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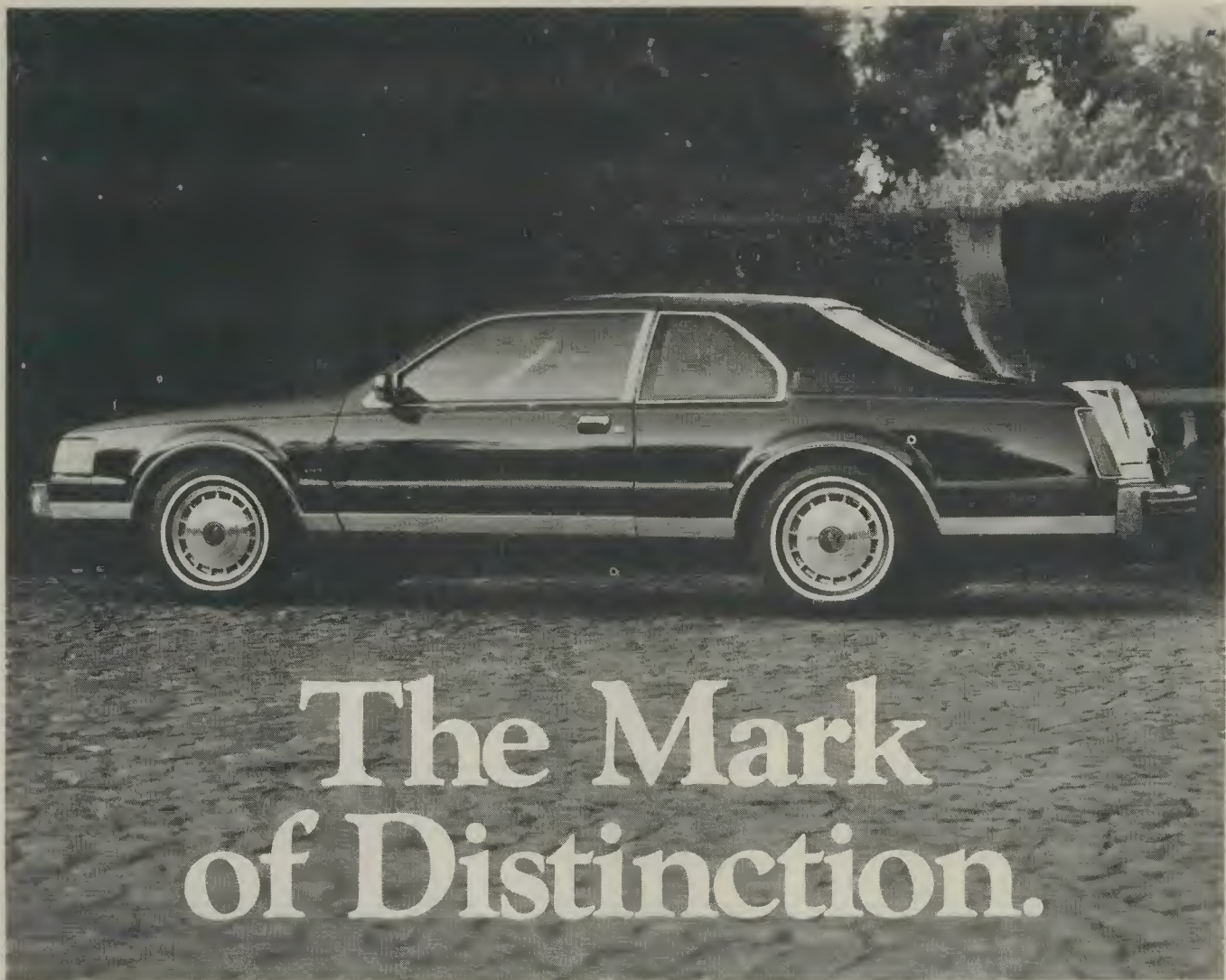
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The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is one of Congress's most prestigious bodies, yet it has taken a secondary role to the executive branch in the formulation of foreign policy. Even though the Constitution gives the lead in foreign policy to the president, says author Patricia Cohen, the committee could play a larger role by using the opportunities and mechanisms available to it more effectively.

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CONTENTS

Strategic Partners19

John Hoyt Williams

The United States should seek closer ties with Brazil, an embryonic democracy and established regional power.

Suggestion Box: Retiring with Grace24

Michael Speers

How the people who manage the retirement system in AID could smooth the passage to a second life.

A Blunt Instrument26

Patricia Cohen

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is too dull a tool to lead foreign policy, but it could be sharpened.

Other Foreign Services: Canada34

Mary Ann Simpkins

Not by act but by commission, Canada's diplomats are initiating reforms that parallel the United States'.

Journal: Pinch-hitting for LBJ38

William M. Owen

When the vice president picks you to replace him for a speaking engagement, you don't bat an eye.

Association Views3 Clippings17

Letters4 10-25-5018

Books7 People43

Diplomacy15 Association News46

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Three Steps on Terrorism

As members of the Foreign Service we accept a lot in the course of our work—from living in war zones and unhealthy climates to the many sacrifices made by our families. Yet one aspect of life abroad, terrorism, is not something we can simply adjust to or learn to live with. There is no acceptable level of assassinations and kidnappings.

The first step in combating terrorism is to continue to improve the physical security of our people and missions overseas. Much has been done but much more remains. Both quick-fix and long-term improvements are required. The Department of State is now spending more than 15 percent of its operating budget for protection, but we must ensure that red tape and bureaucratic inertia do not slow money and effort from being applied where the need is greatest.

The second step is to toughen our laws and improve intragovernmental coordination. In his State of the Union speech, President Reagan addressed the need to combat the ugly specter of global terrorism and the Department of Justice is preparing legislation to strengthen U.S. law in this area. This momentum must be maintained. It is crucial that all of the agencies of the United States, both those concerned with foreign affairs and those such as the FBI with primarily domestic responsibilities, work together to overcome this threat.

The third step will require concerted international cooperation. We will never be able to stop terrorism by ourselves. The threat is international and efforts toward a solution must be international. In 1978 the industrial nations gathered in Bonn and issued a convention against aerial hijacking that called for sanctions against nations which do not punish or extradite skyjackers. It has been very successful. We believe that the nations which will meet at the Economic Summit in London this June should use that forum to achieve an accord on concerted international action against this threat not only to diplomacy but to world peace.

At present the terrorist holds the high cards, including the choice of time and place to strike. We must take the offensive against terrorism and do everything we can to blunt their advances—rip away the anonymity they hide behind, disrupt their supply lines, restrict their movements, and finally capture, try, and punish them. Nothing less will do.

DENNIS K. HAYS
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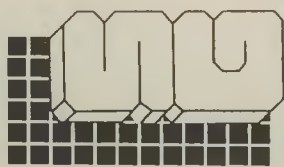
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LETTERS

and resistance in South Africa and to win votes for the diehard conservatives.

ARMISTEAD LEE
Foreign Service Officer, retired
 Arlington, Virginia

Food for Thought

Robert Hathaway has written an informative and wide-ranging article on "Food Power" in the December issue. His conclusions, I think, ate right on target. As a former practitioner of the use of food power, however, I would like to quibble over a few minor points.

First, Mr. Hathaway asserts that the "publicly stated purpose" of the 1980 grain embargo was to force withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. However, the January 4, 1980, announcement by President Carter includes no such statement. The thrust of the president's remarks was that the embargo was a symbolic act, an indication of displeasure, a sign that we could not continue to do business as before. "The Soviets," he asserted, "must understand our deep concern." Indeed, President Carter was no more specific about the purpose of the embargo than to declare that "neither the United States nor any other nation which is committed to world peace and stability can continue to do business as usual with the Soviet Union."

Therein, of course, lay a fatal flaw of the embargo: even if it had been economically sustainable, which it was not, it left the question open of when and under what circumstances the embargo would or could be lifted. In other words, at some point the Carter administration would face the dilemma of how to back away from the embargo without having achieved a specific objective. Defeat at the polls removed this dilemma. I would note, parenthetically, that the Reagan administration faced a similar dilemma after having decided, as one of the "Polish sanctions" of December 1981, not to renegotiate the bilateral grain agreement with the Soviet Union.

Second, Mr. Hathaway states that the newly negotiated bilateral agreement "includes a provision expressly forbidding the United States from resorting to [another embargo]." In fact, the relevant article of the agreement, Article II, is unchanged from that in the original agreement except for using the phrase "commodities" instead of "wheat and corn." In both cases the United States is enjoined from invoking "discretionary authority" to "control exports" of the quantities which the Soviets ate permitted to import under Article I of the agreement—9 to 12 million tons

Good Gluck!

Your readers will be aware of a recent regulation "automatically" barring mid-level Foreign Service officers from becoming ambassadors or deputy chiefs of mission in class one or class two posts.

This makes mid-level FSOs the only adult citizens of the United States barred from such jobs. As abundant experience proves, no one else is similarly constrained, regardless of qualification, experience, ability, age, profession, knowledge, intelligence, or interest.

ROGER G. HARRISON
Political Officer
 London, United Kingdom

Constructive Criticism

As an old Africa hand, I wish to record my support for the fine statement on Southern Africa in the February issue by Assistant Secretary Chester Crocker. Every once in a while we are given a political appointee whom we must acknowledge to be a real professional.

Since I have admired Senator Tsongas so much on other issues, I found his effort to discredit constructive engagement disappointing, and as a devoted Democrat I hope this is not a foretaste of a platform plank. He affirms that a "major shift from current policy" is required because "it is dangerous for the United States to become associated with apartheid..." He then recommends several specific additional economic sanctions.

The logic of the senator's reasoning might be tested by the familiar technique of role reversal. How would he regard the advice of some hypothetical politician of some hypothetical trading partner who might argue—a few decades ago—that normal commercial relations had associated his country in American lapses from human rights, and that a policy of ordinary diplomatic and commercial relations had clearly failed because the U.S. government continued to tolerate segregated education and had even deported its citizens of Japanese ancestry from their homes in California?

The Tsongas prescription is ideally designed to encourage stubborn isolationism

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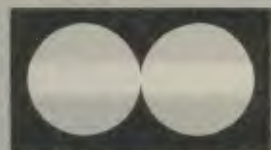
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under the new agreement—but both agreements provide (by not mentioning) the potential for imposing an embargo on additional amounts. The only difference in this area between the two agreements is that the original one gave the United States the right to limit the specified quantities in the event of a short supply of grain in the U.S.; no such provision exists in the new agreement.

Third, in his listing of the various purposes U.S. agricultural assistance has served, Mr. Hathaway refers to "humanitarian urges." I think that category should be expanded to include combining food aid with measures or conditions designed to bring about policy changes in the recipient country deemed to be more appropriate to its long-term economic development. Later in his article, Mr. Hathaway describes such efforts by the Johnson administration in India. Now, a large portion of food aid is linked, under legislation, to "self-help" measures to be undertaken by the aid recipient.

Finally, I would note that the article considers food power solely in terms of the export, or non-export, of food. While this is certainly the main means of exercising such power, it bears mention that the Reagan administration has used "food power"

recently in relation to imports, or to be more precise, to non-imports. I refer to the decision to reduce the Nicaraguan sugar quota sharply below that to which it had been entitled under our allocation formula. The intended—and presumably actual—result was both to give a political signal and to inflict economic punishment by restricting access to Nicaragua's main (and lucrative) market.

MICHAEL CALINGAERT
London, United Kingdom

ICA Revisited

Congratulations on your insightful and provocative coverage of USIA's checkered 30-year history and its current problems in the January issue. If there's a choice between Charles Wick's USIA and its late, unlamented relative—the ill-named and ill-conceived International Communication Agency—I'll take what we have now, warts and all.

During the ICA fiasco, we made ourselves increasingly irrelevant by devoting most of our efforts to a sterile and frustrating exercise in semantics that resulted in several million exotic definitions of the word "communication," few of which had

anything to do with the vital public diplomacy mission outlined so well in the pages of the JOURNAL by Daniel Southerland and Representative Dante Fascell. At least the issues we're debating now—satellite communications, innovative exchange-of-persons programs, and even alleged politization of the agency—are indeed relevant to implementation of our proper role within the foreign affairs community.

GUY W. FARMER
Counselor for Public Affairs
Lima, Peru

Clarification

A mistake was made in the printing of my article "Information and Development" in the January issue. The last sentence in the paragraph that begins "A few such inquiries..." (page 23) should read: "The drive of the foreign affairs agencies to obligate and spend their funds in the form of new programs and projects absorbs their bureaucratic energies, discouraging and resisting any activity *that is not subordinate to this drive.*"

BRANDON ROBINSON
Foreign Service Officer
Nairobi, Kenya

Colophon Criticism

I suspect that many of your readers may have difficulty in reading the very light-bodied typeface that you use for the articles and captions in your magazine. I find your body type considerably less legible, for example, than that used by such newspapers as the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*.

In all seriousness, I wish you would consider a heavier-bodied type that would improve legibility and give your general format a more forceful appearance. I think it would be an improvement, even if you couldn't squeeze in quite so many words.

DUNCAN SCOTT
Reston, Virginia

Advice is always welcome here. Our typeface—Garamond—is not as bold as that used in newspapers, for they must use a type designed to print well on pulp paper, but it is regarded as both one of the most handsome and legible of all time. In the words of J. Ben Lieberman, founder of the American Printing History Association, Garamond "has elegance, grace, freshness, restful legibility." About 400 years old, Garamond has stood the test of time and is one of the most popular text types in use today, particularly among scholarly, educational, and professional publications.—ED.

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BOOKS

Negotiating for Peace in the Middle East. By Ismail Fahmy. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983. \$25.

Sadat and Begin: The Domestic Politics of Peacemaking. By Melvin A. Friedlander. Westview Press, 1983. \$25.

Both of these books deal with the Mideast peace negotiations of the mid-1970s leading to the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty of 1979. Fahmy's covers the period from the 1973 war to his resignation as foreign minister in 1977. Friedlander's concentrates on the years 1977-79, a period that includes the efforts to establish the Geneva conference, the Soviet-American communique, the Sadat trip, the Camp David accords, and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty.

The Fahmy book is much to be preferred. It is a first-hand account: he was *there*, and he rarely cites sources other than his own memory and, presumably, notes. One must, of course, wonder how selective his memory has been in portraying his role as Egypt's foreign minister from 1973-77, and there must be lingering doubts about how good his foresight actually was.

Fahmy harbors a distrust of the United States and accuses it of providing personnel to help the Israelis in 1973. He shows a special distaste for Henry Kissinger, describing his vanity, his love of pomp and ceremony, and his duplicity. Indeed, he considers Kissinger an agent of the Israelis. He thinks highly of Carter and Vance but reserves his highest praise for Nixon, the "only American president who could bring about a comprehensive solution in the Middle East." Fahmy believes that the proposed Geneva conference could have led to peace but that both Begin and Sadat, for different reasons, wanted to sabotage the conference—and Sadat's trip to Jerusalem was the means of doing this. Fahmy is encouraged by the Reagan initiative but dismayed that it denies both Palestinian self-determination and a Palestinian state. Finally, the book contains far too many typographical and a few factual errors (e.g., he confuses the Straits of Tiran with the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb; he states that the U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces are based in Egypt).

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Friedlander's book is rather a disappointment; a tedious recitation that relies largely on Israeli sources, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post*. Although twice in the Mideast (1977 and 1981), he cites interviews with only two Israelis and one Egyptian. His other interviews were with highly knowledgeable American participants: Cyrus Vance, Alfred Atherton, William Quandt, Samuel Lewis, and Harold Saunders.

Friedlander agrees that both Sadat and Begin tried to undermine the Geneva conference and were dismayed by the U.S.-Soviet joint communique. His version of

the genesis of Sadat's Jerusalem trip differs from Fahmy's; the latter claims he was aware of the proposed trip well in advance and had urged Sadat not to go. Friedlander suggests that the Egyptian national security council had a lengthy, acrimonious discussion of the proposed trip; Fahmy claims there was no debate. Like Fahmy, Friedlander makes virtually no reference to the role of the Sinai Field Mission between 1976-82, nor the continuing territorial dispute over Taba. Friedlander's book also contains numerous spelling errors and grammatical mistakes. He uses "Muslim" or "Islamic" as though the words were in-

terchangeable with "Arab," and he errs seriously when he reports Carter as saying that U.N. Resolution 242 requires Israeli withdrawal from *all* occupied territories. That, alas, is simply not the case: the resolution calls for withdrawal from "territories"; neither "all" nor "the" precedes the word "territories."

Fahmy's book provides fascinating insights into the actions of some of the major participants, particularly Begin, Dayan, Sadat, and Kissinger. It is well worth reading. Friedlander's is a pedantic, tedious presentation, useful perhaps as a convenient reference. Both books have poor indexes (Fahmy's lists a "Roy Atherton" and an "Alfred Atherton"!), and both are overpriced. —JAMES H. BAHTI

Human Rights. By Stanley Hoffmann, Tom Farer, Maurice Cranston, et al. Daedalus, 1983. \$5.

The Writer and Human Rights. By Margaret Atwood, Jacobo Timerman, Allen Ginsberg, et al. Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1984. \$17.95(cloth), \$10.95(paper).

These two new additions to the ever-expanding literature on human rights can be counted on to help raise public consciousness, though whether they will have a direct impact on U.S. legislation or the saving of human life is debatable.

The Daedalus collection is strongly ethical and philosophical in nature and academic in approach. Several of the essays—by Maurice Cranston on human rights in general, by Gaston Rimlinger on capitalism and human rights, by Stanley Hoffmann on human rights as a foreign policy goal—attack the difficult question of social and economic rights and consider the weight to be attached to human rights in formulating policy. Other contributions discuss human rights in Africa and Latin America, with more emphasis on conflicting value systems (development vs. liberty) than on concrete violations.

The Writer and Human Rights consists chiefly of statements of conscience and recitals of abuses in real or de facto dictatorships like Chile, pre-Alfonsin Argentina, and El Salvador. Unfortunately, some of the contributions descend to the paranoiac or absurd, e.g., polemics against Canada, of all places, for racism and social conformity, and denunciation of the harassment of left-wing writers by the Narcotics Bureau.

Without denigrating the value of consciousness-raising, what is really needed are more well-documented case histories of the vicious government atrocities of our

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—CHARLES MAECHLING JR.

Crossroads of Decision: *The State Department and Foreign Policy 1933-1937.* By Howard Jablon. University of Kentucky Press, 1983.

U.S. Diplomats in Europe, 1919-1941. Edited by Kenneth Paul Jones. ABC-Clío, 1983.

Howard Jablon's *Crossroads of Decision* is a parsimonious account of early New Deal diplomacy. It sets out to challenge the view that the State Department "was wiser and more expert at international maneuver" than was Franklin D. Roosevelt during the 1933-37 period, when the department purportedly had greater influence on foreign policy than it would later. Since few, if any, scholars and even fewer career diplomats seem to have labored under such a misapprehension, one suspects that Jablon has created a strawman to refute the related contention (of which experienced professionals are eventually disabused) "that only the career diplomat should be entrusted with charting the course the nation should take."

Despite the momentous events that confronted the United States in every region of the world, and the influence over foreign policy that Jablon mistakenly believes State enjoyed during the early New Deal, professional diplomats unimaginatively followed formulas such as the Open Door and political nonentanglement. Worse yet, their adherence to policies that were not responsive to the changing international conditions of the early 1930s precluded any possibility of altering the course of events that led to World War II.

