noting the secretary's praise for the timetable for

restoring democratic rule in Turkey, wonders whether Haig will ask the Greeks if they have a timetable for restoring conservative rule. That would certainly make the TV news.

All reporters fantasize themselves arbiters of usage, so there is a lot of banter about the strange relationship between Haig and the English language. Pierpoint is amused by the secretary's reference to Turkey as the "linchpin" of Western security. Obviously, the military rulers must regard themselves as big wheels. Goshko remembers that at the time of the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia Haig told the Israelis: "Keep your powder dry until you see the bottom line." Greg Wierzinski of *Time* magazine recalls that the secretary once referred to a global hotspot as a "vortex of cruciality." The consensus in the back of the plane, however, is that Haig's peak moment came when he was asked whether military force had been ruled out in Central America: "It would serve no useful purpose to put fences around options that would diminish the promulgation of new roadways."

When we land in Athens, Haig, joking about all his recent travels, says: "I got back from one trip and was so punchy I shook hands with my wife and kissed Cap Weinberger." That might have got a laugh in Washington but receives nary a chuckle in the land of Aristophanes. To make matters worse, Haig has to interrupt himself in mid-anecdote because an American military jet is departing nearby. Some reporters quip that Weinberger ordered the takeoff to ruin the joke. That, surely, never happened to Aristophanes.

As it turns out, there are demonstrations in Athens, but the crowd is smaller than expected. Haig has lunch with Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and is in a good mood when he meets the press later in the afternoon. The secretary is asked whether there has been any change in U.S. policy on the Greek-Turkish dispute since 1976, when Henry Kissinger had an exchange of letters with the then Greek foreign minister, a somewhat obscure official named Bitsios. "Geez," says Haig, "I remember who Bitsios was, but who's that s.o.b. Kissinger?"

But Haig does drop the first nugget of news in nearly three days. Progress, he says, has been made in his talks with Papandreou on all aspects of Greek-American relations. The network correspondents think that this will at last get them on the evening news. Only ABC strikes paydirt but it is an expensive

# DOMESTIC POSTINGS



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nugget: the satellite and other expenses total \$14,000.

Aboard the flight to Luxembourg, the reporters become very excited. Haig, the word comes back, will be having an important meeting that will at last allow him to expose those cards he has been holding close to his vest. The rendezvous in Luxembourg is not with the head of state or his foreign minister, however. It is with Haig's London-based tailor. Not to be outdone, Kalb says, "My shoemaker is flying in from Trieste today to fit me with a pair of sandals." Then, striking an on-the-air pose, he intones, "Secretary of State Alexander Haig flew from Athens to Luxembourg today for a crucial bilateral meeting with his tailor." The subject of the reporters' jokes turns from Haig's tailor to his destination. One calculates that the NATO-mandated three-percent hike in military spending would mean "an increase of 24 soldiers" for the tiny country. Another is still concerned with sartorial metaphors: "If Turkey is the linchpin of NATO, what's Luxembourg? The diaper pin?"

After two uneventful days in Luxembourg, Haig drops another nugget of news. In a press conference, commenting on a speech that day by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev on President Reagan's most recent arms offer, he says that the NATO foreign ministers support Reagan's proposals and adds that "to the extent that the Soviet Union is willing to enter into early negotiations, we welcome that." The announcement deserves front-page treatment or at least a minute on the evening news. But the secretary has to leave immediately for the airport, so the accompanying press has no time to file.

Almost two years have passed since that uneventful trip. As it turned out, Haig did say something in his final press conference on the flight back that should have been big news but the press largely ignored it. Although he spoke to us on a deep background basis, which means the information is usable though unattributable, what he said has lost its currency and therefore can be repeated without violating confidences. "It is clear Israel is ready to move if there is a provocation," he said in regard to the growing tensions along the Lebanese border. "So that requires most urgent attention." Three weeks later Israel did invade Lebanon. His trip to Turkey, Greece, and Luxembourg was the last he would make with the State Department press corps. On June 25 he was forced from office. That night, he had no difficulty getting the attention of the press. □

## PEOPLE

### Deaths

**HARRY HEIKENEN**, a Foreign Service officer for 29 years and an authority on trade and economics, died October 2 at his home in McLean, Virginia, after a heart attack.

Heikenen joined the Foreign Service in 1950. He served in Italy and Britain, then was assigned to the Commerce Department, where he was deputy director of the Office of International Marketing. Subsequent to that he was posted to Hong Kong. He retired in 1979.

Following retirement, Heikenen was a consultant on trade and economic matters whose clients included the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. He was born in Minnesota and was graduated from University of Minnesota. He received the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal for service in the Army Air Corps in World War II.

He is survived by his wife, Madeleine, of McLean, a sister, Maybelle Patecell, of

New York City, and two brothers, Ray, of Stevens Point, Wisconsin, and Arnold, of Edina, Minnesota.

**MARY ALICE MCCLELLAND**, a secretary in the State Department for almost 40 years until her retirement last January, died at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington on November 6. She was 59.

A 1944 graduate of University of Texas at El Paso, she entered the Foreign Service that year as a secretary at a consulate in Mexico. She served later at embassies in Paraguay, Austria, Australia, Israel, Greece, South Korea, South Vietnam, and Thailand. Her last assignment was in the Bureau of Refugee Affairs. In 1969, McClelland received the Vietnam Award for Civilian Service.