Jablon has chosen to enter his own normative evaluation on the palimpsest of the State Department's conduct of foreign policy during those years. For example, he contends that recognizing the U.S.S.R. had no influence on world politics. This policy decision, however, in which department careerists (and even Secretary Hull) played only an ancillary role, may have given Japanese militarists pause in expanding eastward, and it set in train a realpolitik approach to foreign affairs that Roosevelt would later develop more fully.

Jablon also faults the department's adherence to the policy of political nonen-

tanglement in Europe which, he suggests, indirectly abetted the expansionism of the fascist states. Perhaps, as Cordell Hull pointed out in his memoirs, if the United States and other status quo powers had been militarily and psychologically prepared to engage in a preventive war, the course of history would have been different. In the United States, the disillusionment with the treaty of Versailles, the trauma of the Depression, and a history of political noninvolvement abroad contributed to a diplomacy of global retreat.

Curiously, Jablon assumes that career diplomats in the State Department were immune to these historical forces and the public's isolationist temper. It is fair to assert, as Jablon does, that career officers were inclined to conform to existing policies (a congenital disability) rather than to propose imaginative alternatives. It is not fair, however, to remove them artificially from their historical milieu and the culture of foreign policy in which they socialized and make them the culprits in a New Deal morality play when they too were victims of circumstances beyond their power to change.

Some of the frustrations that diplomats experienced in attempting to reconcile the tenets of U.S. foreign policy—economic progress, political stability, world peace—with the international patossisms of the 1930s are sketched in the series of biographical essays in *U.S. Diplomats in Europe, 1919-1941*. These essays concentrate on the activities of diplomats in the field—careerists, political appointees, and diplomatic emissaries—during the interwar period. They offer an explanation, missing in Jablon's book, for the State Department's lack of imagination and boldness during the early New Deal. They reveal a profound uncertainty and even immobilism that afflicted the foreign policy establishment after a decade of peace and prosperity. It was feared that Bolshevism would spread amid the social disorder of the 1930s, and severe constraints were imposed on innovative diplomacy by the policy of political nonentanglement which diplomats duly embraced.

As is often the case with a compilation of this size, the essays are uneven. Other than satisfying some antiquarian interest, one wonders about the historical utility of including the piece on Prentiss Bailey Gilbert. And the portrait of Claude Bowers, the Jeffersonian liberal serving in a world of State Department monarchists, is too idealized. (However laudable the Jeffersonian ideals of the Bowers and William Dodds of the period, whenever a diplomat in the field loses his objectivity to report and interpret events, he loses his purpose).

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On the other hand, the account of Joseph P. Kennedy's travails in London nicely illuminates British attitudes on appeasement, the evolution in Roosevelt's thinking as the world slid into war, and the limitations of the political appointee as ambassador. Although the essays offer no startling new insights, collectively they provide a kind of mosaic that serves to balance somewhat Jablon's tendentious interpretation.

—HUGH DE SANTIS

Deadly Business: *Sam Cummings, Interarms, and the Arms Trade.* By Patrick Brogan and Albert Zarca. Norton Press. \$17.95.

This is an interesting if uneven book which promises more than it delivers. Sam Cummings, founder of the world's largest private arms company, began his career as a "gun nut," parlayed his expertise into a brief but successful career with the CIA, and then went on to found Interarms, whose red brick warehouses line the waterfront in Alexandria, Virginia. Those expecting a juicy expose of Cummings's life and activities as an arms dealer will be disappointed. Cummings has led an essentially dull life as a workaholic and successful businessman. He fixes prices, accumulates enormous inventories of small arms,

and then sells at near cost in order to drive potential competitors out of business.

This book is an endless series of vignettes of Cummings's wheeling and dealing in the arms trade. It is essentially one long personal interview in which Cummings makes no bones about his previous CIA connection but denies he ever used Interarms as a CIA vehicle. He describes his successful coups in detail, such as buying small arms for Batista and then, when ready to deliver, making an amicable accommodation with Castro. Cummings will deal with just about anyone or any group so long (he states) as he can obtain the proper export permits.

One of the more interesting vignettes reported is that in which Interarms cheerfully assisted AID in providing light arms for clients in Central America. Cummings describes how a fleet of AID-leased trucks hauled away thousands of rifles and other arms for shipment from Andrews Air Force Base. Obviously this was all part of the "green revolution." If you have always been titillated as to what lies behind those blank brick walls on Union Street, you might want to buy this book. But then again, you might wait for it to appear in your neighborhood library.

—MICHAEL F. SPEERS

Child of Conflict: *The Korean-American Relationship, 1943-1953.* Edited by Bruce Cummings. University of Washington Press, 1983. \$22.

This collection of 11 essays is sometimes stimulating and certainly controversial. It is based on hitherto unavailable primary source materials concerning U.S. foreign policy before and during the Korean war. Unfortunately, conceptual or comparative insights are often missing, and several articles are chronological cut-and-paste jobs suffering from ponderous prose. Major exceptions include Bruce Cummings's introductory analysis of U.S. foreign policies, Stephen Pelz's examination of U.S. decision-making processes, and John Merrill's work on violence in South Korea.

Despite its limitations, *Child of Conflict* contributes a number of new and significant hypotheses. Bruce Cummings sets the stage with a conceptual model of U.S. postwar policy options toward the Soviet Union and its allies. He argues convincingly that the Korean war was initiated by Kim Il-sung, with or without the wholehearted endorsement and support of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Cummings believes that Secretary of State Acheson's "Petimeter Speech" excluding South Korea from automatic U.S. defense was neither a mistake nor momentary gaffe. Rather, it was a carefully crafted policy statement designed to ensure multinational collective security defense of the Republic of Korea while constraining the south from northward aggression.

John Merrill's essay is one of the highlights of the volume. He presents sufficient evidence to support his hypothesis that the Korean war was not the beginning of conflict, but conflict in another form. Political violence in South Korea before June 1950 had resulted in approximately 100,000 casualties. The north, he concludes, only invaded when they realized that their attempt to subvert the South Korean system had ultimately failed.

The struggle over the Korean armistice agreement concludes the book. Barton Bernstein presents a detailed compendium of the events leading to a negotiated settlement. The contentious issue of "voluntary repatriation" versus the forced return of POWs appears to have been the critical factor prolonging the negotiations and the war. An equally important (but not discussed) ingredient in the Communists' hesitation to conclude a formal agreement was their willingness to await the results of the U.S. presidential elections. Jack Saunders's bibliographical essay on National Archives materials is a useful addendum.

—GREGORY F.T. WINN

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Red Flag Over Afghanistan: *The Communist Coup, the Soviet Invasion, and the Consequences.* By Thomas T. Hammond. Westview Press, 1984. \$26.50 (cloth), \$11.95 (paper).

This may well be one of the definitive works on "high Asia" and, particularly, Afghanistan since the onset of the cold war. Hammond combines many elements in this masterful exposition of the story of the Afghans. His volume provides both a model for others writing on contemporary events and a gripping tale to read.

His taut prose, organized in concise chapters, helps the reader follow a complex story in both chronological and functional fashion. His methodical references to history, together with footnotes leading the reader to either original documentation or the views of key participants in the events—a president, a secretary of state, a national security adviser, several ambassadors, and senior Soviet and Afghan specialists—arrest to his scholarship.

If there is a single thesis that Hammond demonstrates in this volume, it is that U.S. administrations have historically misunderstood both the Afghan conundrum and Soviet interest in that landlocked state. In his final chapter, he demonstrates conclusively that the United States needed to link its policy toward Afghanistan much more specifically to its perception of Soviet actions in central Asia. Recriminations about the 'evil empire' only convey a message of weakness and acquiescence if they are unaccompanied by thoughtful actions aimed at exacting a cost from the U.S.S.R. when it oversteps the bounds. Revisionist historians will not take comfort from this thesis, but neither will superhawks who resist steps to establish peaceful relations between the two superpowers.

This book in combination with the one written by Henry Bradsher [BOOKS, July/August] offer the thoughtful student of Asian affairs a balanced set of books to aid understanding of Afghan complexities and great power interest in them.

—VICTOR WOLF JR.

The Economics of Foreign Aid and Self-Sustaining Development. By Raymond F. Miskell. Westview Press, 1983. \$15.

This concise volume is based on a study commissioned by AID and the Treasury Department that was intended to extract the magic formula for self-sustaining development from current development literature. Miskell, no newcomer to the

field, has delivered a very good, though limited, product. The book could well serve as a training manual for AID's intern program or the FSI's quickie courses on development. The range of development theories from Rostow to Chenery to Ranis are clearly stated, examined, and pithily critiqued.

One applauds Miskell's conclusion when he quotes Ranis: "After years of overselling the impact of foreign aid and foreign capital, everyone now has a healthier, more realistic view of the problems and the limitations." Miskell also uses his report to underline the consensus that "basic human needs," the be-all of the 1970s, does not rule out a successful increase in the rate of growth for poor countries. Again, no quarrel here.

The book's main problem is scope. How, for example, can one write even a manual of self-sustaining aid without dealing more cogently with the debts of aid recipients? What does development mean in the 1980s—and beyond—if it leaves out the debtor-creditor relationship? Miskell would rightly point out that such was not the scope of the study. His mandate from AID was to ferret out ways in which foreign assistance could be successful and to identify the theories or approaches that

are most suitable. But if such is the case, more is the pity, for despite AID's shortsightedness, Miskell should have included a section discussing the countervailing cloud of debt and development.

—WILLIAM SOMMERS

Israel, the Palestinians, and the West Bank. By Samuel Santer and Hillel Frisch. Lexington Books, 1984.


The travail in Lebanon (including the presence of our own Marines), the dissension within the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Iran-Iraq war, and a variety of terrorist incidents have recently dominated U.S. media coverage of the Mideast. This has drawn attention away from Israel's moves toward incorporating the West Bank, either under the ideological banner of *Eretz Yisrael* or because of perceived security requirements. And yet the eventual disposition of the West Bank remains the most crucial single issue in the search for peace between Israel and the Arabs. Although this was recognized in the Reagan peace proposal of September 1982, the administration's effort met with rejection by both Israel and the PLO, and thus Jordan. The question now is whether and when the

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"ticking clock" of Israel's settlement policy will reach the hour when control over the West Bank will be irreversible.

Two Israeli scholars, Sanler and Hillel, offer an excellent summary review of the West Bank problem from the beginning of the British mandate. Very brief chapters are devoted to the prepartition era and the period of Jordanian rule. The bulk of the book deals with the development of Israeli policy since 1967 under both Labor and Likud governments, and the emergence of the PLO as the flag-bearer of Palestinian nationalism. The authors cite the government's "pretext" of a security threat from the PLO military build-up in the north, and then go on to identify Israel's aim in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon as being, in fact, the destruction of the PLO's ability to dominate the West Bank. It was "the first time that Israel was engaged in a war with political goals that went beyond security and national existence."

Obviously the subject is one on which few people could (or should) expound with complete impartiality. Sandler and Frisch express doubts as to the wisdom of various aspects of Likud policy; they also have doubts about PLO policy. They end with a call for both Israelis and Palestinians to "reach a compromise either in terms of territorial repartition or power-sharing." Apart from subjective considerations, the value of this book lies in its effort—quite successful, in the opinion of this reviewer—to present factual information in a brief format (some 139 pages of text and 26 pages of notes) on a subject of continuing importance.

—SIDNEY SOBER

The Haitian Economy: Man, Land, and Markets. By Mats Lundahl. St. Martin's Press, 1983. \$27.50.

Haiti is the only country in the western hemisphere to be in the bottom category of the World Bank's classification of less developed countries. In this stimulating collection of essays and reviews, Lundahl, a Swedish economist and specialist on Haiti, argues that this is the outcome of a domestic process rather than the result of international economic and political influences and shows that domestic factors may also be responsible for the apparent negative effects of foreign investment.

Lundahl's solutions are more cultural and political than economic. Technological change in Haiti is impeded by a government that prefers the status quo. Add to this the anti-peasant bias of an urban elite, a network of speculators, and the high cost of credit—and the result has been a permanent state of rural underdeve-

lopment. Since social and technological change always threatens to upset the prevailing power structure, Lundahl concludes by quoting Colin Leys on development: "If there are sacred cows in politics, general economic development is very rarely one of them, *least of all in poor countries*; and the basic importance of this paradox is so great that one is tempted to speak of politics, not economics, as somehow primary."

This book should be required reading for AID mission chiefs to Haiti. It emphasizes the importance (and uniqueness) of Haitian politics and culture. Despite a large U.S. aid program (and many optimistic statements by a calliope of AID mission directors) prospects for economic development, particularly rural development, appear bleak. —CHARLES FOSTER

Books in Brief

The U.S.S.R. and Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1980s. By David E. Albright. Praeger Publishers, 1983. \$6.95. This volume provides information on the organization, objectives, and methodology of Soviet activities in sub-Saharan Africa. It includes descriptions and prognoses for key Soviet targets, along with a good bibliography and extensive notes. Veteran Africanist Colin Legum provides a good introduction. At last Africanists have access to materials on Africa that have been translated from Russian. While Albright's understanding of and conclusions about African affairs are sometimes in error, and some facts are incorrect, the volume contains generally good scholarship and penetrating political analysis. It is especially useful now, as the United States enters another crucial re-examination of its response to the challenges of the Third World. —ROY A. HARRELL JR.

Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States 1941-74. By Harold G. Marcus. University of California Press, 1983. \$26. The author, a professor of history and African studies at Michigan State University, gives primary emphasis to the period prior to 1960, when Ethiopia emerged from the shadow of the British Empire to become the bulwark for U.S. policy in the horn of Africa. Although events after the abortive 1960 coup against Emperor Haile Selassie are treated only in passing, this brief book is well written and researched. —BENSON L. GRAYSON

The Israeli Army, 1948-1973. By Edward Luttwak and Daniel Horowitz. ABT Books, 1983. \$25. This reissue is intended to be the first of a two-volume series bring-

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ing this history forward to 1983. It is one of the most complete and balanced works on the Israeli army, and is recommended reading for the scholar or professional with an interest in this remarkable military institution. It is not for the casual reader, however, as it tends to be overly detailed and technical. —MICHAEL F. SPEERS

From the Think Tanks

Economic Sanctions in Support of Foreign Policy Goals. By Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott. *Policy Analyses in International Economics #6*, Institute for International Economics, 1983. 100pp. \$6. This study, which presents brief summaries of some instances in which sanctions were used, concludes that when the aim is to affect another's major policies, there is only "a weak correlation between economic deprivation and political willingness to change." More success is possible with more modest goals, particularly if the political and economic health of the target country is already questionable and sanctions are designed to inflict a heavy cost.

Nuclear Weapons in Europe. Edited by Andrew J. Pierre. *EuropelAmerica #1*, Council on Foreign Relations, 1984. 118pp. The first publication to result from the coun-

cil's project on European-American relations, this monograph presents the views of two Americans and two Western Europeans on the role of nuclear weapons in the defense of Europe. Although the contributors' conclusions vary, the collection makes clear that the matter should not be limited to debates about new missile deployments, but should include the larger question of U.S. involvement in providing for Western European security.

Small Nuclear Forces. By Rodney W. Jones. *Washington Papers #103*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1984. 123pp. \$6.95. Developing countries that have small nuclear forces (that is, a limited but deliverable force of nuclear weapons) pose a severe threat, not only to regional stability—this study focuses on the Mideast and South Asia—but to the stability of nuclear deterrence between the superpowers. Accordingly, the author recommends that non-proliferation efforts should be strengthened and planning be undertaken for the possibility that such preventative efforts may fail.

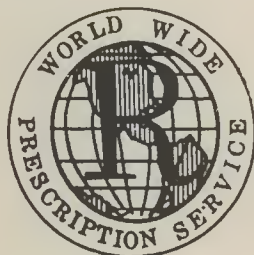
Western Interests and U.S. Policy Options in the Caribbean Basin. Report of the Atlantic Council's Working Group on the

Caribbean Basin. Atlantic Council, 1983. 49pp. \$6. While cognizant of the existence of Cuban and Soviet support for revolutionary forces, this study blames "long-term systemic problems"—notably rigid and inefficient political institutions—for the unrest in Central America. It goes on to emphasize the need for regional economic development and more representative political institutions if stability is to be achieved.

World Energy Supply and International Security. By Herman Franssen, John P. Hardt, Jacquelyn K. Davis, Robert J. Hanks, Charles Perry, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Jeffrey Record. *Special Report, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc., 1983. 93pp. \$7.50.* The industrialized world will continue to be vulnerable to severe economic dislocations due to disruptions in the supply of imported oil, argue the authors of this study. Since military force is unlikely to secure western energy supplies (indeed, Soviet exports of natural gas to Europe will make the West even more vulnerable), the West should undertake a concerted effort to improve strategic reserves and stockpiles, develop plans for energy crisis management, and encourage use of alternatives to potentially threatened Persian Gulf and Soviet energy supplies.

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DIPLOMACY

The Kissinger Commission's Blindspot

By SMITH SIMPSON

The report of the president's National Bipartisan Commission on Central America now rests before Congress. More commonly known as the Kissinger commission, it was intended to advise the president as to the appropriate ingredients of "a long-term United States policy that will best respond to the challenges of social, economic, and democratic developments in

Smith Simpson, a retired Foreign Service officer, is author of Anatomy of the State Department and The Crisis in American Diplomacy.

DIPLOMACY is a regular column which will feature brief notes on the conduct of diplomacy by experienced practitioners in the foreign affairs profession.

the region, and to internal and external threats to its security and stability." The commissioners conferred extensively with Americans and with officials and private citizens in Central America, and their report was submitted to the president on January 11. Its 132 pages present a grandiose design for policy. The most noted provisions have been those concerned with U.S. economic assistance: the commission recommended a \$400 million supplemental appropriation for aid to the region in FY 1984 and an \$8 billion program for 1985-90, along with the establishment of a Central American Development Organization. Yet, the successful implementation of such initiatives requires not only financial resources, but diplomatic as well. This is not reflected in the commission's report—nowhere does it suggest that diplomatic resources are an appropriate ingredient of any long-term policy.

There is a steely brilliance in the commission's analysis and its recommendations, but it seems to have missed the point that people are involved in the processes of change they recommend. First, the peoples of Central America; they must somehow be persuaded that what the commission recommends is indeed what they want to do. Related to this is the questionable ability of the peoples and govern-

ments to absorb significant increases in aid effectively. Then there are those Americans on the front lines—the persuaders, monitors, and appliers of pressure in our various embassies. Who are these persons to be? What knowledge, experience, and skills must they possess? Where are they to be found in the numbers required?

The significance of these questions becomes apparent even when posed simply in terms of Foreign Service personnel. What depth of education, knowledge, and understanding must be possessed? Who is to be assigned to this mammoth undertaking? Equipped with what skills of persuasion, personality traits, and leadership ability? Buttressed with what experience in Central America? How many of them do we have at hand and where are they? Can they be spared from what they are now doing? By what means and how quickly can the reservoir be expanded? Are we to fill this reservoir before plunging into the recommended programs? If so—and this would appear to be the wiser course—where are the commission's recommendations as to what training should be provided, how speedily and with what funds? The answer is that the commission has made no provision in its funding estimates for beefing up our diplomatic resources.

These questions are not insignificant.

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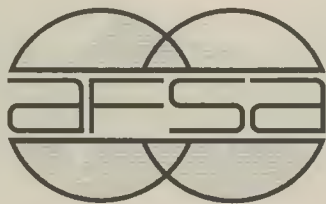
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Over the decades, the Office of Management and Budget (and the old Bureau of the Budget before it) appears to have delighted in making the "cookie pushers" seem irrelevant to our national security. It has steadily opposed any expansion of the Foreign Service, closed down consular posts all over the world, and made it impossible to train Foreign Service personnel adequately because their offices were so understaffed that they could not be spared. Former Secretary of State Haig had to go over their heads to President Reagan to get the funds required even for so obvious a need as a mid-career officers' course at the Foreign Service Institute. The Kissinger commission forfeited a splendid opportunity to remind the chief executive and OMB of the relevance of expertise to the success of any crusade he may wish to mount in Central America.

As well as needing experts of depth and seasoned experience in Central American affairs, the commission's recommendations will require especially gifted and experienced coordinators. These must exist not only in Washington, but in every one of our embassies in the region. The range of the programs recommended leaves no doubt that ambassadors, their deputies, AID directors, and others must be trained for this function. As the commission insists, Central America presents an "exceptionally complex interplay of forces."

My uneasiness over the commission's blindspot regarding personnel is increased by my recollection of similar approaches to earlier problems: the Alliance for Progress in the Kennedy administration, which foundered badly and vanished with little to show for the large sums expended by this country, and our fire-brigade crusade to save South Vietnam. In neither case did we give serious thought to what these costly ventures demanded in the way of diplomatic resources. Only at the insistence of Robert Kennedy, then attorney general, was a so-called counterinsurgency course belatedly initiated at FSI to provide some preparation for those assigned to South Vietnam. It was not a profound exercise, falling far short of supplying the genuine experts we needed to tackle the complex job we set out—with the noblest intentions—to do. On top of that, we frittered away the limited expertise we did create by rotating officers in and out of South Vietnam as though that country represented a conventional situation, instead of (as the administration insisted) a challenge of the first order to our national security. In terms of managing its personnel, the State Department went at South Vietnam as a routine, bureaucratic—not a strategic—exercise.

Some analysis of these contemporary blunders and the lessons they offer should not have been beyond the capacity of an illustrious commission headed by an academician and former secretary of state. If we could only overcome our disdain of history, we might even profitably review our experiences in Cuba and the Philippines after the Spanish-American war, where we also mounted crash programs to modernize and democratize the societies. Since they were islands and our efforts antedated the Bolshevik revolution, we had advantages then that we do not possess in Central America and did not possess in Vietnam. Yet, even after we achieved some moderate success in these efforts, the recent history of Cuba and the Philippines should make us ask whether any nation really has the capacity to alter events and values in other countries in a fundamental way. Short of exercising the sort of *real politique* France displays toward its former African colonies, what can we hope to accomplish in Central America? Are we prepared to play that kind of *real politique* and to pursue that line consistently over the years? What would that entail for the training of our diplomats and the staffing of our missions?

Despite the absence of any discussion of these issues, we are being asked to approve and underwrite policies in the abstract, without any thought of what is involved in their implementation beyond the appropriation of money. Throwing money at problems and crises with the expectation that if we throw enough they will somehow disappear is an old fallacy of ours. Indeed, it has so often been shown to be a useless course in both our national and international affairs that it was discredited long ago. It is all very well to reach for the stars in designing policies but it is important to know where to plant our feet and how best to spend our limited funds.

As the president asks Congress for funds to start the commission's programs, let him also request funds to put the State Department and Foreign Service in a position to meet their current every-day challenges. They were not in such a position in Vietnam or Iran, and are still not in countless places today. If enough understanding of diplomacy and what it requires in the way of people and other resources can be demonstrated, then, and only then, can we proceed. This may not meet the immediate crisis in Central America, but it will avoid yet another costly folly. After all, the more important dangers lie not in the potential short-term consequences in Central America, but in the possibility that another international humiliation could result in a continued erosion of confidence in the United States.

CLIPPINGS

George Shultz

" 'A closet hawk' is how Secretary of State Shultz is described by visitors. Shultz, said one, acts harsher in private than Defense Secretary Weinberger."

U.S. News & World Report, December 26

"This administration demonstrates no stomach—and no head—for that kind of hard work [on foreign policy such as that of Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy or Jimmy Carter's Camp David and SALT II agreements]. It has a weak secretary of state, a man Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill has been quoted as describing this way: '[George] Shultz couldn't sell diapers in a nursery.'"

*Robert G. Kaiser in the Washington Post
January 15*

Diplomatic Security

"Warnings from French intelligence officials that one or two teams of Iranian-backed Lebanese Shiite terrorists were headed for the United States on a suicide mission contributed to the decision to block entrances to the White House, State Department, and Pentagon in November. French reports said that terrorists, dispatched from the Shiite stronghold in Baalbek, planned to load a large tractor-trailer truck with explosives and plow it into the White House. Additional intelligence suggested that the State Department and Pentagon might also be targets."

Newsweek, January 30

"The U.S. embassy in Rome is installing an electronically controlled barrier in front of the compound to block vehicles coming through the main gates....An embassy spokesman said the decision to construct the barrier 'is not related to any specific attack against embassy compounds or officials.'"

*New York Daily News,
January 25*

"The director of the State Department's office for combating terrorism testified today that it had 'major problems in dealing with the security of embassies' around the world, which were designed to be readily accessible to the public. 'We're moving as

fast as we can to improve security' without jeopardizing the department's primary function of serving the public, the director, Robert M. Sayre, told a House subcommittee. He explained that most American embassies were in downtown areas, on main streets, and in buildings with entrances at the curb, all factors that complicated efforts to increase protection.

" 'More American diplomats and military personnel lost their lives to terrorist acts in 1983 than in all the previous years combined,' " Mr. Sayre said. 'American interests and diplomats continue to be the primary target of international terrorism, although 85 countries were affected in 1983.'"

*Leslie Maitland Werner
in the New York Times, February 9*

"The United States has not ordered the evacuation of Americans from Beirut because U.S. officials believe they are safe there, a State Department spokesman said yesterday. 'Certainly shells are falling in areas of Beirut that I would not want to be in,' said the spokesman, '...U.S. personnel have been safe in Beirut so far'...The spokesman conceded, however, that the embassy's telephone lines were down, the airport was closed, and commercial transportation seemed to be unavailable."

*Joyce Gemperlein in the Philadelphia Inquirer,
February 10*

"In meetings with intelligence sources in the Mideast, and Europe, and here in Washington, we have learned that the United States has received at least two warnings of a plot to blow up the State Department building, that it would involve a truck bomb similar to those used in attacks on the U.S. embassy and Marine headquarters in Beirut, that the terrorists were working out of Arlington, Virginia, and that they received their orders from Iran."

*Garrick Utley on NBC Nightly News,
February 8*

USIA

"Discussing his trip to Africa, Charles Z. Wick, director of USIA, said, 'Some of them have marvelous minds, those black people over there.'"

Esquire, January 1984

Representative Thomas J. Downey (D.-New York), one of several members of Congress on the [USIA blacklist of liberal speakers], said on the House floor, 'I have made Charles Wick's blacklist and I am honored to be with this company of 83 distinguished Americans....Mr. Wick is

wonderful at tape recording things. I will be happy to call him on the telephone. He can record my speech and he can have it for distribution abroad.'"

*Howard Kurtz in the Washington Post,
February 10*

"At least six civilian officials in the Reagan administration and Congress, including USIA Director Charles Z. Wick..., have been made special deputy U.S. marshals so that they can legally carry concealed handguns."

Los Angeles Times, February 10

Ambassadors Abroad

"Breaking tradition, Guatemala's military government did not award its top medal to departing U.S. Ambassador Frederick Chapin because he 'did nothing' for the country,' the chief of state, General Oscar Humberto Mejia, said.

"Chapin left Tuesday after serving 2-1/2 years. During his tenure, there were two military coups and periods of strained relations over alleged violations of human rights by the Army and police."

Washington Post, March 2

"[Before resigning, special ambassador to Central America Richard B.] Stone decided that his usefulness in the role was at an end. He reportedly left the assignment, however, with satisfaction that he had made a number of Central American contacts of potentially large value to his international law practice."

Washington Post, March 2

"It is not right that we should receive indications from outside on how to manage our economy, no matter how respectable the position of the foreign ambassador who does it," [a ruling National Liberation party communique in Costa Rica] said. 'It is as if our ambassador in Washington publicly held the Republican party responsible for the U.S. budget deficit this year and asked the party to help the government fill the budget gap.'

"A high party official said the leadership reacted after the latest of a series of what he called, in English, 'lip mistakes,' committed by [U.S. Ambassador Curtin] Winsor since coming to San Jose last summer to replace the widely respected Ambassador Francis McNeil."

*Edward Cody in the Washington Post,
February 4*

CLIPPINGS records without comment statements appearing in the media on diplomacy and the Foreign Service. Readers are invited to submit material for inclusion in this column.



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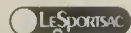


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Foreign Service Journal, April 1974: "The revelations surrounding Herbert Kalmbach's guilty plea on February 26—that he had proffered ambassadorships in exchange for explicit levels of contributions—has once again brought to public light the urgent need to do something serious and constructive about a long-standing abuse. The fact is that every administration, irrespective of party, has seen fit to reward large contributors with ambassadorships whether they had any qualifications for the job or not.

"AFSA believes that the time has come to bring a halt to the practice of selling embassies. We have asked the Congress to pass legislation making major contributors ineligible."

AFSA Editorial

Foreign Service Journal, April 1959: "A better understanding and appreciation of 'administration' by the department is long overdue... Administration, as such, is relatively new to the Foreign Service. In pre-World War II days administration was very simple; a problem of minor dimensions handled by a few officers and clerks.

"All this changed after World War II. The department recognized that 'managers' were needed and recruited several in 1947.... But these were recruited as FSS officers. The importance of professional management to the Service, and to the officer as well, was still not recognized.... Administration is substantive work."

Glenn G. Wolfe

Foreign Service Journal, April 1934: "Our Foreign Service wives have quite as many hard problems to work out as the officers themselves.... Arriving at a new post, the hard work of getting settled in the new home seems to me to fall upon the wives, whereas their husbands simply move into a new office where they have much the same work and surroundings as existed at the last post.... The wives of the members of the Foreign Service are entitled to a large share of gratitude and appreciation for the splendid manner in which they are assisting their husbands to take care of the interests of the United States in foreign lands."

Frances Hull



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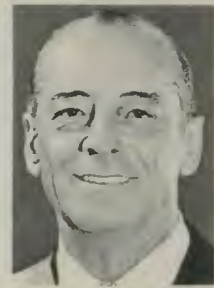
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Brasília is the seat of government of what at least one analyst calls the world's third-ranked superpower. It is an embryonic democracy; João Baptista Figueiredo (top) has announced that he will step down in January as the country's last military president to allow free elections. And it is an established hemispheric force; Brazilian diplomat João Clemente Baena Soares (bottom) was elected president of the Organization of American States last month.

STRATEGIC PARTNERS

Brazil's economic and military value to the United States—plus its efforts at fostering democracy—warrants a resumption of closer ties

JOHN HOYT WILLIAMS

NINE YEARS AGO, when the noted analyst Ray S. Cline plugged the numbers for Brazil into his mathematical model for assessing strategic importance, he was surprised at the results. Cline's calculus creates an index of national power that, according to the extelligence don, "is determined in part by the military forces and military establishment of a country, but even more by the size and location of territory, the nature of frontiers, the populations, the raw material resources, the technological development, the financial strength." By these and other measures Cline saw Brazil as a major power and ally to be courted. It was

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ranked sixth in the world as a strategic power, fifth in land mass, sixth in population, and very high in Cline's subjective categories of "national strategy" and "national will." In a brief reassessment in 1981, Cline upgraded Brazil to a power status third only to the United States and Soviet Union.

Consequently, Cline chose Brazil as one of the 25 nations in an "Oceans Alliance" that he believes the United States should strive to create. Alone of the nations of South America, Brazil should be a part of "a select system of transoceanic alliances formed...on a voluntary basis by strong nations strategically located and linked by common political, economic, and security interests with the United States." Until the last year or two, however, the United States had started to move away from a promising symbiotic relationship with this important strategic partner.

Brazil is fast exploiting its vast hydroelectric power resources (bottom), while engaging a German firm to complete its first nuclear power reactor after the United States refused to supply full-cycle systems because of proliferation concerns (top).



From its independence in 1823 until the middle of the last decade, relations with Brazil were unbroken and generally amicable. The United States was the first country to recognize its independence, and constant diplomatic links have been maintained to this day with only minor—albeit growing—contingents. In this century's first decade, an unwritten alliance was forged under the guidance of a pro-American foreign minister called the Barão of Rio Branco. It was based on a strong hemispheric rather than European orientation. Decade by decade this alliance strengthened. Brazil was the only Latin American nation to furnish combat troops to the Allied effort in World War II. It also proved itself strategically important because of its vast wealth of natural resources, by use of its fleet to patrol the South Atlantic, and through providing air and naval bases in its northeast bulge across from North Africa. Without the latter, the Tunisian and Italian campaigns would have been immensely more difficult. As a side benefit, contacts were made between Brazilian and American officers that would be significant for the next thirty years.

Many of the U.S. officers who had served with and alongside the Brazilian Expeditionary Force in the Italian campaign helped establish the Escola Superior da Guerra in 1949, an institution best described as a cross between the U.S. Army War College, Stanford University, and the Harvard School of Business. Through its portals have passed thousands of select officers and civilian technocrats who are today's power brokers. They are imbued with a realistic nationalism and skills focused more on geopolitics than on the art of war.

Thus, the U.S. embassy and military group were

more than aware of and sympathetic to the armed forces' successful coup in 1964 that ousted populist João Goulart and installed a succession of generals that is only now ready to relinquish power. For more than a decade after the coup, the government actively supported U.S. policy goals and sought corporate investments. For example, Brazilian troops participated in the 1965 American intervention in the Dominican Republic, and one of their generals commanded the intervening forces. Brazil cooperated in the campaign to hunt down Ché Guevara in Bolivia and helped in efforts to destabilize the regime of Salvador Allende in Chile. It sent advisers to aid non-Marxist guerrillas in Angola and Mozambique in 1973 and 1974. And Brazil consistently supported major U.S. objectives in the United Nations and Organization of American States.

Unfortunately, a variety of factors came together between 1973 and 1980 to loosen the ties that had bound the two nations so closely. The Colossus of the South, in Cline's words, dominates its continent and has the world's seventh largest economy. Thus, Brazil began to recognize that it can no longer accept junior-partner status with the United States. This attitude, expressed personally to this writer by General Antonio Meira Mattos of the Escola Superior, grows more pervasive and pronounced as officers of the expeditionary force and early Escola Superior years fade from the scene. With them fades a certain rosy view of the United States. In its stead is a growing nationalism and a developmentalist thrust that is almost religious in its intensity.



DEVELOPMENTALISM is becoming a genuine Brazilian ideology. It subordinates virtually every other national goal to economic growth. This zeal to increase trade revenues and investment has made the country diversify its economic partnerships. Thus, the proportion of trade with the United States shrinks while overtures are continually made to Japan, the European Economic Community, the Mideast, Africa and, increasingly, the Soviet bloc. As its industry has come of age, Brazilians have come to think of their country as a major purveyor of technical goods and services to developing countries, often in direct competition with American firms. Hence, in 1982 private Brazilian companies won contracts to build a huge highway in Mauritania, a complete railway system in Iraq, a hydroelectric dam in Bolivia, and an oil pipeline in Sarawak. Brazil has not only exported its "tropicalized technology" to the Third World: Industrias Villares of São Paulo was recently awarded a competitive contract to construct a \$45 million steel-laminating mill at Calvert City, Kentucky. Rivalry with the United States in the international arms trade is also intense. Its \$2.2 billion of arms exports in 1983 surpassed the value of any other Brazilian commodity.

Specific sources of disharmony with the United States are legion. Among the more important is resentment of the Carter administration's use of the human rights issue. Brazilians see this country castigating a traditional friend who has been gradually and successfully democratizing, while Deng Xiaoping is

warmly welcomed in Washington and presented with a ten-gallon hat. Pressure on human rights was largely responsible for Brazil's abrogation of its long-standing military assistance pact with the United States in 1978.

Another important slight which has damaged relations is the United States' less-than-subtle intransigence over the issue of nuclear energy. Westinghouse recently finished work on Brazil's first nuclear power plant and was supposed to have built several more. The Carter administration, however, adamantly refused to let American firms provide full-cycle systems, and when Brasilia began negotiating with West Germany's Kraftwerk-Union for full-cycle technology and eight power plants, Washington put enormous pressure on Bonn either to kill the \$8 billion package or restrict drastically the sale of technology. The crux of the issue is dramatically clear in Brasilia—and on any São Paulo street corner. The "economic miracle" of 1967-73 was battered and is still reeling from OPEC's price-gouging. In 1980 alone, Brazil paid \$9.37 billion for imported oil. Though lessening, energy dependence is seen as the major single threat to continued economic development. The United States, by interfering with Brazil's alternate-energy program, was seen as threatening the entire range of the country's development. The 1979 OPEC price increase sharpened the issue and forced Brasilia to seek massive foreign loans to sustain economic growth: it had become a prisoner of its own developmentalism. By 1980, unfortunately, the developed world was entering a severe recession and, while Brazil did receive its loans, it got them at crippling interest rates.

Happily, there has been some light at the end of this tunnel. Last December the first of eight massive turbines began generating electricity at Itaipú, an \$11 billion dam that will generate 12 times the energy of the Aswan High Dam by 1990. Other dams have come on line or are about to as Brazil's inherent policy of tapping the world's leading hydroelectric potential bears fruit. Imports of petroleum have fallen fast as state-owned Petrobras pumps increasing amounts of oil from its own new fields. In 1983, Brazilian oil met 44 percent of the nation's oil needs—up from 15 percent in 1975—and alternate-energy programs, financed by the government, are cutting the need for imported oil even further. One is the alcohol-fuel program for motor vehicles. Volkswagen do Brasil, the nation's leading producer and exporter of cars, manufactures 85 percent of its vehicles with pure-alcohol engines. Other manufacturers are not far behind. As another means of countering the rising cost of oil imports, Brasilia embarked on an incredibly successful campaign to expand its export trade. Between 1975 and 1982, the value of exports quadrupled and the country is now exporting many items that it imported just a few years ago: weapons systems of incredible variety, aluminum, copper, medicines, soya, ocean-going vessels (Brazil is second only to Japan as a ship-builder), computers, uranium, etc. So rapid has been Brazilian export expansion that protectionists in the United States are urging quotas or high tariffs on Brazilian footwear, iron and steel products, and other goods



that are threatening traditional American businesses. This issue, too, clouds relations between the two powers.

With export values fast outpacing imports, Brazil is turning a strong balance-of-payments surplus: it was \$1.26 billion in 1981, \$3.1 billion in 1982, and an estimated \$6.4 billion in 1983. The 1984 goal of \$10 billion is considered achievable. It is this growing favorable balance of trade that most impresses international bankers who still shudder at the specter of a major Brazilian default. Brazil, which has renegotiated some of its foreign loans, has pledged to pay off \$11 billion of its estimated \$93 billion international debt in 1984, another \$11 billion in 1985, and an awesome \$26 billion in 1986. Finance Minister Delfim Neto, jetting frenetically around the globe, has managed to put together a "super loan" package from various consortia of about \$12 billion for 1984 to stave off disaster, and it is a measure of the bankers' optimism that the package even exists. The fact that the Reagan administration supported the loan and increased the U.S. stake in the International Monetary Fund was warmly noted in Brasilia.