She is survived by her mother, Eva Blinn McClelland of Brownwood, Texas, and three brothers, B.T. McClelland of Amarillo, Texas, R.M. McClelland of Brownwood, and R. Blinn McClelland of Simsbury, Connecticut.

### 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.

**FLORENTINE LOUISE MCFARLAND**, wife of retired Foreign Service Officer James H. McFarland Jr., died October 1 in Providence, Rhode Island.

Born near Lodi, Wisconsin, the former Florentine Benesh served as a secretary to a political adviser during World War II. She volunteered for the Foreign Service during the war and served in Manila, from 1945-47, when she resigned to be married.

Subsequently, McFarland accompanied her husband to posts in Munich, New York, Vienna, Hanover, Salzburg, Frankfurt, Newport, Accra, and Banjul. She was an active participant in local community service organizations and in both Vienna and Banjul pitched in to help in the mission. After retirement, the McFarlands lived in Jamestown, Rhode Island.

McFarland is survived by her husband, a daughter, Ursula, two sons, James III and Stephen, three sisters, and a brother.

### Birth

**CATHERINE JORDAN BOYATT** was born to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas D. Boyatt on November 3 in Gloucestershire, United Kingdom.

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# Association News

## Association Scores Legislative Victories in Authorization Bill

The State Department authorization bill that was signed into law last fall contains many provisions that the Association pushed for. Principal among these are codification of AFSA's proposals on danger pay and postponement of certain provisions of the controversial national security directive mandating pre-publication review of writings of former government employees.

The law now removes all ambiguity about unlinking the presence of dependents at post and the awarding of danger pay. "The resolution of the danger pay issue was our highest agenda item during the past year," said AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. "We are gratified that we have received such a clear-cut expression of congressional support."

The bill also places a moratorium until April 15 on the pre-publication review portion of the controversial directive that has the effect of restricting former employees from speaking out on the issues of the day. Another measure codifies the Meresman decision, a U.S. district court case in which AFSA as codefendant was able to help ensure immediate annuities for officers who were in the senior ranks when the Foreign Service Act went into effect and who did not choose to enter the Senior Foreign Service.

The authorization legislation provides one additional year in which to convert for those security officers who may be converted from Foreign Service to Civil Service. AFSA pushed for this measure "as we believe that the employees should not suffer for the Office of Security's inability to decide what it wants to do," said Hays. Last, the bill provides for members of the Foreign Service to vote in federal elections from the state they last resided in before entering the Service.

## Shultz Would Quit Before Taking Lie Test in Probe: Time

Secretary of State George P. Shultz "was among those who let the White House know that he would resign before allowing himself to be strapped to a polygraph machine" in conjunction with an FBI probe of a leak from a secret National Security Council meeting, *Time* magazine reported in its December 5 issue. White House Chief of Staff James Baker III and deputy Michael K. Deaver also expressed concern over the use of a lie detector in the investigation.

The *Time* report came at the same time that the administration is attempting to implement a national security directive issued last March and since amended that calls for polygraph investigations of federal employees accused of leaking classified information and random tests of those who handle information on intelligence sources and methods, whether or not they are suspected of revealing information.

Commenting on the FBI investigation, the *Washington Post* said that lie detectors "clear the guilty and implicate the innocent in such an unnervingly large number of cases" that they are not usable as evidence in courts. Similarly, the congressional Office of Technology Assessment has said that "the risk of misidentifying truthful persons as deceptive is great in these new policies," according to a report by the House Committee on Government Operations that concludes the directive's policies "should not be implemented."

Though the State, Defense, and Justice departments could only come up with one confirmed report of such a leak when asked, according to Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R.-Maryland), the Justice Department nonetheless is still backing the directive.

AFSA has testified on the directive in the House, and Congress later postponed the use of lie detectors for random testing (as well as a provision mandating lifetime censorship of writings of former officials who handled especially sensitive information) until April 15.

## Bookfair '83 Receipts a Record \$70,000



Bookfair volunteers take a moment to speak with AAFSW Honorary President Helena Shultz (right). From left, they are Volunteer Chairman Audrey Mertens, AAFSW President Sue Parsons, Gladys Baker, and Bookfair Chairman Marlen Neumann.

Gross receipts from the Association of American Foreign Service Women's Bookfair '83 topped \$70,000, a record nearly \$5,000 higher than the previous mark. Proceeds from the bookfair benefit the AFSA/AAFSW scholarship fund and community projects.

All sections of the fair contributed to the success, according to Bookfair Chairman Marlen Neumann, including stamps, collector's items, art objects,

foreign language books, and the usual strong showing by paperbacks, fiction, and non-fiction. Neumann pointed out that the week-long fair was actually a year-long activity. Collections for the next fair begin just after the current one closes, and AAFSW maintains its Book Room adjacent to the State cafeteria year round. Volunteers are welcome to call Book Room supervisor Maggie Morse at (202) 385-3852.

## Chapters Join AFSA in Protesting Hollings Remark

Several AFSA chapters have joined the Association in protesting a remark by Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D.-South Carolina) shortly after the bombing of the Marine headquarters in Beirut last October that the United States should "put 1600 striped-pants diplomats right out on the end of the [Beirut Airport] runway," where the Marines are based. The senator and presidential candidate's statement was meant to express impatience at administration efforts to reach a diplomatic solution to the Lebanese civil war, according to the *Washington Post*.