INTERNATIONAL DEBT now constitutes Brazil's leading economic threat and, in fact, has had serious domestic repercussions. Inflation has grievously affected the people, causing anxiety and anger among all sectors, especially the vocal middle class, who fear continued erosion of their newly gained status. Although Brasilia's economists promised the IMF that inflation would be held to 70 percent in 1983, it actually reached an estimated 152



A vast interior is fast becoming cultivated to meet burgeoning demand for food (top), and new farm technologies are being used to accelerate the pace (bottom).

percent, forcing the government to change its complicated wage-index formula so that workers will only be compensated at a rate of 80 percent of inflation. This has curbed consumer spending, cramped the "revolution of rising expectations," caused an estimated eight-percent fall in industrial production for domestic consumption, and led to a sizeable increase in unemployment and underemployment. Further concessions to the IMF, to the Inter-American Development Bank, and to other major lending agencies have forced the country to embark on a major austerity campaign for 1984 and 1985—a move certain to deepen the people's frustration.

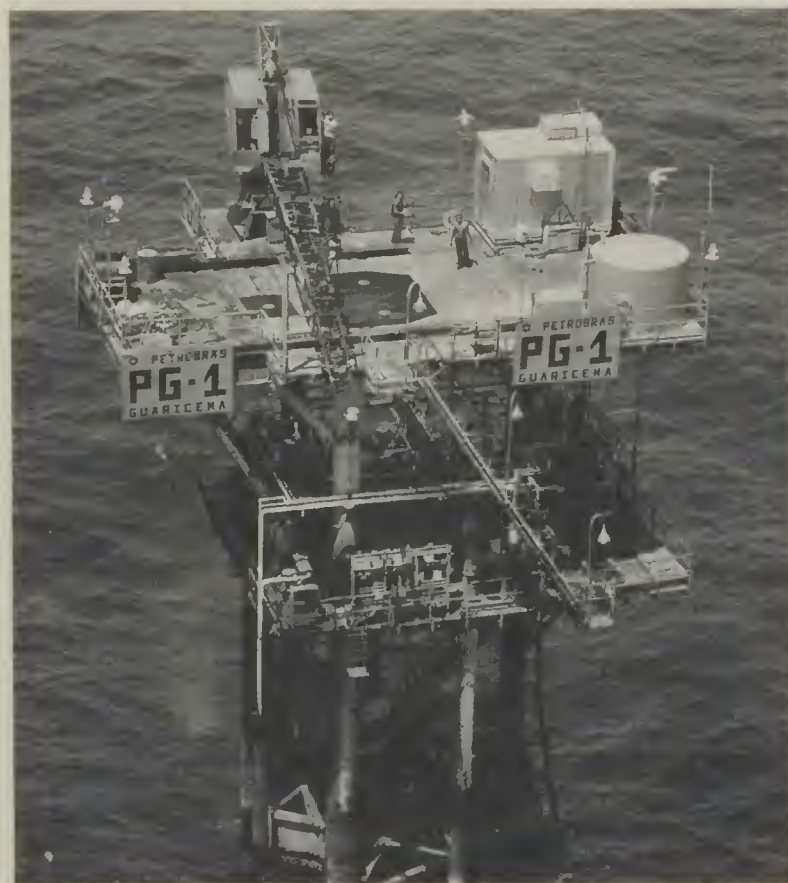
This economic bad news has come at a very delicate time. Brazil's fourth military president, Ernesto Geisel, went on record in 1977 in favor of *abertura*, or political democratization, pledging a return to civilian rule and full democracy. His successor, João Baptista Figueiredo, has announced that he will be the last military president. Figueiredo issued an amnesty in 1979 that restored political rights to all Brazilians save some 300 convicted of political terrorism. Among the exiles who flocked back to Brazil was the legendary Luis Carlos Prestes, head of the Communist party, which was legalized for the first time since 1947. The two stage-managed coalition parties were dissolved and several new parties formed. In 1982, for the first time in decades, elections were held in Brazil for all political positions except the executive branch, with some 48 million voters casting ballots. The results were impressive. The pro-government (but hardly unified) Social Democrat Party (PDS) maintained a two-thirds majority in the Senate but barely held a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The PDS

lost dramatically on the state level, where two-thirds of the new governors were opposition candidates, including those of the crucial states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and Rio Grande do Sul.

Once a pliant tool, the National Congress flexed its muscles in 1983 for the first time. Even many PDS members were out of sync with the administration. For the first time since 1964, the deputies refused to validate a decree law from the executive—and did so with such strength that the president backed down. In addition, it overwhelmingly passed an amendment to the constitution that will result in major revenue sharing with the states and it wrote a law mandating that at least 13 percent of all federal and 25 percent of all state and municipal revenues be spent on education.

Figueiredo's term will end next January, and the first presidential elections since 1962 are scheduled for 1985. Already there is one declared candidate, Ulysses Guimarães of the opposition Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement, and several obviously campaigning hopefuls of national prominence: Leonel Brizola, Governor of Rio de Janeiro; civilian Vice President Aureliano Chaves; and Salim Mulaf, former governor of São Paulo, to name the front-runners. The unions are emerging as potent political forces. In 1983, extra-legally but without government crackdown, the major Brazilian unions, including those dominated by the communists, formed the *Comando Único dos Trabalhadores*, for joint action in the economic and political spheres. Analysts expect that the CUT will have a major, perhaps decisive, impact on the elections.

The search for oil is being intensified on the continental shelf (bottom) en route to oil self-sufficiency. The crude is transported by Brazil's large shipping industry (top).



HOW IMPORTANT IS BRAZIL and its continuing development to the United States? With its huge economy and massive exports, Brazil is a major power, and a basically friendly one at that. It is also a model for development currently being emulated in the Third World (albeit by nations with far less in natural resources); a model far more impressive in development, foreign policy, and human rights than Cuba. The steady progress of Brazil toward rule by the people should be applauded and supported by the United States, for it represents one of the few success stories of capitalism and democracy in the southern hemisphere. In this aspect, one should note that despite 20 years of military rule, expenditures on the armed forces have fallen from 2.5 percent of GNP to .7 percent (10 nations with the world's highest GNP averaged 4.7 percent in 1980). Brazil today maintains a military machine smaller than Cuba's and half the size of neighboring Argentina's. The budget of the military is one-fourth that of the Ministry of Transportation or the Ministry of Education, and to their credit the generals did not, unlike India's leaders, throw billions of dollars into nuclear weapons research and development. During the same 20 years, as the military proportion of Brazil's largesse was shrinking, the student population grew by nearly double the increase in the population as a whole.

In addition to being, then, a political success story, Brazil should be recognized as a veritable supermarket

of raw materials, most of which are or soon will be crucial to the United States, economically and strategically. Among the major strategic materials being exported are: iron, manganese, tungsten, bauxite, aluminum, tin, copper, gold, platinum, selenium, zirconium, tantalum, cadmium, radium, thorium (the only large known reserves of what will be fuel for advanced-generation breeder reactors), cobalt, magnesium, quartz crystal, graphite, barytes, apatite, titanium, and bismuth.

The scope of raw-materials development in the past few years is awe-inspiring. In the Carajás mining project, for instance, \$63 billion is being invested to build a huge complex of mines linked to the exterior by a network of railroads, highways, canals, and rivers, to access gargantuan proven reserves of nickel, manganese, bauxite, iron, and tin, as well as large deposits of copper, gold, and uranium. With Carajás and several smaller (though still immense) projects, Brazil will be anxiously courted by every industrialized nation. Alcoa alone has embarked on a \$3.5-billion mining venture in Maranhão for bauxite, iron, and copper, and a huge new vein of gold discovered last year in the Serra Pelada, yielding ore assayed as 80-95 percent pure, is said to be the equal of anything encountered in South Africa or the Soviet Union.

In world trade, one can cite a recent \$600 million trade package with East Germany and a 10-year, \$1 billion trade deal with Poland, plus sales of \$1 billion in military hardware to Iraq and a lesser amount to Iran, 41 jet trainers to the French Air Force, Bandeirante passenger planes to United States trunk airlines, 2000 armored vehicles to China, 10,600 pickup trucks to Algeria, armored personnel carriers to Chile, Qatar, Libya, Iraq, Morocco, and Abu Dhabi, and construction in 1982 alone of 10.1 million tons of shipping.

The growing strength of Brazil's economy; its potential value as a source of military and industrial raw materials; its progress toward democracy; and its strategic position dominating the South Atlantic, bordering every South American nation save Ecuador and Chile and being nearest to North Africa, as well as its linguistic and cultural ties with ex-Portuguese Africa, all make Brazil a strong candidate for close relations with the United States.

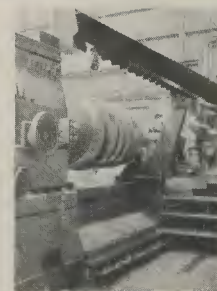
Luckily, despite the friction of the late 1970s, there has been some movement toward serious rapprochement. Several important signs have appeared during the Reagan administration that point to closer and more harmonious relations. In addition to official and private support for the super loan, the United States is again supplying processed nuclear fuel for Brazil's energy plant at Angra dos Reis. President Figueiredo visited Washington in 1982, and President Reagan reciprocated the visit later that year. The talks, which centered around economic issues, were considered highly successful by both parties. The United States has no complaint concerning growing Brazilian trade with the Soviet Union, eastern bloc countries, China, Angola, Mozambique, Libya, or Iran. When the Brazilian president in a speech honoring his North American counterpart asserted that Latin American nations such as his own had to "globalize" their trade and diplomacy rather than remain in



any defined orbit, the response was one of acceptance, not criticism, with President Reagan pledging his country to working together "in a spirit of equality." This apparent acceptance of Brazilian maturity, or emergence from tutelage, will surely lead to better relations, and some concrete signs of this have been seen lately, such as the pact resuming military ties that was signed earlier this year.

Of particular importance to U.S. foreign policy, Brazil has quietly supported the United States in Central American. It recently declined to post a new ambassador to Managua, leaving affairs in the hands of a minor official, and, more important, it refused the Sandinista government access to a line of Brazilian development credit. The interception of a massive shipment of arms from Libya destined to Nicaragua in 1982 further demonstrates Brasilia's support for U.S. policy, as does its sale of arms and sending of advisers to Surinam to counteract growing Cuban influence. Military cooperation was spurred last year when the Brazilian fleet took part in U.S. naval maneuvers in the South Atlantic—which symbolically came to an end at anchor in the Brazilian port of Salvador—and President Reagan has invited a Brazilian astronaut to take part in a space shuttle mission.

If the United States can avoid trade sanctions such as quotas and tariffs that threaten the "export or die" beliefs of Brasilia, and if it demonstrates that it regards Brazil as a genuine equal, the two colossi could have a mutually profitable relationship that would impress the rest of the world. Brazil may have matured to the point where it can never harness itself to the United States economically or diplomatically, but the clear strategic importance of a strong working relationship has become overwhelmingly evident. □



Volkswagens roll off the assembly line (top), a few among more than 600,000 vehicles produced a year. Brazilian machine-tool technology (bottom) is among the best in the world.

AID RETIREMENT: ACHIEVING A STATE OF GRACE

MICHAEL SPEERS

THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN a good deal of conjecture as to what it feels like to die and what happens thereafter. Good eyewitness accounts are sadly lacking. One is expected to approach the whole process with faith in a happy outcome. There are certain unfortunate similarities between passing into another world and retiring from the Foreign Service; I know, for I have done so, and unlike others who have gone before I do not choose to pass silently to the other side but will attempt to give a sense of this mystical experience and offer some suggestions for a less painless way of achieving a state of grace.

After twenty-odd years with AID, I elected to retire last June. My first annuity check did not arrive for three months—and only after much frantic action on my part—which seems to me to be an excessively long stop in purgatory. The AID Office of Personnel Management assisted in this unhappy and vexing interregnum by simply being itself: it practices a policy of what can only charitably be called benign neglect.

On an appropriately hot and steamy morning last June, I had neared the end of that paper chase otherwise known as the usual departure-from-post check-out procedure. All the little blanks were filled in—a sort of drawn-out last rites. I entered the elevator of the office building in Columbia Plaza where AID Personnel had recently moved to present my forms to my backstop officer. My ascent to paradise was abruptly halted, though, when the elevator slowed and stopped in between floors. I punched every button I could find, including the little red emergency button. I even tried the emergency phone, with no result. My latent claustrophobia began to manifest itself. So this was to be my fate! Trapped forever in purgatory. My wife would probably never receive my annuity because the paperwork had not been handed in and, worse yet, I would never live to get the handsome orange-and-white AID retiree's pass that is signed by the AID director of management himself!

Without apparent motion of the elevator, the doors suddenly burst open, and there stood my backstop officer herself holding a cup of coffee. She calmed me down and told me if I would just be patient and be seated for a while—the director was in conference with his morning coffee—I could shortly expect to receive my pass. The pass was indeed forthcoming.

Michael Speers, former treasurer of AFSA, now lives in Vermont, where there are no backstop officers.

There was a place for a photograph on the back and underneath that the treasured autograph of the director. All I still needed to do, I was told, was to hop on the bus to Rosslyn, where an auxiliary office would generously affix my picture for no charge whatsoever. Was this all I needed to revisit my former life in the hallways of the State Department? No, said my backstop officer, the guards have been instructed only to accept the department's own pass.

MANY WAYS EXIST to learn about the retirement process: advice from colleagues, the little blue book often handed out at one of those retirement seminars, or the AID retirement section itself. Though the first two are not entirely trustworthy, and everyone's concerns and fears are different, the retirement section is the worst place to go. No more than a paper drop, it is staffed by an amiable bunch of poorly paid staffers whose qualifications appear to be that they have no real knowledge of retirement procedures. The agency seems careful to rotate the staff so no one gains any unnecessary experience. State, on the other hand, does its job of preparing and processing prospective retirees well and professionally. The department sends you all sorts of useful information and is available to answer questions. The catch is that you can't get to the State Retirement Division until your backstop officer ensures that you have passed through AID's. It's worse than getting stuck on an elevator just short of your goal. Once you do get unstuck and handed off by your backstop officer to the State office, you drop right out of the earthly realm as far as AID is concerned. State then welcomes you and you start again from scratch.

You begin the whole procedure in AID by filling out a form requesting permission to retire that you get from the Retirement Section. Then you talk with a retirement counselor, who either provides you with misinformation or refers you to your backstop officer, who, true to the name, refers you back to the retirement section. The section has about three tons of forms and pamphlets to hand out. One tells you about the "paunch corps." Another describes in detail the ergonomics of rocking chairs. A third contains the complete rules of shuffleboard, with commentaries by Anson Mount and Hoyle. Try and ask a necessary question, however, such as, "I know that AID will pay the cost of shipping a retiree's household effects to

his permanent home from overseas, but will it also pay if you are retiring from Washington to your legal residence in Vermont?" and the best answer you get is "I think so; better talk to your backstop officer." Since they have all worked this out carefully in advance, the backstop officer will tell you, "I think so; better talk to the retirement section."

Once you have executed your retirement form and have been assured by the section that all is fine, you ask for your retirement orders. These come from the backstop officer. In my case, several weeks of waiting expired with no papers. By chance, I discovered my papers in that file at AID Travel where processed travel orders await pickup. When I called to thank the backstop officer, she said, "Where did you get those? We've been looking for them for weeks and don't have our copy." More forms and foibles await. Of the several dozen forms to be filled out, some are actually necessary. You have already completed your application for retirement, but you will need to find a witness for your designation of life insurance and a lawyer to translate the fine print on your election of annuity benefits. These are necessary indeed, because after they are done you have to take the elevator in the Columbia Plaza office building.

But all is not quite done. Still to be completed is your departure-from-post procedure. This is a little tricky if that post is Washington. You get two forms from your backstop officer. The first is a kind of treasure hunt, dozens of signature spaces that lead you through obscure offices scattered hither and yon from Universal North to a new building in Rosslyn that I never knew existed. The second form tacitly admits that the first is out of date and in many respects doesn't apply and requires additional stops on the hunt.

I FOUND OUT from my backstop officer that she had heard of a case where some poor woman had retired on her pittance only to find it was not forthcoming. The department library had discovered that, years before, on behalf of her boss, she had borrowed a pamphlet that had never been returned. Her ex-colleagues took up a collection, I am told, and bought a replacement for \$1.50. It ended happily, for she got her pittance. In my case, the library charged me with not returning a book whose safe remittance I had demonstrated in a similar argument in 1975. This led me to believe that the State library guards its wares more zealously than the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Thus scared, I went with trepidation to the AID Executive Secretariat Branch, which cautiously distributes sensitive documents. Oddly, this was the opposite of the library experience, for I was authorized to receive the appropriate papers with a quick glance and a scrawl.

Signed, sealed, and en route to delivery in the Columbia Plaza building, the gates of paradise at last in sight through the mists of bureaucracy, this is when I was fated to be trapped on the elevator. It should have been an omen. True, I did get the required signatures and the resultant retirement pass—which, with \$1.75, gets you a ride from Foggy Bottom to King Street—but my annuity checks would be

stuck for months in the Retirement Section's equivalent of an elevator for red tape.

As several weeks of checking later showed, there were three problems. First, nobody had bothered to tell me that my election of survivor's annuity form had to be redone because, for some reason, the first version is not final. This could not take place until the backstop officer had certified and forwarded to State all of my various other forms, at which time the department could run off a computer calculation on my annuity and send it to me. This, naturally, had already been done before by AID; three times in fact, the first two being in error. Second, the backstop officer had assured me after the elevator rescue that I had completed the obstacle course and that all my forms would be sent forward that very afternoon to State for action. There was nothing more for me to do. I would then receive my first check by the first of July, or at the worst the first of August. Unfortunately, the forms did not reach State till the end of June, having been routed, apparently, through the Falkland Islands by oxcart and dolphin. To make matters worse, when they finally did reach the department, one had not been executed properly by the backstop officer. A corrected version arrived in early July, meaning that what was supposed to happen in one afternoon took nearly a month. Last, I was unable to discover any of this or speed its process because the entire retirement section had taken leave for most of July.

MY SUGGESTIONS to change this should be obvious from this humorous, slightly exaggerated, but ever-truthful tale. But, having first-hand experience that the agency's retirement people don't always have their cylinders firing in the proper sequence, let me state them for the record:

1. Abolish the AID retirement section. Just have State and the roster of backstop officers handle the work that this redundancy can't handle anyway. And upgrade the backstop officers while making clear the standards of performance that will be expected;
2. Do something to combine those forms into one, which hopefully they can keep track of;
3. See what can be done to avoid having the inexplicable chore of requiring that the survivor's annuity form be executed twice;
4. Update all forms, particularly the departure-from-post one. Delete all references to the Development Loan Fund;
5. Draft a form that lays out all the details of the paperchase. The treasure hunt may be less fun, but it will certainly be more manageable;
6. Abolish the AID retirement pass, which serves no purpose.

In short, the people who manage retirement from AID's Foreign Service should learn that prospective retirees are not yet dead and don't deserve to be stuck in purgatory ruminating on the sins not of themselves but of a system that seems designed to condemn them to a destiny of prolonged frustration. The managers of this system should beware, for they too might be retirees themselves one day. □

Why the process of retiring from the Foreign Service in AID is often a painful purgatory

A BLUNT INSTRUMENT

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is too cumbersome to lead U.S. foreign policy, but it could be more effective

PATRICIA COHEN

WEARING A DARK BLUE SUIT with a starched white shirt and red tie, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee press secretary talks about the members. They are, he says, "seeking consensus for the best possible policy." But in another office, a Democratic staffer has a different characterization. He claims that the "committee is engaged in its own self-destruction" by undertaking activities that have "less and less meaning." These starkly different descriptions are not the result of partisan politics, but of the larger controversy surrounding the most prestigious and visible of all Senate committees—Foreign Relations.

Defenders of the committee argue that criticism that the body is irrelevant or self-destructive is unfair. Constitutional limits, political differences, and institutional constraints, as well as the overwhelming demands of senatorial office, limit what Foreign Relations can practically hope to accomplish. John Glenn's legislative assistant for foreign affairs, Pat Buckheit, echoed the view of a number of staffers, "The committee doesn't make foreign policy, it never has, and it never will."

Indeed, the Constitution has decreed that the president take the lead in foreign policy. Yet, how closely—and even whether—the congressional troops, including the committee, should follow is a topic of frequent and heated debate. U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick recently commented to a Senate panel that because of its cumbersome decision-making process, Congress is "incapable of leading the country's foreign policy, no matter who constitutes a majority in either house and no matter who is president." Secretary of State Shultz went so far as to blame the collapse of the administration's efforts in Lebanon partially on congressional skepticism of the president's policy.

Yet, even if it does not make policy, the committee should—and does—have a role in the decision-making process. Aside from Congress's power over appropriations and foreign assistance, the Senate approves treaties, declares war, and confirms nominations. But while members often pass non-binding "sense of Congress" resolutions indicating their policy preferences, they do not legislate specifics. How closely the United States will tilt toward China, or what should be our

arms control negotiating position, is clearly in administration territory.

Since Foreign Relations has little legislative power, it has instead attempted to oversee foreign policy trends, highlighting issues of particular importance. Ranking minority member Claiborne Pell calls it the "country's foreign policy watchdog." Last year's extensive set of hearings on U.S.-Soviet relations can serve as a model. These sessions were used to develop ideas, focus attention on public sentiment, and most importantly, force the administration to account for its actions. Foreign Relations is a "barometer of support for administration policies," according to member Richard Lugar. In addition, on rare occasions the committee embarks on forays beyond such general oversight, and acts as a check on administration activity. In reaction to President Nixon's prolongation of the Vietnam war, the committee recommended a cutoff of all funding for military activities in Indochina in 1972, and in 1973 Congress halted the bombings in Cambodia. During Reagan's tenure, Foreign Relations voted to halve the president's request for military aid to El Salvador in FY 1983 and conditioned aid on presidential certification of political, social, and economic reforms. Like a slow-working automatic sprinkler, it douses politically explosive foreign ventures that threaten to ignite public opposition.

While no one questions the importance of calling the administration to account, many believe Foreign Relations could and should exert more influence. They realize that it cannot make policy, but as former committee chairman John Sparkman said, they want to help "shape it." Oversight hearings can raise issues. But if the committee produces nothing more than a valuable reference document, it risks being perceived more as an academic coterie than a legislative unit. Demonstrating concern over U.S.-Soviet relations is laudable, but what of the committee's actual impact on the substance of policy?

It is true that the committee was instrumental in ending U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war, curtailing aid to human rights abusers, and helping promote arms control proposals within the administration. Nonetheless, a surprising number of critics present a convincing case that Foreign Relations is frequently less than effective: the 18-member committee holds hearings and produces resolutions ad nauseum that have precious little policy impact (it is the only committee ever to top the \$1 million mark for printing costs). Second, an excess of staff members

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encourages senators to avoid learning the issues; Former Representative Charles Whalen has warned of staffers' growing control over Congress's foreign policy agenda. Third, increased procedural democracy weakens the control of the parties and chairpersons and so strips the committee of much of its influence on policy and floor votes. As congressional scholar I.M. Destler has noted, Foreign Relations' 15-1 approval of the basic Panama Canal treaty in 1978 had little impact on the reaction of the Senate as a whole. And perhaps most alarming, the administration's neglect of the War Powers Act and the recent Supreme Court decision on the legislative veto have helped erode what little legislative authority the committee does have.

IRONICALLY, IF A STAFF MEMBER had been asked in 1969 to name the committee's major problems, his or her list would have differed radically from the current one. Executive excesses during the Vietnam war and Watergate jarred Congress from being a somnambulist foreign policy watchman into the chief engineer of curbs on presidential abuses of power and reckless foreign policy ventures. If Foreign Relations was going to help steer administration policy, then it had to have both the will and the means to hold the reins. Therefore, the four-person staff of 1948 has grown over fifteen-fold, enabling the committee to evaluate information independently of the administration. As Foreign Relations sought to exert greater influence on international affairs, hearings were held more frequently and on more issues. And the desire for a louder voice by junior members in policymaking within Congress itself resulted in a number of internal reforms designed to open up the

system. But the solutions have tended to overtake the problems they were designed to correct. For example, procedural changes which broke the sometimes dictatorial rule of senior members have also encouraged individuals to become political entrepreneurs, exploiting specific policies for political pay-offs. A 1970 list of solutions reads like today's litany of problems.

Aside from these reforms, there are a number of institutional constraints inherent to the Senate that work to limit the committee's involvement and effectiveness. An overwhelming number of constituency concerns, national issues, and committee assignments leave senators with little time to devote to the activities of any one committee. With such a workload, it is not surprising that during conference sessions Foreign Relations members are sometimes shown up by their counterparts in the House, who have fewer assignments and so can devote more time to the issues. This tendency not to delve into details is reinforced by the fact that the Senate (unlike the House) does not mark up legislation in subcommittee. Moreover, a Foreign Relations subcommittee lacks two major sources of power found on the other side of the Hill: an independent budget with its concomitant control over hiring and firing, and specific jurisdiction over various pieces of legislation. Constant political pressures, especially on highly visible foreign policy issues, pull members in yet another direction as well-organized interest groups flood them with mail.

This campaign year will focus more attention—and put even more pressure—on committee members. 1984 will be a difficult time for Foreign Relations to address any problems, let alone those regarding its ineffectiveness, since the election is likely to exacerbate its shortcomings. Apart from Glenn and Alan Cranston, who have both made runs for the Demo-

Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Charles Percy is flanked by two possible successors, Republican Jesse Helms (left) and Democrat Claiborne Pell, a former Foreign Service officer.

THE MEMBERS

Paul Sarbanes (D.-Maryland): Sarbanes is one of the committee's most influential Democrats, but his quiet ways and tendency to eschew publicity have kept him in the background. A Rhodes Scholar, he is an intellectual leader on international law and economic policy. His attention to detail and insistence on mastering the facts himself rather than delegating the responsibility to his staff have cemented his reputation as a knowledgeable and committed legislator. Solidly in the liberal camp, Sarbanes cast one of only six Senate votes against the confirmation of Alexander Haig as secretary of state in 1981, citing



Haig's involvement in the Watergate scandal. Of Greek descent, Sarbanes often lines up with Pell in support of Greek interests. He is the ranking minority member on the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

John Glenn (D.-Ohio): Taking to the presidential campaign trail has certainly given the already famous former astronaut more national exposure, if not more glamour. But it has also reduced Glenn's impact within the committee. Although campaign concerns caused Glenn and Cranston to bicker over such political plums as who would be the first to introduce a bill on acid rain, neither has been in attendance enough to really cause conflict within the hearing room.

Foreign Relations has been the focus of Glenn's attention since he entered the Senate in 1974. He is the recognized expert on the technical aspects of defense issues and nuclear non-proliferation, and the committee and Senate look to him for leadership on these subjects. Yet his painstaking, plodding style has also reinforced his image as someone consumed by detail and minutiae who is as exciting as the tax code.

Glenn's military background has helped make him a supporter of a number of weapon systems that other Democrats would like to trash. He voted with Cranston in support of the B-1 bomber



and also endorsed the cruise missile. His vote for chemical weapons forced him to do a lot of explaining on the campaign trail. But the vote is also a sign of Glenn's courage: he sincerely believes that the present arsenal of chemical weapons is dangerously unsafe and needs to be updated.

Since nuclear non-proliferation is not directly under Foreign Relations' jurisdiction, Glenn concentrates his committee work on China and Japan. He is the ranking minority member on the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee. The crisis in Lebanon has also helped to shift Glenn's attention to the Mideast, where he favors a complete pull-out of the Marines.

Joseph Biden (D.-Delaware): Sometimes creative, often flamboyant, always politically astute, Biden will very likely be a leading Senate Democrat in the future. One of the youngest members ever to be elected, Biden has been in the Senate since 1972 and has the seniority to prove it. He is the second-ranked Democrat on Foreign Relations, serving on the European Affairs Subcommittee. His twin assignments on the Foreign Relations and Intelligence Committees enabled him to be a vocal advocate of the SALT II treaty. With Reagan in the White House, he has shifted his attention to the Mideast, where he supports



Israel and has sponsored a "sense of Congress" resolution calling for the withdrawal of the Marines from Lebanon. Biden generally follows the party's liberal thrust, but occasionally goes his own way.

cratic presidential nomination, six committee members are up for re-election, including the chairman, Charles Percy, who faces a tough battle in Illinois. As a result, most members will be more occupied with domestic politics than foreign. Campaign commitments will leave empty seats in the committee's hearing room and leave senators with even less time to focus on foreign policy issues. Members will probably only find time for those issues that can be exploited in their campaigns, and many jingoistic bludgeons will be applied to complex foreign policy matters.

Since the prospect for bipartisan compromise is not promising, no one will want to get involved in a messy, no-win foreign policy debate. To do so would waste precious political capital on endeavors that are unlikely to succeed, as in the Mideast, where the prospect of any U.S. policy resulting in a peaceful settlement that furthers American interests is doubtful. And, because the recovery has defused the economy as a campaign issue, the Democrats are likely to focus on foreign policy in an attempt to make the GOP look bad. Foreign policy issues have a notorious knack for popping up in an election year and causing problems for incumbent presidents and senators. Those on the Foreign Relations Committee are particularly vulnerable. Some senators, such as Charles Mathias, Glenn, or Cranston, are able to turn foreign policy issues to their electoral advantage, using the committee as a visible platform to gain attention. But there are also significant liabilities. Perhaps most frightening to those facing re-election are the precedents of former committee members William Fulbright, Clifford Case, Jacob Javits, and Frank Church. Charges that they were too preoccupied with foreign issues at the expense of domestic concerns were instrumental in the defeat of these heavyweights.

EVEN IN THE FACE of institutional restraints and the up-coming elections, the committee might still be able to stake out a firm claim in the foreign policy arena if it had a unified membership and a strong chairman. But the 98th Congress has produced neither. Percy, a moderate Republican, must bring together some of the Senate's most liberal Democrats, such as Christopher Dodd and Cranston, the New Right's chief legislative zealot, Jesse Helms, and a conservative administration with an aggressive foreign policy. "I try to seek," he remarks, "a consensus on the committee...so that [its] voice will be strong and bipartisan, [and] that in turn will help forge a national consensus on the important issues of foreign policy." But the Illinois senator has had to operate under difficult conditions, trying to balance this belief in bipartisanship with support of administration policies that are often controversial. Although occasionally successful in obtaining some type of compromise, more often he ends up being rebuked by both parties. Indeed, some of his attempts to engender support for the president have embarrassed Percy. During ACDA Director Kenneth Adelman's confirmation hearings, Percy was apparently ignorant of his own party members' opposition to the nomination and attempted to railroad through

a quick vote. After this resulted in a 9-8 rebuke to Adelman, the red-faced chairman desperately groped for a means to reverse the decision while the crowded press galleries barely attempted to suppress their laughter.

Such episodes have led some Democrats to view Percy as weak and vacillating, and unwilling to stand up to the administration. But neither has he been able to gain the appreciation of the White House, which seems to maintain a what-have-you-done-for-us-lately attitude. His support of requiring presidential certification of human rights improvements in El Salvador and his call for Reagan to invoke the War Powers Act when the Matines went into Lebanon has generated distrust within the executive branch. Furthermore, the chairman and Republican majority have not always been able to prevent the committee's Democrats from tweaking the president's nose on occasion. With nine Republicans and eight Democrats on the committee, liberals could often count on the moderate Mathias to break the GOP's voting bloc. However, this may be less of a problem for Percy in the future, because Republican Senate leaders used the recent increase in their majority to add Paula Hawkins to the committee.

Not surprisingly, such a diverse group saddled with so many institutional difficulties has had to grope for an effective place in the foreign policy-making machine. Yet, the search has been further frustrated by the committee's limited ability to determine the congressional role. Often the administration—by consulting with the committee or failing to consult—decides when or how Congress will be involved in foreign policy decisions. Certainly, better consultation between the president and Congress would help define the committee's role. It would involve Congress in a meaningful way from the start, which could be especially valuable on controversial issues. Yet, any administration does have significant incentives to limit such consultations. First, as was argued regarding the Grenada invasion, a legitimate concern for secrecy often makes consultation impossible. With so many committee and party leaders claiming a right to be involved in such foreign policy issues, keeping the consulted group down to a manageable size is difficult. Congressional leaks have reinforced such reservations. Second, consultation can sometimes backfire, inspiring congressional opposition. By keeping its collective mouth shut, an administration can sometimes avoid sounding the alert. Finally, and most compelling, an administration can usually get away with unilateral action, thus putting Congress in the difficult position of overturning a *fait accompli*. This tactic has successfully served the administration in such recent examples as the initial deployment of U.S. troops into Lebanon, the military operation in Grenada, and the cutting of aid to Zimbabwe.

Not all, of course, believe that these failures to consult left Congress out in the cold. Scott Cohen, majority staff director, defends both the record on consultation and the committee's participation in the decision-making process. He points to an in-depth meeting on Mideast policy between Shultz and members of the committee. Congress has often, he says,

Charles Percy (R.-Illinois): As chairman of the committee, Percy is in a difficult position at a difficult time. A moderate Republican himself, he is caught between the liberal Democrats and hardline conservatives who make up his committee. Percy must also deal with a personal split—his belief in bipartisan consensus and his desire to be a team player who can deliver votes for the administration, even one with a decidedly controversial policy.

Percy has a mixed record of success. On a number of key votes, such as the president's Caribbean Basin Initiative and the appointment of Adelman to ACDA, Percy was embarrassed by his inability to put together a winning coalition. And despite his keen interest in arms control and his decision to give the issue top priority on Foreign Relations' agenda, Percy has not made the committee a significant participant in the nuclear debate.

The chairman's staff claims he carries weight within the administration. Percy does have ties with the secretary of state dating back to an association at the University of Chicago, as well as a good relationship with Under Secretary of



State Kenneth Dam. But his liberal record on foreign policy issues in the 1970s (most notably his opposition to the Vietnam war) make administration officials wary of relying on him. Disagreements with the president over El Salvador and the War Powers Act, as well as opposition to other executive initiatives such as funding for chemical weapons, have only reinforced the administration's distrust.

Percy's shifts between hardline and moderate positions seem to have contributed to the committee's sometimes aimless drift and caused the members to regard him as a weak chairman. His best relationship is probably with his staff, who loyally stand by him even when the administration, the committee, and the press do not.

Charles Mathias (R.-Maryland): For the past three years, Mathias, a liberal Republican, has frequently been the key member on Foreign Relations. With only a one-vote margin on the committee, the GOP was often dependent on Mathias's yea or nay for the success or failure of its foreign policy initiatives. He has used that vote more than once to frustrate Percy's attempts to deliver a majority for the administration, opposing the Caribbean Basin Initiative and the nomination of Adelman.

But the election of Republican Dan Evans to replace Democrat Henry Jackson has given the GOP an extra vote on the Senate floor and an extra vote on the committee via the addition of conservative Hawkins to Foreign Relations. This means that the Republicans have a 10-8 majority and Mathias is no longer the swing vote. But if he has lost some of his political clout, he still commands respect for his policy expertise and for his integrity. As chairman of the Subcommittee on International Economic Policy, he is an undisputed leader on the issue. The Maryland senator is particularly concerned about the consequences of our enormous deficit and overvalued dollar on the U.S. economy and the international financial system. He has not hesitated to castigate the administration for its economic short-sightedness. Mathias was also at odds with the White



House over the invasion of Grenada. Criticizing the president for his disposition to seek military solutions to political problems and his failure to invoke the War Powers Act properly, Mathias accused the administration of "destroy[ing] the possibility of consensus."

Mathias's willingness to march out of step with the Republicans has gained him the friendship of the Democrats and the animosity of his own party. In 1977, the leadership engineered an unusual power play to keep Mathias from ultimately assuming the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee. Nonetheless, Mathias has occasionally been able to build bridges between opposing factions on the Foreign Relations Committee. Although the time limit was later expanded to 18 months on the Senate floor, Mathias was the one who originally formulated a resolution to trigger the War Powers Act and authorize a continued U.S. presence in Lebanon for six months.

Nancy Kassebaum (R.-Kansas): The first words anyone seems to utter about Kassebaum is that she is "so nice." Yet, this characterization of her as demure and soft-spoken is balanced by her reputation as a savvy legislator and exacting vote counter. It is the latter traits that are largely responsible for Kassebaum's record of success. She carefully picks her issues and then picks her fights. The strategy has helped her rack up victories, like the adoption of a resolution to cut funding for the United Nations.

Her success can also be attributed to her unique place in the committee's ideological spectrum. She is the most moderate conservative, and the most conservative moderate. That, coupled with thoughtful consideration of the issues, has made this unassuming senator respected in the committee and influential in the Senate as a whole. She is one of the few senators who can occasionally sway a vote on the floor.

Although she chairs the Subcommittee on African Affairs, Kassebaum has taken a lead in the controversial Central American debate. A degree in Latin American diplomatic history has given her some expertise in the subject. The administration chose the Kansas senator to lead the U.S. delegation overseeing



the elections in El Salvador two years ago. But Kassebaum has slowly distanced herself from the administration's Salvadoran policy by supporting certification, a reduction of military aid, and unconditional discussions with the left.

Her stand on this issue as well as her opposition to the nomination of Ernest Lefever in 1981 has caused the press to label her a moderate. But her subcommittee staffer describes her as "instinctively conservative." That conservatism generates skepticism about international programs and organizations like the United Nations. She is also dubious about large defense expenditures and is chair of the Military Reform Caucus. Yet, despite her own activism and influence, Kassebaum firmly believes the executive branch and not the committee should make foreign policy. She has chastised colleagues who "think they were elected to be secretary of state."

Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina): Helms managed to earn the undying enmity of the State Department by blocking a number of foreign policy appointments early in the president's term. Such obstructionism is nothing new to the North Carolina senator. Acknowledged by liberals and conservatives as a brilliant parliamentarian, Helms is a legislative saboteur out to foil policies on the New Right's hit list. His views on foreign policy are usually out of sync with the rest of the committee, but his extraordinary command of the Senate rules coupled with the political power of the GOP's right wing has enabled Helms to have a disproportionate influence on policy. Not only have his ideological crusades frustrated his colleagues on the committee, he has vexed the administration with his uncompromising positions, such as support of Taiwan. Chris Manion, the senator's chief foreign policy staffer, defends Helms's record, arguing that "the goal of the Senate is to deliberate, not necessarily to proceed." If it is obstructionist to stop misguided policies from going forward, then Helms is glad to be obstructionist.

A tough re-election battle this year may cause Helms to keep a low profile on divisive international issues, howev-



er. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, his number one foreign policy priority this session will be drug interdiction in the region, focusing primarily on Cuba. This issue should cause little controversy—after all, there is little support for drug dealers. Also high on his list are agricultural aid to developing countries and Soviet violations of existing arms control accords.

Despite such caution, Helms will still be in the closest race of his career, topping the Democrats' own campaign hit list. If he does survive and Percy is defeated in Illinois, Helms would assume the committee chairmanship. But for a committee that claims in its official history that "bipartisanship...[is] our operating philosophy," this prospect is not particularly welcome to either the other members or the administration.

been "a step ahead of the administration...moving it in a more pragmatic direction." He adds that Percy's influence within the administration is underestimated, claiming that he, along with Armed Services Committee members Sam Nunn and William Cohen, was instrumental in pushing the president to accept the concept of "build-down" as part of his arms control strategy.