"Taken at face value your statement does a great disservice to the Foreign Service and to the memory of our colleagues who have died trying to bring peace to Lebanon," said AFSA President Dennis K. Hays in a letter to Hollings protesting the remark. The letter was mailed after a call to the senator's office seeking an explanation did not result in a retraction or clarification. Hays went on to list 11 terrorists attacks on diplomatic personnel or facilities in Lebanon since 1970, including kidnappings, murders, and rocket attacks. The most recent was a rocket grenade launched at the embassy a few weeks before the senator's remark.

Hollings's statement was "appalling" said AFSA chapters in Lilongwe and Belgrade, the latter adding that it was "irresponsible and disrespectful" as well. Ankara called it "belittling" and observed that "terrorists do not make distinctions between military and diplomatic targets."

"We are shocked," said Rangoon. "We who have to live daily with the threat to our lives and property are outraged that Hollings would make such a remark," said Damascus. Chapters in Harare, Vienna, and Sofia also expressed concern and supported the Association's position.

Hollings administrative assistant Michael J. Copps responded to Hays's letter. Since Secretary of State George P. Shultz had told the senator that the Marines were in Lebanon as a "presence," said Copps, Hollings felt that "State Department diplomats could demonstrate that as well as 1600 Marines sitting on the edge of a runway waiting to be killed." Copps went on to note the senator's long-standing support for the For-

ign Service, and the Service's support for his efforts to enhance diplomatic protection. "There is no need to remind him of those sacrifices via a list as though he had never heard of them....He does not always agree with State Department policy, but that does not translate into impugning the dedication of the many able Foreign Service officers charged with carrying it out."

Hays wrote back to Copps asking that Hollings himself be informed of the Association's concerns. "If you think we are taking this personally, you are right," he said.

At the time we went to press in late December, neither Copps nor Hollings had responded to the second letter.

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## Helms Says Foreign Service Employees Are Overpaid

Senator Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina) has gone on record expressing the belief that a disproportionate number of Foreign Service employees in the State Department are ranked at the so-called "supergrades"—Senior Foreign Service equivalents of GS-16 and above. Helms introduced an amendment to the State authorization bill which would have had the Office of Personnel Management oversee a study of the comparability of Foreign Service and Civil Service pay. The amendment was dropped in conference with the House.

Helms said that the department has a higher ratio of employees in the supergrades than any other agency. Senator Claiborne Pell (D.-Rhode Island), ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee and a former Foreign Service officer, did not dispute Helms but noted that a study on this issue by Hay Associates concluded that Foreign Service personnel in the middle ranges were underpaid when compared with Civil Service employees. AFSA has pointed out that Helms has failed to take into consideration the different nature of work and responsibilities in the Foreign Service. The committee will be reviewing the Foreign Service Act and pay issues early this year.

"Hay Associates is the most respected comparability firm in the world," noted AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. "It is our hope that when the senator is made aware of all the facts he will lead the fight to increase our pay."

## Department Awards Danger Pay for Kuwait Embassy

In accordance with a clarification sponsored by AFSA in the recently passed State Department authorization bill, the department has authorized danger pay for Foreign Service employees posted in Kuwait. The move followed the terrorist bombing there last month that claimed the lives of several Foreign Service national employees.

"The Association commends the department for quick action in implementing this provision of the Foreign Service Act in accordance with the measure sponsored by our organization last October," said AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. Hays went on to say that AFSA is examining ways in which danger pay can be awarded to appropriate posts before a tragedy forces action.

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## USIA Standing Notes Merger of FSIO and FSO Corps

The State Department authorization bill that was signed into law last fall contains language that finally merges the Foreign Service information corps with the Foreign Service corps, the USIA Standing Committee has noted. The measure fulfills the intention of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to create a unified Foreign Service.

The action came as the result of a Senate amendment to the bill that was approved in slightly modified form in conference. The final version states that members of the Foreign Service of all agencies are to be given the opportunity to compete for chief of mission positions and to compete on an equal basis for assignments outside their area of specialization.

"This effort does not threaten the independence of any single agency and its management of its own personnel," the *Congressional Record* noted, "but does highlight the need for all foreign affairs agencies to work together." It is the intent of Congress, the *Record* said, that the members of the Foreign Service must be provided opportunities to cross agency lines to obtain broad experience in an effort to develop effective skills and a meaningful career pattern.

## Life and Love in the Foreign Service



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—ROBERT MONTGOMERY, Washington

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"Baby, you know I'll do what I can. Just tell your brother to call me up at BEX if he still wants to be an FSO when he leaves the Redskins."  
—BOB FOUCHE, Washington

We are currently receiving more than three dozen replies to each installment of LIFE AND LOVE, from which an ad hoc committee of AFSA staffers and board members selects each month's winner and honorable mentions. The former receives a certificate for a free lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club, the latter a voucher good for a free carafe of wine with lunch. Send entries for Competition #7 to:

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Contest deadline  
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### COMPETITION #7



## Carlucci to Speak at Club in Journal Lecture Series

Retired Career Minister Frank Carlucci, chairman of the Commission on Security and Economic Assistance, will be the first speaker in the *Foreign Service Journal* 60th Anniversary Lecture series on Friday, February 3, at noon in the Foreign Service Club. His remarks at the luncheon will address the recommendations made by the so-called Carlucci Commission, formed by President Reagan to evaluate the future of U.S. foreign assistance.