Yet to other observers this feather in the chairman's cap seems rather flimsy. Administration panic over the groundswell of support for a nuclear freeze may well have been more responsible for this instance of consultation than concern for congressional prerogative. As minority staff director Geryld Christianson says, the administration "realized [the build-down proposal] was a train that was moving." Rather than be run over, they decided to get on board. Consultation, then, is normally only practiced when politically expedient. Usually the president fears that Congress will attempt to restrict administration actions and so consultation would only provide the legislators with advance warning. As one legislative assistant put it, in practice consultation means the administration "informs the committee before it informs the newspapers."

THE EXTENT OF THE committee's power is not strictly subject to administration whim, however. The Constitution specifically provides that Congress has the power to confirm or reject presidential appointments. Yet even the exercise of this power is not without pitfalls. The committee has found itself subject to criticism—most volubly from Foreign Service officers—for simply rubber-stamping the president's nominees, filling the ambassadorial and agency ranks with persons who are often ill-qualified to act as diplomats. Indeed, no nominee for a diplomatic envoy post has been rejected since the administration of Woodrow Wilson. The committee is sympathetic to this criticism, but unrepentant. Scott Cohen asserts that senators rake the nomination hearings seriously, but bluntly explains, "Every [political appointment] is a threat to the two or three [State Department] people who wanted that job and who may ostensibly have more direct qualifications." Cohen believes there are often distinct advantages to having a political ambassador, such as having the "ear of the president." Most senators also believe the president is entitled to choose his own team, even if they do not personally agree with his choice. So, unless an egregiously inappropriate candidate is nominated, such as Ernest Lefever, who was proposed as assistant secretary of state for human rights but eventually withdrew under congressional pressure, the committee will tend to recommend confirmation. Members seem to prefer to use confirmation hearings as a stage for debating policy than as an opportunity to thwart the administration. The hearings on the nominations of Eugene Rostow, Richard Burt, and Adelman were used to question the administration's arms control policy and to try to elicit pledges from the appointees in response to committee concerns. The acceptance of empty concessions, like Shultz's promise to take a more active role in arms

control negotiations, however, tended to weaken the hearing's impact. Yet, as is often the case, something is better than nothing, and it is possible that the administration and Adelman may be more conscientious than if the committee had simply confirmed the nominees.

Hearings are just one method—the public one—of dealing with executive branch officials and attempting to influence an administration's policies and actions. In a variation on the "good-cop, bad-cop" strategy, committee members may try to publicly embarrass administration representatives to make them more amenable to private negotiations. USIA Director Charles Wick was recently brought to task, especially by the Democratic members, for secretly taping telephone conversations. These public reprimands were followed by private, and according to one staffer, apparently deferential, sessions with committee members.

The committee's relations with the executive branch—and therefore its ability to influence policy constructively—are often complicated by their differing perspectives. For example, the apparent antagonism between the State Department and the committee is caused in part at least by the differing constraints and outlooks of those involved. Some staff members with previous experience in the executive branch—majority staff director Cohen worked at the CIA while his Democratic counterpart, Christianson, is a 17-year veteran of the Foreign Service—may have a better understanding of those in the various foreign affairs agencies. Other staff members, however, are less sympathetic. They feel that slaving away at the visa desk in Togo does not necessarily qualify someone to make major policy decisions on El Salvador or missile limits. This criticism of the Foreign Service is found on both conservative and liberal sides of the aisle. Robert Dockery, Dodd's legislative assistant, characterized the typical Foreign Service officer as the "man in the gray flannel suit... who knows which fork to use and when, but is not willing to risk anything on a new approach." Coming from the other end of the ideological spectrum, Chris Manion, the staffer on Helms's Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, commented on the "obvious narrowness of training of people in the foreign policy establishment" which, he claims, tends to keep them out of touch with the majority of American people. Throughout Capitol Hill, a reputation for political naivete dogs the State Department because it is not squeezed by daily constituency pressures.

The poor relationship is undoubtedly made worse by a sort of territorial conflict. State Department officials and committee staff members both seem to feel they are the premier experts in their fields. But the two staffs work under very different conditions and have very different priorities. On the one hand, the State Department, as part of the executive branch, is obligated to push the administration position. Congressional staff members, on the other hand, can often get their bosses on the front page and win political brownie points by finding new ways to oppose the administration—and thus the department. After all, support of the president rarely makes the papers, but criticism does.

Paul Tsongas (D.-Massachusetts): Many on both sides of the aisle will view Tsongas's retirement with regret; his articulate and thoughtful comments have made him a respected member. A Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia, Tsongas's interest in Africa led him to seek a seat on Foreign Relations, where he is the ranking minority member on that subcommittee. Tsongas is a stinging critic of the administration's Third World policies. He often teams up with Dodd to oppose the president on Central America and has also gained attention



for his strong denunciation of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Tsongas almost always votes the liberal line, although he is a strong proponent of neo-liberalism.

Claiborne Pell (D.-Rhode Island): The only member of the Foreign Relations Committee who was previously a Foreign Service officer, Pell has a keener interest than most in the affairs of State and is certain to take the lead in reviewing the Foreign Service Act later in the session. He is also a staunch supporter of international institutions and covenants like the United Nations and the Law of the Sea treaty. It is his legislative style where the diplomat in Pell is most noticeable, however. Often labeled "aristocratic and patrician," Pell has made civility his trademark. Although he is as critical of the substance of administration policy as his more vocal liberal colleagues, Pell prefers a moderate approach. He never seeks to embarrass administration witnesses with whom he disagrees. He is, however, always willing to add his calming voice to the anti-



administration chorus, and supports both the nuclear freeze and negotiations on El Salvador.

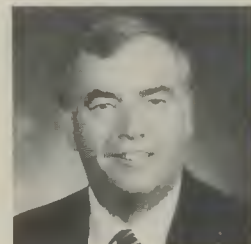
Pell's style has helped him establish a good working relationship with the chairman; both believe in bipartisan compromise. Percy gives the Democrats equal time for their concerns, while Pell avoids politicizing the issues. If the GOP lost control of the Senate and Pell took the chair, his management would probably not differ from Percy's.

Howard Baker (R.-Tennessee): Having the majority leader on your committee is like having Babe Ruth in the dugout as a pinch hitter—he's not around to bat every inning, but he's there when you need him. Despite weakened party discipline and increasing Republican disunity since 1982, Baker is really the only senator who can turn votes for the administration. Some say he has worked miracles on the Senate floor in obtaining administration victo-



ries on the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia and production of nerve gas.

Frank Murkowski (R.-Alaska): Relatively unknown in the press-hungry Senate, Murkowski is a committee vote the GOP can count on. Solidly conservative, Murkowski was one of seven senators to receive a liberal rating of zero from the Americans for Democratic Action in 1983. He replaced Senator S.I. Hayakawa in 1982 and assumed the chairmanship of the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee. The position was not simply a matter of filling an empty seat; he is now well-placed to



protect Alaska's trade interests with Japan as well as the state's fishing and seal harvest rights.

Christopher Dodd (D.-Connecticut): A newcomer to the committee in 1980, Dodd quickly made himself the Democrat's premier critic of the administration's Central American policy. He tried to counter the president's emphasis on military aid to El Salvador by garnering the support of a majority of committee members for a bill requiring the president to certify that the Salvadoran government was implementing political, economic, and social reforms before continuing aid. As the situation in Central America deteriorated, Dodd was able to enlist the support of Senators Percy and Kassebaum for "unconditional discussions" between the Salvadoran left and right. A Peace Corps volunteer in the Dominican Republic, he has a keen sense of Latin culture, geography, and language. This session, he is planning to reintroduce the certification requirement for El Salvador. He will also try to pressure the administration to



look for a negotiated settlement in the region with the help of the Contadora nations.

Dodd is often praised by members of both parties for his easy-going, congenial nature and respected for his articulate concern for human rights. He received a 100 percent liberal rating from the Americans for Democratic Action and a 99 percent liberal rating on foreign policy from the *National Journal* in 1982. Yet he is not without a neo-liberal streak, voicing concern over big government and a big budget.

Edward Zorinsky (D.-Nebraska): One of the committee's most conservative members, Zorinsky more often votes against his party than with it. The Nebraska senator was a Republican until he ran for the Senate in 1976 and was even tempted to switch back when the GOP regained control in 1980. He usually backs the administration, and voted for Adelman's appointment to ACDA. He has also supported production of the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, nerve gas, and chemical weapons. Despite such pro-defense votes, Zorinsky has been surprisingly critical of the administra-



tion's policies in Central America. Although he is not very influential in the committee's hearings and debates, his vote is often key in determining its position.

Alan Cranston (D.-California): During his run for the Democratic nomination, Cranston used the committee to focus attention on arms control—an issue to which he has been committed for years. Yet it is not without irony that Foreign Relations provided the one-time presidential hopeful with a useful platform. He avoided a seat on the committee for 12 years because he thought it was a political liability.



Aside from his long-standing devotion to the arms control issue, Cranston is a staunch defender of Israel. His opposition to Adelman's nomination and his lead in the fight against the proposed sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia in 1981 were in line with such views. His support of the B-1 bomber—which is manufactured in his home state—has left a noticeable seam in Cranston's liberal mantle, however, and has enabled critics to charge him with inconsistency.

Cranston has not hesitated to speak

loudly and frequently against the administration's foreign policy. Although ideologically akin to Pell, Cranston's style has differed radically this past year. Where Pell is a calm consensus-seeker, Cranston politicizes and polarizes. Such political profiteering is a marked contrast to his reputation as a coalition-builder, a characteristic which helped him become the Democratic whip in 1977. Cranston is the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Arms Control, Oceans, International Operations, and Environment.

THIS TENDENCY TO OPPOSE the administration is encouraged by the executive branch's failure to consult with Congress. Indeed, sometimes the committee feels obligated to oppose the president legislatively, even when it would prefer not to. Since Congress cannot initiate its own policy, but only stop the administration's, Foreign Relations often finds itself in a bind. Not wanting to undercut the president but unable to accept his policy, the committee usually tries a halfway measure: for example, putting restrictions on foreign aid. Requiring presidential certification of El Salvador's progress on human rights is another example. Unless the administration pays attention to congressional concerns (i.e., certifies that human rights are improving in El Salvador), Congress will make life tough for the executive branch (by cutting off military aid to the government). Although the committee uses this mechanism with the intent of asserting itself in the foreign policy arena, this sort of offuzzy compromise can entail particularly messy legislation and make Congress look ineffective if—or when—the president tries to circumvent the conditions. For example, Reagan has used Defense Department drawdown authority and may try to use the Arms Export Control Act to keep military aid flowing into El Salvador if Congress fails to vote for more assistance.

Such restrictive legislation functions as a threat to warn the administration and as a tool to guide policy. It signals Congress's mood without tying the president's hands. But the tool is a risky one. If Congress is to maintain its credibility, then it must sometimes carry out its threats—leaving the administration impotent and the United States without much leverage in the region. The Senate's blunt foreign policy instruments are ill-suited to the fine-tuning needed in international relations. Legislated foreign policy is everything a good foreign policy is not—inflexible, heavy-handed, and public. Therefore, the committee's effectiveness is hampered by another problem: it is most effective when it threatens to act but does not. The committee is aware of this subtle paradox. The architect of the certification proposal, Dodd, hoped that the administration would use it to broker with the Salvadoran government and blame its tough line on Congress. But since Congress cannot force the president to take a particular negotiating stance, its success on that count was negligible. However, certification did at least "keep the issue alive," according to Pat Buckheit.

Robert Dockery believes the committee will only be taken seriously if it is not afraid to exercise its constitutional prerogatives. Aside from veto power over treaties and nominations, the Senate's ultimate control is over appropriations. Dockery suggests that cutting the secretary of state's salary would jar an unresponsive administration. Such a measure may be extreme, but many in and out of Congress believe the committee could engage in some creative financing and use its power over the purse to restrain an adventurous administration. Effectively cutting the flow of aid to the Nicaraguan contras trying to overthrow the Sandinista government or limiting International Monetary Fund loans to South Africa would help temper administration policy. Similarly, Congress's fail-

ure to invoke the War Powers Act when the Marines went into Lebanon may signal that it's time the legislature reassert its power to declare war. Any potentially dangerous and prolonged U.S. military involvement is supposedly subject to congressional approval. Rather than assert this prerogative, Congress—and the committee, which oversees this power—gave the administration carte blanche support for a year and a half.

Given the many frustrations and political pitfalls of membership on Foreign Relations, it is a wonder that senators continue to seek the assignment. For those whose positions have wide public support or who have a keen interest in foreign affairs, eased procedural rules enable them to voice their concerns on the Senate floor and garner headlines without the attendant risk of a committee membership. Neither Edward Kennedy nor Mark Hatfield, who sponsored one of the 98th Congress's key pieces of foreign policy legislation, the nuclear freeze resolution, is on the committee.

Thus, the main reason senators join Foreign Relations—as even those who are most critical of the committee will admit—is because they care deeply about the issues. But more than commitment is needed to translate genuine concern into tangible policy. Institutional and political constraints hamper these efforts, but members—perhaps too aware of the limits on their foreign policymaking power—have let potential tools for gaining more influence slip by unnoticed.

If members are concerned with affecting U.S. foreign policy, they must focus on their political strengths rather than their institutional weaknesses. As Lugar claims, "A successful foreign policy in a democracy requires broad public support." The committee's most powerful punch rests with the political weight it can throw behind its position as representative of the people. Where public sentiment runs counter to administration policy, as for example on support for arms control or opposition to military intervention in Central America, the committee can assert itself more forcefully. Admittedly, it can only guide the direction of administration policy by pointing to public opinion flares, or, when all else fails, by setting up clumsy legislative roadblocks prohibiting presidential action. But too often the committee has failed to take advantage of the full range of these possibilities. The lack of legislative tools and the political explosiveness of sexy foreign policy issues have helped make members too gun-shy to aim their warning shots accurately. Thus, despite evidence of a critical American public, Congress approved the MX missile, allowed the president to usurp its control under the War Powers Act, and has taken no effective action against covert military activities in Nicaragua.

If Foreign Relations really is "an informed public," as one staffer says, then it should act like one. Just as the public's vote makes elected representatives more responsive to its views, the committee should use its vote to move the administration toward a national consensus on foreign policy. Without such an approach, not only will members be unable to make foreign policy, they won't even be able to shape it. With it, Foreign Relations can begin living up to its name. □

Richard Lugar (R.-Indiana): A former Rhodes Scholar, Lugar is one of the intellectual heavyweights on the committee. Yet he is as influential for his perceptive political sense as he is for his policy analyses. Although staunchly conservative, his hardline ideology has not kept him from being an adept coalition builder, a useful skill were he ever to become majority leader. Lugar usually supports the administration, and places most international conflicts in the context of an East-West confrontation. He has voted for increases in military aid to El Salvador and in defense spending. He is a strong proponent of arms sales to



other countries and a forceful opponent of economic sanctions such as the Carter administration's grain embargo. Elected to the Senate in 1976, Lugar is the fourth-ranked Republican and chairs the Subcommittee on European Affairs.

Larry Pressler (R.-South Dakota): Pressler has devoted himself to two major foreign policy issues—arms control and grain sales to the Soviet Union. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Arms Control, he has been a vocal advocate of a ban on anti-satellite space weapons. His concern about the build-up of nuclear weapons has caused him to break ranks with his party, most notably in his opposition to Adelman's appointment to ACDA. Pressler was also at odds with the Reagan administration over another appointment—Ernest Lefever for assistant secretary for human rights. Howev-



er, he does agree with the president and with other senators from grain-producing states that the use of a grain embargo as a foreign policy sanction is misguided.

Rudy Boschwitz (R.-Minnesota): Boschwitz is not a particularly influential member of the committee, although he is chairman of the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. His strong support of increased aid to Israel and his intense opposition to arms sales to Arab nations (as well as to nuclear power) has often caused him to line up with liberal Democrat Alan Cranston. Yet his promotion of U.S. farm exports abroad has also put Boschwitz in league with such core conservatives as Richard Lugar. It is his membership on the Agri-



culture Committee, however, rather than on Foreign Relations, that has proved to be more useful in protecting Minnesota's farm interests.

Paula Hawkins (R.-Florida): The newest member of Foreign Relations has yet to have an impact. But Hawkins says she plans to be an active member who will first "listen and learn." Her number-one priority is international narcotics trafficking, an issue of concern in her home state. She also plans to use the committee to monitor the health of Florida's citrus trade with Japan and Central America. Claiming some expertise with Caribbean affairs, Hawkins supported the invasion of Grenada and believes the continuance of covert aid to the Nicaraguan contras is necessary. Her tilt toward Turkey is sure to throw her into



conflict with strongly pro-Greek Democrats Pell and Sarbanes. Although Hawkins has tried to cultivate a reputation as a maverick, she has already assured the president that "he has a friend" on the committee.

The Canadian Ministry of External Affairs building in Ottawa may not look like the Department of State, but the concerns of Canada's foreign service parallel those of the United States'.



Other Foreign Services

CANADA'S SERVICE IS CHANGING BY COMMISSION, NOT BY ACT

MARY ANN SIMPKINS

LACK OF MOTIVATION, a changing social value system, and increasing bureaucratization are undermining Canada's diplomatic corps. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau acknowledged this "dissatisfaction which seems to be prevalent in the foreign service" when he ordered a study on the problems several years ago, from the perspective of both employees and their families. He appointed former Ambassador to Poland Pamela A. McDougall head of the Royal Commission on Conditions of Foreign Service, saying, "It is not meant to be an inquiry into the role of the foreign service. Rather, I would hope that you would be able to provide advice on how changes in that role should be reflected in how we relate to those who carry it out."

McDougall, however, rejected the guidelines because she felt questions of role play an important part in morale. Foreign service officers still remember that Trudeau said in 1969 that "the whole concept of diplomacy today as a career is a little bit outdated" and that the information usually contained in diplomatic reports "most of the time" can be "read in a good newspaper." Contrary to this view, however, McDougall found that Canada's foreign service continues to perform well three essential functions: "car-

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rying out foreign operations, coordinating foreign trade, and providing policy advice."

The commission report was published in 1981, and the government acted on some of the recommendations, such as consolidation of the delivery of all government programs abroad, even before it formally responded to it last May. This integration, completed in 1982, made a single, unified foreign service, with trade personnel from the former Department of Industry, Trade, and Commerce and foreign-posted civil servants from Employment and Immigration and the International Development Agency now under the aegis of the Department of External Affairs, parent of the foreign service.

Also in 1982, a new Department of External Affairs Act was introduced in the House of Commons to replace the 1909 version. The act, which is still before the House, stipulates that the secretary of state for external affairs is responsible for the administration of the foreign service of Canada, outlines the responsibilities of the department and the foreign service, and emphasizes the responsibility and accountability of the heads of posts abroad for the management of and direction of their missions and for the supervision of government departments and agencies in their areas.

Neither the government nor McDougall sees a need for a separate foreign service act similar to the one in the United States. They think this would set the diplomatic corps further apart from the domestic ser-

vice. Canada wants more, not less contact: Personnel in the foreign service must understand national concerns while the stay-at-home public servant needs awareness of international relations. Therefore, the government has significantly increased its program of transferring officers between the foreign and domestic services.