Carlucci is a retired Foreign Service officer with wide high-level government experience. In addition to serving as ambassador to Portugal, he has been under secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and deputy secretary of defense. He has also been director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and director of the Office of Management and Budget. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations



Frank Carlucci

and the National Academy of Public Administration.

One of the principal recommendations of the Carlucci Commission is the formation of a Mutual Development and Security Agency to embrace all the foreign assistance programs now run by several agencies, including those currently in AID. Persons wishing to attend the lecture, which includes luncheon, are asked to call AFSA at 338-4045.

## NAPA Study Calls For More Careerists in Appointive Posts

Presidents should draw more heavily on career officials as a "valuable source of presidential appointees," the National Academy of Public Administration concluded in a recent study of the federal appointment process. "It is ironic that presidential recruiters often overlook one of the country's most fertile sources of potential presidential appointees."

The study by the private group, based on interviews with personnel experts in administrations from Truman's to Reagan's, also called for salary increases for government employees. The report went on to note that lack of prescribed procedures and personnel resources have hindered administrations in finding enough top talent to fill the 3000 highest appointive posts.

Candidates' tendencies to criticize government workers during campaigns exert "a price once the candidate takes office," said G. Calvin MacKenzie, one of the report's authors.

## Face-to-Face: AFSA Cosponsors Off-the-Record Talks

One of Washington's most prestigious forums for discussion of foreign affairs is the Face-to-Face program, which is supported by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and co-sponsored by AFSA. Although similar to the Secretary's Open Forum run by the State Department in its effort to promote the free exchange of ideas, Face-to-Face brings together members of both the official foreign policy community as well as private American citizens concerned with international affairs. The primary objective of the program, established in 1971, is "to improve understanding of international issues through direct communication between government officials and private citizens."

The Face-to-Face dialogue is usually organized around a dinner at the Carnegie Conference Center on Dupont Circle. The atmosphere is informal and civil. The discussion which follows a featured speaker's opening remarks is always off-the-record, as much to protect the speaker as to encourage other guests to speak up and be candid in their comments.

The director of Face-to-Face is traditionally a Foreign Service officer who takes a year of leave from the State Department to serve in the position. The Carnegie Endowment pays the director—matching his or her Foreign Service salary—and provides the facilities and budget for a schedule of programs which are held on the average of three times per month. The position and the stimulating environment of the endowment provide a rare opportunity for young officers to affect policy, albeit indirectly, by drawing the foreign affairs community's attention to specific issues or processes.

Face-to-Face cannot compete with television in reaching a mass audience and raising the level of public awareness of international events. However, the views which are aired at Face-to-Face meetings often do reach the general public since many of the experts seen on *Nightline* and the producers of programs like *The MacNeill/Lehrer News Hour* regularly attend the discussions for their own intellectual nourishment and to expand their network of professional contacts.

Each Face-to-Face session brings together up to 60 of America's foreign policy professionals, including representa-



tives from the executive agencies, Congress, media, think tanks, universities, public-interest groups, and the business world as well as unaffiliated individuals. Every effort is made to ensure that views representing the full range of the political spectrum are included. Heritage Foundation conservatives regularly join Institute for Policy Studies liberals at programs on a wide variety of issues. Similarly, partisans of domestic interests groups, such as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and National Association of Arab Americans, or representatives of the AFL-CIO and U.S. Chamber of Commerce, participate in exchanges on issues of mutual concern. Such interaction bears witness to the appropriateness of the Face-to-Face logo.

What attracts such an important and diverse group of people, who often sacrifice relaxed evenings at home with their families in order to attend, is the timeliness of the issue being discussed and draw of the speakers. Interests among Washington's foreign policy community vary greatly, from the crisis in Central America or Third World debt payments to East-West relations or NATO defense issues.

Most Washingtonians share the general public's fascination with the famous and powerful. Lining up the ideal speaker on a particular issue can be far more difficult than the timing of a discussion, however, since Face-to-Face does not offer honoraria, a reward which many speakers in demand have come to expect in exchange for their recipes for solving the world's problems. The program benefits greatly from tips on who is in town from an informal network of State Department officials. And, when a foreign affairs notable is featured, the response is usually enthusiastic. Recently, for example, the Soviet Union's top-ranking expert on the United States,

Georgi Arbatov, agreed to speak at Face-to-Face while on a visit to Washington. More than forty of our own Soviet experts immediately accepted telephone invitations to the meeting within a three-hour period. The response was fueled to a great degree, no doubt, by the speaker's fame as a guest on late-night television (facilitated by satellite transmission) and the State Department's prohibition against his being interviewed by the media during his visit.

Many high-level officials presumably prefer to make use of the precious time available to them for appearances by speaking directly to the general public. This also enables them to avoid direct scrutiny by experts or the need to respond to the barbs of their critics. However, several others among this administration's decision-makers and spokesmen on foreign policy have chosen to take advantage of Face-to-Face to explain and help mobilize support for their positions. Those who have accepted the challenge have encountered a very attentive audience and often considered it a rewarding experience.

It is my hope that this explanation of Face-to-Face's objectives and operations will raise awareness of the program. As an auxiliary activity of AFSA, Face-to-Face provides an unusual opportunity for members to participate in, and hopefully contribute to, stimulating discussions on issues of fundamental importance to their professional endeavors. For the individual chosen to serve as its director, which I was for 1982-83, it is also a unique opportunity to be exposed to both a broad range of international issues and an important cross-section of the Washington foreign affairs community. The new director, Kenneth J. Dillon, is listed on the masthead. I hope AFSA members will feel free to call him with suggestions or comments. —MARK L. WIZNITZER

# AFSA's 1983 Foreign Service Tax Guide

AFSA'S FOREIGN SERVICE TAX GUIDE is published annually as a service to our members. It is written by Members' Interests Coordinator Sabine Sisk based on the professional advice and expertise of R.N. (Bob) Dussell, an enrolled federal tax agent. Mr. Dussell has been AFSA's tax consultant since he retired as AID's chief tax adviser in 1972 and has provided counsel to hundreds of AFSA members—often free of charge. Mr. Dussell operates his tax practice at 3601 N. Fairfax Drive, Arlington, Virginia 22201.



R.N. (Bob) Dussell

Tax returns of employees of the foreign affairs agencies, like all Americans', will be considerably affected this year by passage of the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982. TEFRA considerably tightens certain tax preferences and increases some excise taxes. It should produce \$98.3 billion in additional revenue over the next three years.

For the Foreign Service employee, questions on domicile and home-leave deductions continue to be major tax problems. We have, therefore, reprinted those sections from last year's Foreign Service Tax Guide. Updates and changes resulting from TEFRA and the 1981 tax act, as well as other important provisions, are highlighted in boldface type. As in the past, we emphasize those provisions that affect members of the Foreign Service.

## Beware the audit

The 1982 tax bill and its predecessor in 1981 provide stringent penalties for fudging on tax requirements and give the Internal Revenue Service additional power to prosecute abusive tax shelters. The IRS's mammoth computer in Martinsburg, West Virginia, will match at least 97 percent of income statements from employees, banks, brokers, etc., against individual tax returns.

The best strategy is to prepare a tax return as if it will be audited. Proper records and receipts must be kept, particularly in problem areas that are often subject to challenge, such as deductions for home-leave expenses. Because estimates will not stand up in an audit, all required documentation should be organized and available. Hang on to those records, although this might be cumbersome for the ever-mobile Foreign Service employee. The IRS has three years from the filing date (no time limit if fraud is suspected) to audit your return. Frequently, it only gets around to scrutinizing returns the third and last year.

Being chosen for an audit does not necessarily mean that the IRS suspects something. Your name may have been drawn by the Martinsburg computer for a random audit to gather compliance statistics. Your expenses may be out of proportion to your income when compared with the national average. Or it may be the result of an informed tip that the IRS is checking for possible tax fraud. Readers should know they can possibly get out of an audit if the same point of contention has been examined in the two previous years with no change made to the tax. If this is your case, request the IRS to cancel the audit.

Audits are normally handled in some combination of three ways: correspondence, office visit, or field investigation. More than likely a taxpayer overseas will face only a correspondence audit, at least at first. If a reply is required, do it promptly and submit copies—never originals—of whatever documents are requested.

The taxpayer must decide whether to represent him or herself, or use the services of a person authorized to represent taxpayers before the Treasury Department, such as an enrolled tax agent, a certified public accountant, or a tax attorney. In most cases, correspondence audits and simpler visits or investigations can be handled by the individual. If the issues are unclear or technical in nature, however, the taxpayer will almost always fare better with professional representation.

Always furnish any proof required by the IRS but never provide more than requested, since it is not good policy to volunteer added or unrelated information during an examination. If the auditor decides an added tax assessment is required—a fancy way of saying "pay up"—do not be stampeded into accepting it. Take a few days to think it over and perhaps to discuss it with your tax consultant. Then advise the auditor whether you accept or disagree with the determination.

If you disagree, you have three immediate courses open to you: One, an informal conference with the auditor's superior; two, an appellate hearing; and three, the tax court. As a last, desperate attempt, you can pay the tax and then file a claim for a refund.

Problems calling for an audit tend to fall into three categories: One, unreported income; two, overstated expenses; or three, items with a contrary view on taxability or deductibility. If unreported income is the problem, and if it is of a substantial amount, the IRS may be

considering a fraud investigation. Fraud investigations are conducted by a special agent and a field revenue agent. If such agents call on you, tax counsel is strongly recommended at once, as would be counsel in any civil or criminal proceeding. One factor in the taxpayer's favor, however, is that, unlike normal audits, in a fraud case the burden of proof is on the IRS.

## Home-leave expenses

Under Revenue Ruling 82-2, substantiated home leave expenses of Foreign Service employees are deductible business-travel expenses. It took major court battles before the IRS agreed that home leave is mandatory for Foreign Service employees and that expenses incurred may therefore not be classified as "personal in nature." However, the IRS continues to view the deductions with suspicion and has found a new way to disallow deductions in instances where the employee takes home leave and transfers to a new post. In *Bell v. United States* (1979) the court held that home-leave expenses were not deductible in this case, the court reasoning that the employee was not "away from home" because he had no residence to be away from. The IRS determination effectively precludes home-leave deductions for employees in a transitory state. Only those individuals who, after taking home leave, return to the same post of assignment can safely deduct expenses. As always, only substantiated expenses may be deducted. Apparently, not all IRS examiners are aware of the Bell decision; we only know of two instances where deductions were disallowed. One result of the decision may be to make deferred home leave more attractive.