MUCH OF THE DISCONTENT with the foreign service stems from its management of personnel. When the commission was gathering its data, 50 percent of the FSOs and 80 percent of the administrative support staff complained about some aspect of personnel management. Said McDougall: "What they do is pick people up, move them all over hell's high acre throughout their career in a situation where that's becoming less attractive, less interesting. So if you want to keep your people, you bloody well better handle them properly. That goes for the way you administer them and the way you handle their careers." Her report accentuated "the overriding importance of personnel management." The departmental officer coordinating the government's response, Philip Slyfield, countered with: "Overriding what? We're trying to figure out what she really meant." The government maintains that its needs and aims must take precedence over the career needs and aspirations of individual employees. Nevertheless, it is revamping personnel administration. An assistant deputy minister with responsibility exclusively for personnel has been appointed; communications with employees are becoming more personalized; the language of the new Foreign Service Directives (the regulation bible) is being made less obtuse; and a more structured training course will include classes on knowledge of other societies and systems of government, public speaking, international law and economics, report writing, and listening. Most important, training in the handling of people will rank with training in financial planning and organization.

The integration of other government departments into External Affairs created four streams of FSOs: political and economic affairs (the traditional FSO), social affairs (immigration), commercial and economic affairs (trade commission), and development assistance (CIDA). The breakdown into streams occurs at the beginning of an FSO's career. After passing a three-part written exam and a short screening, the perspective officer is interviewed by four people, representing each stream. Distribution depends on whether the candidate expresses a strong preference for any one area and on negotiation between the board members. Despite the various categories, the FSO develops a sense of camaraderie with the other entrants. The Foreign Service exam is held on the same day at locations across Canada or, for any applicants traveling, at Canadian missions abroad, and all successful candidates join External in one or two batches on the same date. Furthermore, the two-week orientation to the department and to other government departments, joint assignments, and receptions build the FSO a usable network of personal contacts.

The probation period varies according to the

stream. Social affairs runs six to eight weeks of classroom instruction on immigration legislation, policies, and program objectives, followed by stints at headquarters and at an immigration center and in an employment center. The political and economic stream mainly consists of on-the-job training, with assignments ranging from a division desk job or working with the Canadian delegation at the United Nations to assisting in consular operations abroad in peak tourist periods. In development assistance the trainee undergoes intensive management training and works at CIDA learning its policies and procedures for planning, implementing, and evaluating bilateral aid projects. The training for a trade commissioner in the commercial and economic stream entails specialized courses in marketing, international finance, and international transport, plus time at headquarters and in a regional office of the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion.

Normally, before any posting out of Canada the probationer will spend six to eight weeks touring the country in order to become a creditable representative abroad. The trip includes meeting politicians, businessmen, cultural leaders, journalists, and senior public servants. Alan Morgan, director of the Personnel Policy and Planning Division, described his familiarization tour: "I met the premiers of Newfoundland and Saskatchewan, playwright Mavor Moore....It was very high level. Also we stayed one night on a farm and learned about wheat production and we visited the Tar Sands. And that was back in 1968."

Sometimes training is hindered by the need for instruction in one of Canada's two official languages. Although all candidates must have a university degree, unilingual candidates are only accepted if they agree to become bilingual. The government requires a certain percentage of FSO positions to be filled with bilingual people. However, invariably this quota is exceeded at External Affairs, which means a unilingual FSO's career will not be affected if he or she does not reach the required high proficiency in 10 months.

The probationary period runs one year. "We have a legal problem," according to Morgan. "It cannot go beyond a year. There's no way to extend it so we get appraisals from at least two supervisors. If there's some question about a candidate, we rotate them more frequently before deciding what to do." Usually one or two a year fail to be confirmed.

The successful trainee becomes an FS-I (lateral entry is not allowed) and is appointed as a desk officer at headquarters or is sent abroad as a third secretary. After a year the FS-I automatically rises to second secretary, but prior to advancing to first secretary he or she must wait for promotion to FS-2, usually a period of five years. The FSO will spend about 10 years as FS-2, during which time he or she will automatically advance to counselor. After reaching FS-3, it is usually 15 years before promotion to the non-unionized EX-3, the lowest executive grade. The highest level is EX-5.

A list of vacancies occurring in the upcoming year circulates to the staff, who can bid for an assignment or express a preference. The Promotion Board, which sits once a year, bases its decisions on a minimum

Foreign service officers still remember that Prime Minister Trudeau said in 1969 that 'the whole concept of diplomacy today as a career is a little bit outdated'

Commission head Pamela McDougall said that 'what they do is move people all over hell's high acre. If you want to keep your people, you bloody well better handle them properly'

number of annual performance and career assessments. The number of people promoted is determined by the vacancies in the next level. However, the recession in Canada has affected all government departments, and promotions throughout the civil service were down 50 percent in 1983 because no one is leaving. Most FSOs are not retiring before they are eligible for full pension at age 65 or after 35 years service. This means the number of promotions has decreased and the government will not hire any new FSOs. As a result, entrance exams have been canceled for 1984.

Half of an FSO's career is spent abroad in two-to-four-year postings. The department tries to strike a balance between hardship and non-hardship missions, interspersed with three-year tours in Ottawa. In the capital, the career pattern is desk officer, then section head, and finally director of a division. While an FSO could limit his or her postings to certain regions of the world, such as Asia, External Affairs frowns on the practice because specialization will not lead to ambassadorial rank. This position requires a varied geographical background, different levels of experience, analytical and communication skills, general ability, and seniority.

Unlike the American service, Canadian diplomats do not have the additional difficulty of finding political appointees taking many of the choice senior postings. Few ambassadorial appointments go to non-career officers. Of the six ambassadors and heads of mission who did not come up through the ranks, the majority served in Parliament. For instance, the ambassador to London, Don Jameson, was the cabinet minister in charge of external affairs, and the new ambassador to Australia, Ed Schreyer, was formerly governor-general and premier of Manitoba.

This respect for the service also comes from other government departments that have hired numerous FSOs in high positions. McDougall, for instance, left External Affairs in 1976 and was deputy minister of National Health and Welfare. While this promotes an elitist, self-confident attitude in the FSO, Morgan added: "They're sometimes cautious, suspicious people, probably a carryover from the pessimism needed in their professional positions when they're dealing with other countries."

MANY OF THE PROBLEMS faced by FSOs come from lack of employment abroad for spouses. Canada does not offer a separate maintenance allowance; therefore, External Affairs is actively pursuing reciprocal employment agreements for spouses with other countries. To date, they have arrangements, both formal and informal, with 16. All spousal benefits also apply to common-law marriages.

The report suggested paying a lump sum of money annually to spouses based on their partner's premium. In its response, the government noted the vital contribution spouses make and the hardships created by foreign postings but discarded compensation. Said Slyfield: "If you're going to give people money based on half the premium, that would mean spouses of higher-rank officers would get more than spouses of

lower-ranked people, and why should they?" To foster better communications with spouses, the government established a Community Liaison Office, staffed with five officers, including an employment counselor who will advise spouses about job conditions and prospects at posts and on their return.

Single employees, however, have complained that the government sometimes cancels their postings to accommodate couples. The government in turn has promised equal treatment, abolishing any preference for married couples. Single males had faced an additional discrimination in being forbidden postings to eastern bloc countries, but now that barrier is breaking down. However, medical problems or limited educational facilities could still hinder the postings of some employees and their families.

A significant number of criticisms center on the service's disparate treatment of the different categories of employees: indeed, at some posts a caste system seems to exist. Although the government blames it on the insensitivity of a few individuals, it is taking steps to reduce it. In letters of instruction to heads of posts and in briefings, the department strongly mandates equitable treatment. One step in this direction is that since last May all employees, spouses (whether or not they are Canadian citizens), and dependents travel on diplomatic passports.

Inequities in accommodations are also being ironed out. The government owns or leases more than 2000 residences in all countries, except the United States. Using comparability with fully serviced rental accommodations in Ottawa as a standard, the government previously allotted these homes according to rank, salary, and family size. While the commission thought homes should be judged on local relativity standards and allotted mainly on family size, the government prefers using comparability to take local standards into account. However, it will equalize treatment by stressing family size along with job-related needs. Heads of post will have authority for leasing and be held accountable for allocation of housing, furnishings, and fittings.

Accommodations are not free, however. A rent share is deducted from the employee's extra allowances. This money is determined by comparing the housing standards and costs at the post with those in Ottawa. For private leases, the government compensates for any differences between the post and Ottawa, up to a certain level. In sub-standard living situations, employees receive a percentage reduction.

Comparability with Ottawa is also used to decide the amount of extra compensation. Calculations are made on the price differences on a variety of items between the post and Ottawa. From this post index the government adjusts the employee's disposable income to match his or her purchasing power to Ottawa. Regardless of family size, disposable income determines the salary equalization payment and is set at 55 percent of the employee's gross annual salary, except those earning above \$37,744 are set at 50 percent. More than half the employees rejected this system as inadequate, however, because inflation in Canada can lower the index. The report recommended following the American lead and changing to the Laspeyres system, based on the concept of spendable

income. While this suggestion is under study, the government has abolished measuring the foreign service premium by the post index. This premium, serving as an inducement for overseas service, is calculated according to salary, number of dependents, and length of service abroad. As of last April, it ranged from \$2,335 for someone at the lowest level without dependents to \$11,345 annually for an experienced FSO making over \$53,920 and having two or more dependents.

CANADA RATES 86 of its 119 posts into four levels of hardship postings. As suggested by the commission, the government is substantially increasing the post differential allowance at all four levels, plus a 50-percent bonus will be given for consecutive assignments or extended tours at these postings. The report advised eliminating the connection between post differential allowance and recreational facilities. Contrary to that recommendation, the relationship will continue but the government will improve conditions by installing and upgrading athletic and fitness facilities at 30 posts. For hardship postings they will install health and exercise equipment, arrange for cottages, provide an all-terrain vehicle, and pay recreational club fees. Athletic and recreational facilities will be built into any new chanceries located in posts lacking these amenities. Additionally, more videotape hardware, feature films, and some Canadian television programming are being shipped to some of the most difficult posts.

Travel payments for an employee and dependents back to Canada have also increased. New regulations call for one trip home during an assignment of three years or longer at a non-hardship post; once during a two-year assignment at a Level I or II hardship post, plus one trip for each additional year beyond the two years; twice during a three-year assignment at a Level I or II hardship post, with one trip for each additional year beyond three years; and once a year at Level III and IV hardship posts. An employee also accumulates 10 additional days of leave for each year of service abroad. These leave credits can be taken as leave, traded for a travel entitlement equivalent to one return economy air fare between the post and Ottawa, or converted to cash once each fiscal year.

As for insurance, formerly any employee whose goods were damaged or lost while in storage or in transit was compensated according to a detailed depreciation chart. Now payment will be made on replacement value. Life and injury insurance should also be improved, according to McDougall. "You expose yourself in some situations to much greater risk than living in Ottawa," she said. "You should have more compensation in case of death or injury because you're working abroad for the government, acting in an official capacity." The government, however, thinks the insurance plans now available to all public servants are sufficient.

Surprisingly few foreign service employees were concerned about their personal safety abroad. They take in stride the threat of terrorist attacks, local unrest, and robbery with violence—mainly because

Canadians have rarely been the victims. Their security concerns focus on physical security arrangements in offices and staff quarters. Over the past six years conditions have slowly improved, with bullet-resistant barriers and strict control of access to working areas, public address and alarm systems, armored vehicles, and defensive-driving training where necessary, plus emergency radio facilities and protective measures in staff quarters, including lighting, locks, fences, grilles over windows, and safe-haven areas. Since the publication of the report, the budget for the Personal Safety Program has greatly increased. An Emergency Preparedness Division headquartered in Ottawa was created with responsibility for emergency planning, crisis management, matters related to international terrorism, threat assessment, and aspects of personal safety training and briefing. In addition, heads of post have expanded responsibility for personal safety programs.

Health and Welfare has 24 doctors serving at 14 posts who visit and provide preventive counseling two to four times a year at 53 posts considered lacking adequate medical facilities. Particularly difficult posts are served by 18 part-time nurses. The report recommended a more clinical treatment approach instead of a preventive health program. Consequently, mini-clinics in 10 medically difficult posts will be established on an experimental basis for two years. These clinics will be supplied with standard medical equipment and medications. Part-time nurses will staff them, with periodic visits from medical officers. Additionally, the heads of post will have authority to approve requests for medical evacuation without headquarters authorization. A study is underway regarding medical and psychological testing before assignment to lessen the number of premature repatriations blamed on health and medical problems. Last, the government will request diplomatic status for all medical officers.

As can be seen, the government has responded to many of the recommendations and suggestions from the 443-page commission report, but it has problems with others. According to Slyfield, "a number of recommendations were too simplistic for highly complex problems." For instance, McDougall had proposed and argued for a 10-year plan of retrenchment of overseas activities, because she believes that the resources of the foreign service are already spread too widely and too thinly around the world. Most Canadian posts are already very small, but the government says it does not understand how to predict future needs.

"I think the bureaucracy has replied as well as any bureaucracy can," McDougall said when asked what she thought of the government's response to her report. "My concern relates not so much to the response but whether having been told, as frankly as possible, what the gut problems are in the foreign service whether they'll do the kind of long-term things which are the most important issues. You can tinker around the edges for a kind of instant euphoric reaction but there are attitudinal changes, for instance, which absolutely have to be fostered and encouraged. Government has such a short memory because the government is only around for four-year periods." □

'You expose yourself to much greater risk than living in Ottawa,' said McDougall. 'You should have more compensation in case of death or injury because you are acting in an official capacity'

Pinch-hitting

When the vice president picks you to replace him, you don't bat an eye

WILLIAM M. OWEN

AS THE DESK OFFICER for any country from Afghanistan to Zambia can testify, one's duties cover a broad spectrum. At a given point in the day, for example, one may have to lend an ear to an irate citizen who maintains that "our State Department" is not doing enough for some brave little country that has always paid its war debts. An hour later, one may sit in on a conference between the secretary of state and a visiting foreign minister. During my time as officer-in-charge—whoever devised that title had a wry sense of humor—of Swedish and Finnish affairs in 1962-63, I ran the gamut of such varied tasks. I never imagined, however, that one day the vice president himself would order that I deliver a speech in his name. The funny part is that the members of the audience either mistook me for the great man or somehow thought that I conferred equal status on their gathering.

The historical background for this bizarre episode goes back to March 29, 1638, when the first Swedish expedition to the New World set foot on the North American continent and established Fort Christina at what is now Wilmington, Delaware. Three hundred years later the event was commemorated by elaborate ceremonies in Wilmington attended by President Roosevelt and the young Prince Bertil of Sweden, representing the crown prince, later King Gustav VI Adolf. When 1963 approached, celebrations for the 325th anniversary were

William M. Owen is a retired Foreign Service officer who served in Western Europe and Southeast Asia.

planned, and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and the same Prince Bertil were named as the principal participants.

From on high in the department, I was instructed to draft two speeches for LBJ, the first to be delivered at a luncheon at the Hotel du Pont in Wilmington, and the second at "The Rocks," the original riverside landing place at Fort Christina. I duly prepared the drafts, and up the line they went. My chore thus completed, I returned to the nitty gritty of the desk officer's life and thought no more about those intrepid Swedish settlers of the seventeenth century.

Several days before the event, I had a telephone call from a friend, Robert Skiff, a Foreign Service officer who was foreign affairs aide to the vice president, asking if I would like to accompany LBJ for the occasion. I enthusiastically accepted, and Bob told me to be at the VIP lounge at National Airport the morning of the anniversary.

The day of the event dawned, and by some freak of nature the weather was absolutely gorgeous, with sunshine, blue skies, and mild temperatures more befitting a day in early June than late March. Taking a chance, I wore a lightweight dark suit and took along a black homburg that had seen me though four years at the Stockholm embassy, where one of my numerous duties had been that of protocol officer. After polishing off a few items at my desk, I took a cab to National. Several others assembled at the VIP lounge: Senator J. Allen Frear and Representative Harris B. McDowell, both Delaware Democrats, and Olle Anderson, a Swede who was the Senate masseur, in which capacity he had often "pressed the flesh" of the former senator from Texas. We chatted away lightheartedly, keeping an eye on the entrance. As the minutes ticked by, with no sign of the vice president, we began to wonder. Suddenly, a limousine pulled up outside and we all jumped to our feet. To our surprise, there was no sign of LBJ. The only passenger was Colonel William Jackson, his military aide who, ignoring the assembled dignitaries, marched straight to me, saying in staccato fashion that the vice president had been delayed

at a meeting of the National Security Council and that he wanted me to make the speech for him at the luncheon but hoped to arrive to give the speech himself at The Rocks. He thereupon handed me a large envelope and started to depart. "But look, colonel," I said, "I'm just an unknown Foreign Service officer, and there at the lunch will be the governor, the senator, and the congressman. Surely one of *them* could give the speech." The colonel assumed a command posture and replied in a tone of steel, "The vice president has directed that *you* read the speech." In a daze I followed the others who were already walking toward the waiting plane.

ONCE SEATED, I opened the envelope and read the text of the speech I was to deliver. The final version had been carefully tailored to fit the Johnson style—one addition noted that LBJ's original congressional district included many constituents of Swedish descent, as did indeed the entire great state of Texas. It seemed to me that it would be a nice touch at the outset for the Swedish visitors to be made welcome in their own language, so I got out my pen and added a couple of sentences expressing hope that their stay in the United States would be enjoyable. It did not occur to me that tampering with a vice presidential speech might be a federal offense, but in any case the statute of limitations now protects me. To make quite sure that the language was appropriate, I checked out the additions with Olle Anderson, and then retreated to LBJ's private compartment at the rear of the aircraft. I figured that if I was to substitute for the great man on the ground I was entitled to his privileges in the air. In the privacy of the compartment I read the speech aloud several times above the roar of the propellers.

The short flight to New Castle airport completed, we were met by Governor Elbert N. Carvel, who had already received the news of the vice president's delayed arrival. The governor hustled me into his Cadillac convertible, where I was seated

for LBJ



MAGDA FRENCH

in the middle between him and Senator Frear. The top was down in deference to the balmy weather, and leading a small cavalcade complete with motorcycle outriders, we took off at high speed for Wilmington. Small knots of people waved at us en route and it seemed to me that their eyes lit quizzically upon me.

"Don't they know the vice president is delayed?" I asked Carvel.

"Nope," he replied, "not enough time to tell them."

"Then they think I'm the vice president?"

"That's right."

By now we were on a main street in downtown Wilmington and had slowed down. The crowds were jammed two or three rows deep as we approached Rodney Square. The governor and the senator waved to them, and I did the same, sometimes tipping my homburg in unison with the hats of the distinguished men. The spectators lining the road were evidently looking for the impressive figure of LBJ, but all they got was 140 pounds of bespectacled yours truly. I tried to see the humor of the situation, but my mood changed abruptly as we

swung into the square and slowed to a crawl. The place was packed with humanity piled into reviewing stands. A band struck up a salute to the vice president. A cannon fired. The ancient weapon had been recovered from a Swedish warship, the *Vasa*, which had sunk in Stockholm harbor on its maiden voyage in 1628 and had been on display in the 1963 Seattle Exposition before being sent on to Wilmington. We slowly traversed the large square to applause, music, and cannon fire and I wished fervently that I was somewhere, anywhere else.

We pulled up at the entrance to the

Horel du Pont and dismounted. The courtly Swedish ambassador, Gunnar Jarring, shook hands with me with a broad smile, escorted us to an anteroom, and presented me to Prince Bertil. His eyes twinkled and I had the impression he was well aware of my unusual situation. We were soon in the Gold Ballroom and ensconced at the head table, with the governor on my right and Madame Jarring on my left. After ruffles and flourishes, the two national anthems were sung, there was an invocation by a clergyman, and there were toasts to President Kennedy and King Gustav Adolf. During our conversation throughout the meal, Madame Jarring addressed me as "Mr. Vice President" with a straight face. Fortified by a glass or two of red wine, I lent myself to the occasion with as good a grace as I could muster

and awaited the moment of truth. Eventually, the governor took the microphone, explained that LBJ had been detained in Washington, and introduced me, noting that I had served in the Stockholm embassy. I read the speech at a measured pace, with no attempt to put on a Texas drawl, and at its conclusion mercifully sat down to applause—how much I cannot remember. Madame Jarring commented in a whisper, "You read that speech better than the vice president could have done." Prince Bertil then delivered a felicitous address, and I envied him the fact that he was speaking under his own identity.