Home-leave deductions are made on Form 2106, which results in adjustment to gross income. In this manner, the deductions are taken whether one itemizes or not. Only the employee may deduct home leave expenses. The IRS maintains that the expenses of your accompanying family are personal in nature and therefore are not deductible. Since there is often a fine line between the two, it is important to keep accurate and complete records. Do not use a per-diem rate.

It may be a good idea to record your travel in a diary. Write down where you stay and when, plus mileage whether you rent a car or use your own. Keep all receipts for lodging and food, as well as for travel expenses incurred within the United States, which may include air, rail, bus, taxi, car rental and/or mileage (20.5¢ per mile). Reasonable (\$14 a day for the first 30 days, \$9 a day thereafter) unsubstantiated daily food expenses are acceptable to the IRS as long as lodging receipts can be produced for those periods.

Attach a statement to Form 2106 explaining that you are a federal employee on overseas assignment, temporarily in the United States on mandatory home leave. Note home-leave dates and proceed to show the IRS how you arrived at the deductions by breaking the total amount into three categories: unreimbursed travel, lodging, and food. Do not submit receipts or your travel log unless requested. Because the IRS may ask for your home-leave orders, you should keep a copy with your records.

## Domicile vs. residence

The *domicile* is that U.S. state or district which is the taxpayer's permanent, legal, basic, "roots" home. The *residence* is where the taxpayer is physically living at the moment but often is not his or her "permanent" place of domicile, despite the ownership of property, etc., in the residence jurisdiction.

Domicile requirements remain a major tax problem for Foreign Service employees who are unfamiliar with the law and do not consider themselves liable to pay state income taxes while residing abroad. Few were penalized for this assumption until several years ago, when states began an intensive survey of residents and former residents who had not been paying state income taxes. Once the state catches on, the rude awakening can mean large back taxes, along with stiff fines for penalties and interest.

Do you have a domicile? Yes. Court decisions have made it clear

that every citizen has a right to vote and most consequently have a domicile in the United States from which he or she can do so. There are exceptions, such as retirees living more or less permanently abroad, who retain citizenship without having a U.S. domicile. Federal government employees abroad are, however, absent for a fixed time period with an eventual return to the United States. Therefore, they must have a domicile to which they can return. Consequently, you may be paying for services not received while living abroad.

Remember, though, that tax liability is a result of law, not bureaucratic decisions. With increasing frequency states are challenging the domiciliary status claimed. The mere desire to change domicile for tax purposes will not satisfy the challenging state. In fact, rest assured that it will check with the state you claim as your domicile to see if you are indeed registered there.

The following factors are normally considered when attempting to resolve a domicile problem:

- State of birth and schooling while under parental control and from which federal service was entered;

- State of domicile after schooling years and from which military service was performed and where veteran's allowance, educational allowance, etc., could be obtained;

- State of family ties, including burial plot and church affiliation;

- State of personal, fraternal, or society affiliations;

- State of legal voting status or where you could exercise civil rights or where your will would be probated;

- State where you maintain a bank account, own real property, or hold other business investments;

- State where your auto is titled and in which you carry a valid driver's license;

- State where Foreign Service home leave is taken or state to which you intend to return after government service.

None of these factors by itself will determine domicile, but they each contribute to the final determination. As stated previously, in addition to the finer points of domicile determination, the all important "intention" factor must be taken into account. Even a slight alteration of a single fact, innocent as it may appear to the taxpayer at the time, can lead to a change in domicile. Thus, all too often a change in domicile is the unintended result of a small action on the part of a taxpayer.

You may become a *resident* in another state while maintaining your domicile. When you move to Virginia or Maryland while on Washington assignment, you will become a tax-paying resident if you live in these states for at least six months. If you are domiciled in another state that has income taxes, you may be subject to double taxation, with a share of your maximum tax liability going to each state.

Foreign Service personnel residing in the District of Columbia must pay income taxes, unless they are commissioned by the president and confirmed by the Senate and maintain a domicile elsewhere. Foreign Service officers in AID who are now commissioned as a result of efforts undertaken by AFSA to gain them that status should take note of this provision.

When you leave your temporary state of residence be sure to inform that state's tax department to avoid later problems. Most states provide a form for this purpose. There are, of course, some states that do not have income taxes and others that only tax profits from sale of property or bonds. In addition, some states exempt domiciliaries as long as they live outside the state. For more details on domicile questions, ask the AFSA office for its "Domicile vs. Residence" guidelines.

## Representation expenses

Foreign Service personnel are permitted a tax deduction for representation expenses in excess of allowances or reimbursement, provided that:

- Such expenses are required of the officer in accordance with his or her rank and grade in the Foreign Service, and these requirements are included in the job description;

—Such expenses would be reimbursable if the employing agency had sufficient funds for such payments;

—A certificate is obtained from an authorized officer attesting that such expenses were incurred for the benefit of the United States and that due to insufficient funds no reimbursement was possible for the year involved. This certificate must be attached to the tax return. An itemized list should be attached to any return claiming such deductions showing the date and type of expense, when it was incurred, and its relationship to Foreign Service activity. One item not allowed is the amount an officer must personally bear, according to grade, for certain household expenses over and above the allowances.

Ordinary trade and business expenses of a Foreign Service employee, in excess of any reimbursements, are also deductible and cover items such as AFSA dues, professional publications, business cards, and the like, as long as the records show them to be directly connected with the employee's official assignment.

Remember, such expenses are only permitted when the taxpayer uses Schedule 1040A, itemized expenses.

Last year the IRS issued a ruling allowing deductions for nonreimbursable ordinary and necessary business expenses incurred by a Foreign Service spouse. This gives statutory recognition to the official nature of many activities undertaken by Foreign Service spouses on behalf of the government. Some examples might be transportation, child care, or special clothing.

## Educational expenses

While in salary status, expenses for meals, lodging, books, supplies, and other expenses required for training that are not reimbursed are shown on Schedule 2106 and are normally deductible. Expenses of family members are specifically excluded. A statement from the director of training or other appropriate official should be attached to the return to show the requirement for the training and its temporary nature plus the amount of per diem, if any, paid by the agency.

Training expenses while on "leave without pay" taken to enhance professional background for greater responsibility as a Foreign Service employee are deductible only if a statement attached to your return shows that such full-time study was directly related to improvement of your capacity to perform Foreign Service assignments. The IRS will not permit deductions if they are in any way incurred to meet minimum requirements of your position or to qualify you for a new profession.

## Moving Expenses

Unreimbursed moving expenses may be deducted if the move was necessary to begin work in a new location. For Foreign Service personnel this would apply to costs for shipping household effects *in excess* of the weight allowance, storage expenses, shipment of pets and second automobiles, and travel and transfer expenses in excess of per diem or other travel and transfer allowances. This includes costs incurred in the selling or purchase of an old or new residence as the result of a change in job location. The same applies to costs of settling an old lease or the acquisition of a new lease. Also deductible are broker's commissions, lawyer's fees, closing costs, fees, and points (to the extent not claimed as interest). If treated as a moving expense, these deductions cannot be used to establish the cost basis of the old or new residence. Taxpayers should analyze their situation to see which method gives the best tax advantage.

Special and more generous rules apply to foreign moves, i.e. from the United States to a foreign country or from one foreign country to another. A move from abroad to the United States does not qualify as a foreign move unless it is in connection with bona-fide retirement or the move of a spouse or dependent of a deceased person whose principal place of work was outside the United States at the time of death.

To deduct unreimbursed moving expenses use and follow the instructions on Form 3903 for domestic moves and Form 3903F for foreign moves.

## Form 1040EZ

This simplified form applies to single taxpayers with no dependents who are not 65 or older or blind and whose taxable income is under \$50,000. Income must consist only of wages, salaries, tips, and interest up to \$400. You cannot use this form if you had dividend income or if you itemize deductions.

## Alternative minimum tax revision

The revised alternative minimum tax is a real sleeper that has not been publicized much. It closes a loophole for taxpayers with above-average long-term capital gains, tax-favored preferences such as depletion-intangibles-excessive depreciation, stock-option incentives, etc., by eliminating preferential tax treatment to avoid payment of any taxes. The AMT amounts to a flat rate of 20 percent that is triggered only when the AMT computation is greater than the normal income-tax computations. If you believe that the AMT revisions apply to you, take care to check the specific changes along with details on Form 6251.

## Working couples credit

If you liked the 5-percent tax reduction last year, you will get double the satisfaction this year. The new credit amounts to 10 percent of the income earned by the lower-paid spouse. This includes wages, salaries, and other amounts for personal services actually rendered. Deferred income and wages exempt from Social Security because an individual is in the employ of his or her spouse are excluded from this deduction. The maximum credit allowed is \$3000 and must be adjusted for any deduction—i.e., an IRA, moving or business expenses, etc.—claimed by the lower-income-earning spouse. Adjusted gross income is computed on Form 1040W. Consequently, taxpayers may claim this deduction even if they do not itemize on 1040A.

## Interest and dividends

Dividend income of \$100 (\$200 joint) may be excluded. There is no exclusion for interest income. Originally, TEFRA called for financial institutions to begin withholding 10 percent of interest and dividends earned by individuals, but for the time being Congress repealed this provision because of protests by the public and savings institutions. However, as of December 31, 1983, taxpayers are required to furnish banking institutions and brokerage houses with their social security numbers to avoid an automatic 20-percent withholding.

## Energy credit

A maximum credit of \$300 (15 percent of \$2000) is allowed. Any balance not used in previous years can be claimed on your 1983 return up to the \$300 maximum. See Form 5695 for details.

## Political contributions

A political donation credit of 50 percent of the first \$200 in donations is allowed on joint returns. Single returns may get the credit at one-half the joint-return amount. You need not itemize to gain this credit.

## Child-care credit

Employment-related expenses eligible for the child-care credit are allowed up to \$2400 per qualifying individual (\$4800 for two or more qualifying dependents). Details are fully covered in instructions on the back of Form 2441. The law also makes outside-the-home expenses creditable for all qualifying individuals as long as they regularly spend

at least eight hours a day in the taxpayer's household. This precludes the credit for expenses incurred in connection with full-time institutional care.