The luncheon over, the governor departed for the airport to meet the vice president, while the rest of us made our way to The Rocks for the afternoon ceremonies naming the monument a national

historical site. After a short interval LBJ himself arrived, and I was among those presented to him. Our eyes met. "Thanks for reading mah speech," he said. I responded that it had been an honor, and he quickly turned away.

This time the vice president gave the talk himself. Johnson was an impressive figure who generated a certain magnetism and electricity in person that did not come through on television. His audience responded well. Prince Bertil followed with his speech. After a final ceremony at a church founded in 1698 by Swedish settlers, we took a motorcade back to the airport, then flew back to Washington. When I got back to my house, my mother greeted me and asked how my day had gone. "Just fine," I replied. "The vice president gave one speech and I gave the other." □

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PEOPLE

1984 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards to Honor Clarke Slade

This year's AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards will be named for the late Clarke W. Slade, a unique friend to the Foreign Service who died last September [EDITORIAL, December]. An experienced educator and psychiatric social worker, Slade served first as an education and guidance counselor at AFSA, then later in the Medical Division of the State Department, advising, supporting, and assisting hundreds of Foreign Service families. He was serving as a consultant to the AFSA Committee on Education, which administers the scholarship programs, at the time of his death.

This month, Foreign Service volunteers will meet in the Levin Library of the Foreign Service Club for an orientation session for the convening of the 1984 Merit Award panels. The 24 panelists review approximately 100 applications from Foreign Service high school students who will be graduating this spring. The 22 winners in this academic competition will receive awards of \$500 each, based on their academic accomplishments as well as their extracurricular and community activities at home and abroad.

The Merit Award panels operate on the same concept as Selection Boards. The four panels are chaired by members of the committee and include representatives from State, AAFSW, AID, USIA, and the retired Foreign Service. The panelists review the applications and rank each student on transcripts covering four years of high school grades, rank in class, grade-point average, SAT scores, letters of reference, and a personal essay and list of leadership activities. Serving on a Merit Award panel can be a fascinating and enlightening experience.

The following volunteers are currently serving on the 1984 panels: State—Teresa Jones, Jon Glassman, Greg Johnson, Mark Mohr; AAFSW—Claire Bannerman, Lucie Bourne, Le Rowell, Marlen Newman; AID—Charlotte Cromer, Valeria Dickson, Evelyn McLeod, Tom Ross; USIA—Susan Fitzgerald, Mary Muller, Alvin Perlman, Mildred Vardaman; retired For-

eign Service: James J. Blake, Charles Tanguy, Robert Yost, Charles S. Whitehouse. The chairman of the committee is Claude Ross, and the members include Robert L. Caffrey and David T. Jones (State), Janet M. Biggs (AAFSW), James D. Singletary (AID), Susan L. Modi (USIA). Dawn H. Cuthell is the Scholarship Programs administrator.

Winners of the competition will be announced in the May issue.

Deaths

RONALD B. CASAGRANDE, a Foreign Service officer since 1965, died on December 13 in Bonn, Germany.

Casagrande was educated primarily at Syracuse University, where he earned both his bachelor's and doctor of philosophy degrees. He also received a master's from University of Wyoming. He served in the Army in Germany from 1957-60 and taught at the University of Maryland in Munich from 1963-65.

His first Foreign Service assignment sent him to Karachi in 1966. Further assignments included Munich, Sao Paulo, and the U.S. mission in West Berlin, where he was first posted in 1978. He had served as the embassy's economic counselor from 1982 till his death.

Casagrande is survived by his wife, Siegrid, and daughters Regina and Sabine. The family has requested that expressions of sympathy be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund in his name.

ERIC CHRISTIAN FUNSETH, whose father, Robert, is a Foreign Service officer, died in Washington on January 29. He was 23.

Funseth was born in Washington and accompanied his parents on Foreign Service assignments in Europe and Canada. He graduated from Yorktown High School in Arlington, Virginia. Later, he attended Johns Hopkins University and Towson State University.

An amateur railroad historian, Funseth had been the youngest member of the Ottawa Valley Model Railroad. Other accomplishments included membership in the National Honor Society and the Mathematics Honor Society. He was also an accomplished violinist.

Funseth's parents, Robert and Marilyn, have established two memorial funds in his honor: Saint John's Church Outreach Program, Lafayette Square, 1525 H St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; and "The Eric Christian Funseth Memorial Fund," at the Patients Library, Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland 21204.

Watercolors with Your Meal

Continuing the new emphasis on Foreign Service art in the club, *Watercolors by Jane Simanis* will be on display and for sale from April 16 through the end of May in the main dining room.

Simanis, a Chicago-born artist who now lives in Washington, has a bachelor's degree in fine arts from Mundelein College and has done graduate work in art education at George Washington University. She has had excellent exhibits at numerous one-person, group, and juried shows and won an award for excellence in watercolor in the October 1981 annual juried show of the League of American Pen Women in Alexandria.

Both Jane and her husband Joseph were in the Foreign Service, and Jane served as a consular officer in Paris, Germany, and Warsaw. Many of her watercolors reflect her seven years' experience abroad. She has earned a reputation as a highly accomplished artist and her paintings are coveted by



private collectors in both the United States and Europe. In addition to painting, she teaches art and calligraphy in the area.

FRANCES J. GROSS, a librarian at the Library of Congress and a Foreign Service wife, died on February 10 of cancer at her home in Washington, D.C. She was 57.

Gross was educated at the University of Minnesota, where she received a bachelor's degree in Russian language and did graduate work in American history. She did further studies in Russian at Middlebury College in Vermont and earned a master's in library science from Columbia University.

She married Clifford Gross in 1951 and moved with him to Washington in 1952, when he joined the Department of State. She traveled with him to many Foreign Service posts, including Frankfurt, Vienna, Sofia, Budapest, Paris, Teheran, and Moscow. At several of these posts she was active in volunteer library work in the American schools.

Between foreign assignments, Gross was active in community and volunteer work, including Common Cause, Meals on Wheels, and Children's Hospital, and continued her work at the Library of Congress. In 1959, she was designated to prepare a special bibliography on Walt Whitman. At the time of her death, she was nearing completion of work on a book about Catherine of Suffolk, a sixteenth century aristocrat. The book will be completed by her husband and an associate.

Gross is survived by her husband, of Washington, D.C.; her mother, Jane G. Osgood, of Arvada, Colorado; and by her brother, Robert G. Osgood, of Lakewood, Colorado.

LEAMON R. HUNT, the director general of the Rome-based multinational peacekeeping force in the Sinai Desert, was as-

sassinated by gunmen as he left his home in southwestern Rome on February 15. The Fighting Communist Party, an offshoot of the Red Brigades, claimed responsibility through an anonymous phone call to a Milan radio station. The caller denounced the Camp David accords and called for "imperialist forces" to leave Lebanon, Italy's withdrawal from NATO, and a halt to placement of U.S. nuclear weapons in Sicily. The 10-nation Multinational Force and Observers, of which Hunt, 56, was the ranking official, has no role in Lebanon.

Hunt was educated at Murray State College in Oklahoma and the Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He served in the Coast Guard in 1945-46. After joining the Foreign Service in 1948, he served in posts in Jerusalem, Turkey, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Costa Rica, Syria, and Leba-

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non. He was appointed executive director of the State Department's Bureau of Near East and South Asian Affairs in 1969 and in 1974 became deputy assistant secretary of state for administration.

In 1976, Hunt was assigned to the Beirut embassy as charge d'affaires and in 1977 was appointed minister-counselor and director of the U.S. Sinai Field Mission. In 1979 he was named deputy for Saudi Arabian affairs at the Department of the Treasury, with jurisdiction over the U.S.-Saudi Arabian Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation.

Hunt won several awards throughout his career, including the State Department Superior Honor Award in 1973 and 1980; a Meritorious Honor Award in 1977; and the U.S.-Saudi Arabian Joint Commission Outstanding Award in 1980. Hunt retired from the Foreign Service in 1980 and was

appointed to his position with the Sinai force by the governments of Egypt and Israel the following year. The force has monitored the provisions of the Israeli-Egyptian treaty affecting the peninsula since April 25, 1982.

Bookfair

AAFSW is getting ready for its October Bookfair. Donations of books, stamps, records, paintings, prints, drawings, and posters are needed, as are volunteers to work in the Bookroom and to pick up books from donors.

Bookroom volunteers sort, price, and box the books. Donations may be deposited in one of the big green collection boxes at the State Department, or you may call the Bookroom to arrange for a pickup. If you can help or want more information call

223-5796, or stop by the Bookroom (room 1524, next to the cafeteria), which is open for sales weekdays, except Wednesday, from 2 to 3 p.m.

Announcement

A STAMP DRIVE has been started by the William Kretchman Post 730 of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. Their goal is to collect one million stamps to be distributed to hospitalized veterans, handicapped persons, shut-ins, and youths. The stamps may be left on envelopes to be used in a special therapy project.

If anyone would like to contribute to the stamp drive, please send your stamps to Martin Kaufman, Stamp Coordinator, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., William Kretchman Post 730, 6911 S.W. 27th St., Miramar, Florida 33023.

EXCHANGE

WRITERS WANTED

WRITERS IN LATIN AMERICA and the Caribbean wanted to regularly contribute fact-filled features on political, economic, travel, cultural, general interest topics. Accuracy and clarity stressed. Send copy, queries, to LATIN AMERICAN NEWS SERVICE, Box 5392, Arlington, VA 22205.

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Record your diplomatic career, family history, special memories. Call or write John J. Harter, 2066 Royal Fern Ct., Reston, VA 22091. Tel. (703) 476-1461.

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

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FARA APARTMENT RENTALS: Fully furnished efficiency, 1 and 2 bedroom apartments. One block from State Department. Prices from \$40-60 per day, plus tax. Call (202)463-3910. Write FARA Housing, Rm. 2928, Dept. of State, Washington, DC 20520.

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

Association News

Iglitzin appointed new Association executive director

Lynne B. Iglitzin has been appointed executive director of AFSA, the Governing Board announced in February. Iglitzin took over the post on March 19, replacing Cecil B. Sanner, who retired earlier in the year [see related story].

For the past two years, Iglitzin was the executive director of the National Council for the Social Studies, based in Washington, D.C. Her responsibilities there included creation and supervision of a \$1 million budget, development, staff supervision, investment management, and representation of the council before various boards, commissions, and conferences. In addition, she supervised the implementation and expansion of computer services into the membership, financial, meetings, and advertising departments. She was instrumental in a major long-ranging planning effort for the association, drawing together ideas from the membership, board, committees, and staff.

Prior to that, she acted as a lecturer in political science and director of undergraduate studies at the University of Washington in Seattle for 12 years. She majored in international relations at Barnard College and has a master's degree from the University of Minnesota and a doctorate from Bryn Mawr College, both in political science.

Iglitzin has long been interested in public affairs and has been active in numerous civic and government organiza-



Lynne B. Iglitzin

tions. She is the author of two books on politics and of numerous articles on education and politics. She has served on five boards of directors and been appointed to two municipal committees in Seattle.

Commenting on her appointment, Iglitzin said she is looking forward to "a new challenge—the administration and management of an important professional association. AFSA has a strong membership, a dedicated board, and a highly competent and skilled staff. I look for-

ward to building on these strengths and helping the Association continue to be responsive to the changing needs of the Foreign Service."

In announcing her appointment, AFSA president Dennis Hays said, "The next few years will be ones of unparalleled growth and development in the Association. We are fortunate to have someone of Dr. Iglitzin's caliber to help us make AFSA the best Association possible."

Director Sanner retires to plaudits



AFSA Acting Executive Director and Administrative Director Cecil B. Sanner retired to praise from his staff last month, receiving a certificate of appreciation expressing "deep affection and best wishes," presented by former Executive Director Robert M. Beers (picture on left). Sanner had been on the AFSA staff for more than 12 years, first as membership director and, for the last 18 months, in charge of the headquarters building. Of more immediate use in his planned world-wide travels was a tropical shirt, presented by Scholarship Administrator Dawn Cuthell (picture on right).

Statement from Elections Committee

To All Members:

Within the next few months, AFSA will be holding its elections for Association officers and retired representatives. Due to the press of other work, the chairman of AFSA's Standing Committee on Elections found it necessary to resign and, as a result, circulation of the Election Call has been somewhat delayed.

Members will have 30 days from the date of the Election Call, which is mailed on April 2, 1984, to nominate candidates or make known their candidacy for election. In order to expedite the procedure, we ask that individual candidates and slates furnish their campaign statements to the Elections Committee at the same time as they make known their candidacy. Individuals nominated by other

members will be notified as soon as possible thereafter and will be asked to submit campaign statements within one week of notification. Details are contained in the Election Call.

Thank you for your cooperation in the elections process.

JOHN C. RUSSELL
Chairman
Elections Committee

Happy Hour

Starting this month, Happy Hour in the Bar & Lounge of the Foreign Service Club (21st Street entrance) will be discontinued. Members can arrange to have cocktail parties in the Bar & Lounge after hours by contacting Barbara Hughes at 338-5730.

At the same time, the hours of the Bar & Lounge have been extended, running from 11:30 to five.

AFSA supports bill to punish most secret taping

AFSA President Dennis K. Hays protested the conduct of USIA Director Charles Z. Wick in secretly taping telephone conversations, telling the House Subcommittee on Legislation and National Security last month that "the public has every right to expect ethical behavior on the part of its elected and appointed officials." Citizens also have a right "to be assured that violations of ethics will be punished by appropriate means," he went on to say, urging the committee to vote favorably on a bill that would make most secret taping by government officials a crime.

"During the past two months we have witnessed an episode that is sadly reminiscent of the events of a decade ago," said Hays. "We have learned that the director of USIA regularly recorded telephone conversations over a period of years, in many cases without informing

the taped party." Though Wick was advised by his staff that his actions violated existing regulations, the director continued to do so by his own admission because the rules "lacked teeth."

"Unless Congress enacts legislation to make violations of these regulations punishable, government officials will be able to ignore these prohibitions," said Hays. "The men and women of USIA have striven for three decades to create and manage an information agency that would have international credibility. Mr. Wick presides over the instrument with which the U.S. government communicates its policies with the rest of the world. The image of the United States will of necessity suffer if we cannot be assured that the highest standards of professionalism and ethical conduct are expected of our elected and appointed officials, and enforced by regulations and laws—with teeth."

Hays noted favorably that the bill under consideration provided for legitimate exceptions, such as for law enforcement, counter-intelligence, and public safety, as well as when both parties agree.

Legislative Action Fund totals top \$31,000 from 638

The AFSA Legislative Action Fund, meant to help the Association combat administration assaults on the Foreign Service retirement and personnel systems, stood at \$31,542.57 from 638 donors on February 28. The money will be used to defray the costs of AFSA's ongoing legislative efforts as the administration gears up for a renewed assault on the federal workforce.

Donations to the fund are tax-deductible and are acknowledged in this space unless the donor wishes to remain anonymous. Donations may be sent to:

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Enough is enough, AFSA tells State on Danger Pay

"For 15 months the Association has heard one excuse after another as to why the department can't or won't or doesn't dare grant danger pay to members of the Foreign Service in Beirut and San Salvador" for the period between November 1982 and November 1983, AFSA said to State Department management in a letter last February. "Enough is enough—let's finish it," the letter concludes.

The department has consistently "attempted to straitjacket itself into the most narrow interpretation of the law possible," the letter says. "This is not a question of law; this is a question of intent. If the department wants to grant danger pay it will; if it does not it will continue to manufacture reasons it cannot."

State revoked danger pay in November 1982, interpreting a provision of the Foreign Service Act that the return of dependents to Beirut forbade the awarding of the pay. Congress clarified its position on the matter in November 1983, and employees serving there have received the pay since that date. At issue is the year-long period between the two Novembers, which includes the terrorist bombings of the embassy and the Marine headquarters, resulting in some 300 deaths. Management has continued to interpret the act's provision on dependents to forbid retroactive payment.

"The Association takes strong objection to the presumptions and findings of this opinion," AFSA says in the letter. The Association notes that the department advertised for volunteers to serve at these posts and listed danger pay as an incentive, yet refuses to award it. State has the authority to make the payments, the letter continues, and Congress specifically urged the department to do so. Moreover, the Association says, State's interpretation of the provision ignores the legislative history of the Foreign Service Act.

Senior department officials have demonstrated their support on this issue. One has gone on record, saying, "I strongly feel that the only obstacle that should prevent the payments is a clear and unambiguous legal prohibition. If this is a judgment call, we should be tilting in the direction of making the payments, not denying them."

AFSA testifies in House on anti-censorship bill

Even in light of the Reagan administration's temporary suspension of enforcement of its controversial national security directive mandating lie detectors and pre-publication review, "the need continues" to pass legislation prohibiting the practices, AFSA President Dennis K. Hays told a House subcommittee in late February. "Our Association acknowledges the need to protect national security information," Hays told the Civil Service Subcommittee. "But the administration's directive is not an appropriate or workable means of doing so."

Hays spoke in support of the Federal Polygraph Limitation and Anti-Censorship Act of 1984, which would forbid the foreign affairs agencies and others from using polygraphs and life-long pre-publication review agreements to stop leaks of classified information. "There is no evidence that leaks are endangering the national security, and there are already in place appropriate safeguards to preclude disclosure of sensitive informa-

tion." Hays noted that the Department of State had been unable to substantiate any unauthorized revelations in the last five years when asked to do so by Senator Charles Mathias (R.-Maryland). "The bill properly recognizes that there is no justification for such a directive that abrogates the first amendment rights of as many as 2.5 million federal workers,"

concluded Hays.

In his testimony, Hays noted that if prepublication review were in effect, expert outside commentary on breaking events of national importance, such as the invasion of Grenada, would be "delayed so long the troops would have probably been off the island by the time the experts' words appeared in print."

Carlucci Opens Journal Lecture Series



Retired Career Minister Frank Carlucci, until recently head of the Commission on Security and Economic Assistance, described to an audience of 80 at the Foreign Service Club in February the need to reform and coordinate all U.S. foreign assistance programs so that both recipient-country needs and U.S. policy objectives can be met. For that reason, he said, the commission has recommended that a Mutual Development and Security Agency take over all foreign assistance programs, including those now run by AID. Carlucci was the first speaker in the Foreign Service Journal 60th Anniversary Lecture Series.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



WINNER:

"I know it's after 5:30, but this cable just has to go out tonight."

—Jeffrey J. Buczacki, Beijing

HONORABLE MENTIONS:

"Listen, State: Here's a quarter—Defeat evil, save the empire, be under budget, and be back by noon."

—Brian L. Goldbeck, Oakton, Virginia

"Here. Have an hors-d'oeuvres and quit sulking. They loved your costume, but the ambassador's wife thought first place should go to somebody who's not from the embassy."

—Bob Fouche, Washington

Winners of the monthly LIFE AND LOVE contest receive a certificate for a free lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club, honorable mentions receive a certificate for a free carafe of wine. Send entries to:

LIFE AND LOVE #10
AFSA
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Washington, D.C. 20037

Contest deadline
is May 15

Competition #10



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