## Estate and gift taxes

The unified credit allowed was increased in 1981 from \$47,000 to \$192,800, to be fully phased in by 1987. At that time this increase will be equivalent to a tax exemption of up to \$600,000.

The maximum gift and estate tax rates are being reduced by 5 percent each year. It follows that after 1986 only few estates will be subject to estate taxes. The 1981 act also removed the ceilings on marital deductions so that any amounts left at the death of a spouse are exempt from estate taxes. This permits lifetime and testamentary transfers between spouses completely free of gift and estate taxes.

An annual \$10,000 tax-free gift allowance may be granted to as many individuals as desired. Under the gift-splitting provisions for couples, up to \$20,000 may be given to a donee each calendar year.

## Medical deductions

Beginning with 1983 returns, all medical deductions will be limited to the excess over 5 percent of adjusted gross income. (The previous limit was 3 percent). In addition, medical insurance paid by you must be added to other medical expenses. Over-the-counter drugs such as aspirin, cold remedies, etc., are still deductible. However, as of 1984, only prescription drugs and insulin may be claimed.

The cost of a diet or exercise program is deductible if such treatment was recommended by your physician to alleviate a medical problem. When claiming this deduction, you should get a statement to this effect from your doctor.

## Casualty and theft losses

The casualty and theft loss provisions have been tightened. Only substantial losses have a chance of qualifying. A deduction is only allowed to the extent that the loss, after insurance reimbursements and minus \$100 for each loss, exceeds 10 percent of adjusted gross income.

## Building costs

If you construct a home or add on to your present one, you may claim a separate deduction for the sales tax on building materials, as long as you paid for the materials yourself. If you use a contractor who pays for the materials and bills you later for the total cost of the construction, you may not claim the deduction. Have an understanding with your contractor that you want to pay for all materials or that you wish to be billed directly by the supplier. Be sure, however, that the supplier still offers the standard discount provided to contractors.

## Home computers

You may deduct the cost of a home computer and its software on a pro-rata basis if the primary reason for the purchase was for business or investment use. There is a five-year recovery period for depreciation, along with an investment credit on the business portion. The cost of the software, however, may only be deducted in the year of the purchase.

## Foreign-earned income exclusion

Government employees are not eligible for this exclusion, nor are spouses who perform personal services for a government agency while overseas. As long as the agency has direct supervision over the work performed and furnishes space and facilities, you are considered a

government employee, regardless of part-time or contract status. There are, however, certain jobs performed by spouses or other individuals that qualify for the exclusion even though funds are ultimately paid by the government. These would include certain teaching jobs or performance as an independent contracting business or as a consultant.

To be eligible under these circumstances, you must have been out of the United States for 330 days of a 12-month period, a distinct improvement over the old law, which required 510 days of an 18-month period.

## Sale of personal residence

Capital gains on the sale of personal residence may be deferred if a new residence of equal or greater value is purchased within two years (four years if overseas). The deferral provision does not apply to property used in trade or business or for the production of income. Foreign Service employees are affected by this caveat when they rent their personal residences while serving overseas. The IRS maintains that rental property does not qualify for special tax treatment. In *Trisko vs. Commissioner* (1972) (Rev. Rule 59-72), however, the tax court held that the personal residence of a Foreign Service employee retains that status even if temporarily rented prior to sale. In distinguishing personal residence from investment property the chief tests remain:

- Is the property the taxpayer's principal residence?
- Did the taxpayer reside in the property prior to being sent abroad?
- Did the taxpayer intend to return to the residence upon completion of overseas duty?

A copy of the *Trisko* decision may be requested from AFSA.

Taxpayers 55 years or older are granted a one-time tax exclusion of \$125,000 on capital gains upon sale of a personal residence. To be eligible for the exclusion, the taxpayer must have owned and lived in the residence for three years of the five prior to the sale. Foreign Service personnel often cannot meet this requirement due to their extensive overseas service and, unlike in the *Trisko* case, this issue has never been tested in court. AFSA asked the IRS for a ruling exempting Foreign Service personnel from the three-out-of-five rule but withdrew the request after being informed that we could expect an adverse decision. The IRS suggested instead that we approach Congress for an amendment to the law, which would provide relief for special employment categories which cannot meet the residency requirements. Representative Charles B. Rangel (D.-N.Y.) is considering sponsoring such an amendment to the statute. We urge Foreign Service employees to contact him at 2432 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

## Job hunting expenses

The following expenses in connection with the search for a new job in the same or similar trade or profession of previous employment may be deducted:

- The cost of resumes, stationery, printing, postage, etc.;
- Job counseling, testing, or employment-agency fees;
- Long distance calls to set up appointments, etc.;
- Overnight expenses in connection with job interviews. These includes meals, lodging, and travel.

## Individual Retirement Accounts

As we have previously stated in our financial planning column, an IRA is one of the best tax shelters available. It results in an immediate tax reduction, and interest accumulates tax free until withdrawal. The only disadvantage is that you cannot withdraw funds until age 59½ without incurring a 10 percent penalty plus tax liability on the amount withdrawn. You have until April 15 to lower your 1983 tax liability by starting an IRA and getting the deduction on your 1983 return.

# Fact:

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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