

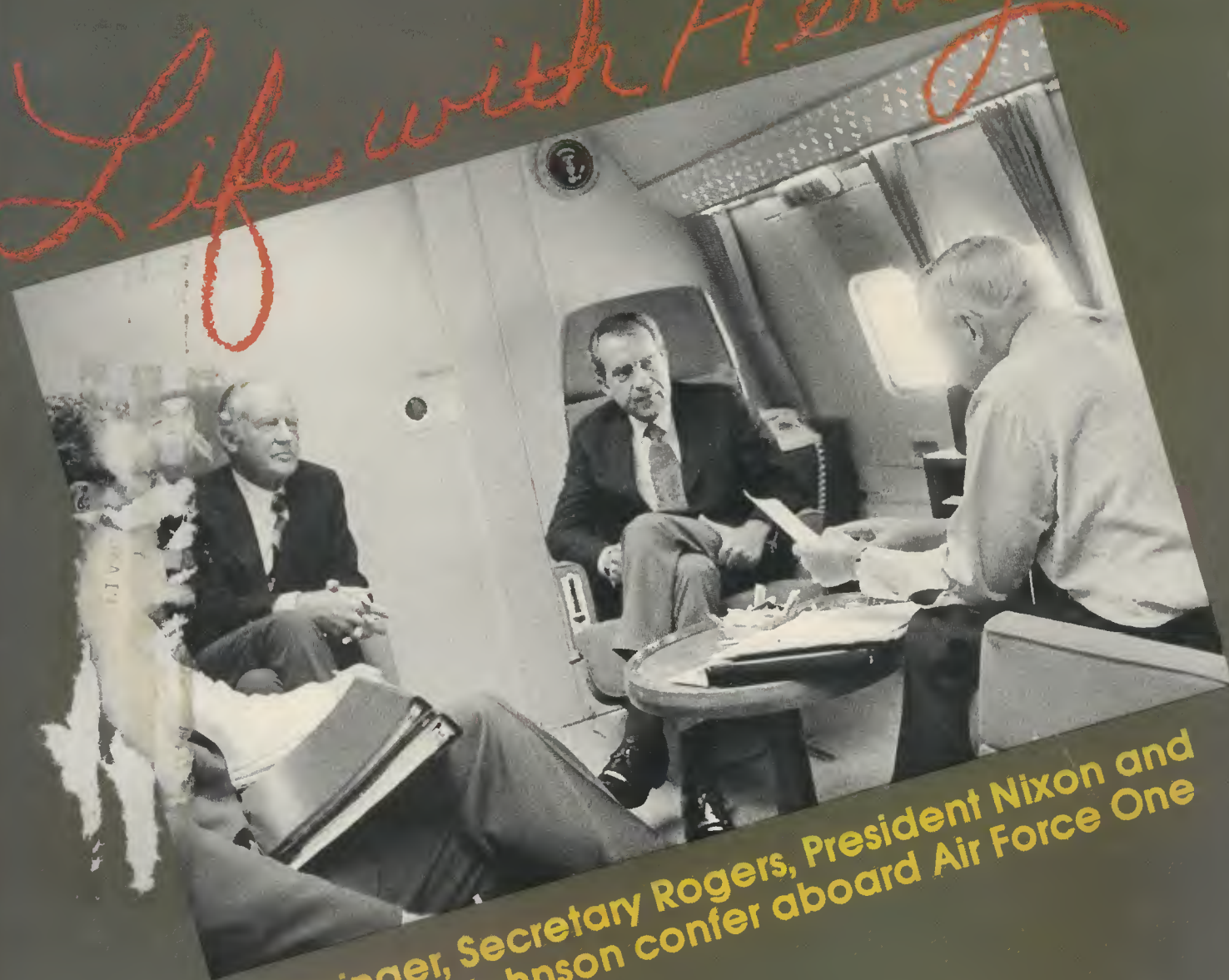
FOREIGN SERVICE

J O U R N A L

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September 1984

Life with Henry



Kissinger, Secretary Rogers, President Nixon and
U. Alexis Johnson confer aboard Air Force One

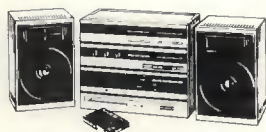


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SEASONS

ELECTRONIC TUNING SYSTEM



With component stereo sound search/scan, digital clock, dolby, metal/chrome/normal tape capacity. (110/220v. 50/60, battery.)

3-6045

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AM/FM STEREO RADIO CASSETTE RECORDER

omnitech



"Omnitech," dolby metal tape switch, digital electronic precision tuning. (110/220v., 50/60, battery.)

3-5295

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AM-FM, 4 international bands. (110/220v., battery.)

7-2990

\$179.20

AIKO AM/FM RADIO



AM-FM radio (110/220v.)

AMR6600

\$19.20

LIGHT 'n EASY STEAM & DRY IRON



Lightweight, cool-touch outer shell won't burn you if touched. (220v.)

F363BE

\$21.00

LIGHT 'n EASY SELF CLEAN II IRON

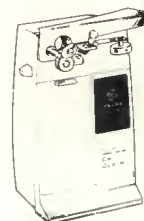


Lightweight, cool-touch outer shell and GE Self Cleaning system. (220v.)

F340 FAL

\$42.00

ELECTRIC CAN OPENER



Automatic shut-off, easy clean cutter assembly. (220v.)

EC32CAH

\$21.00

GRAN TOUR 1200 WATT HAIR DRYER

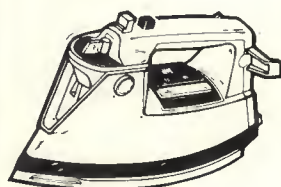


Dual voltage, mini dryer with adapter and durable travel case. (120/240v.)

PRO17

\$21.70

HAMILTON BEACH STEAM/DRY IRON



Steam Dry iron with water level window. (220v.)

754SAL

\$26.30

HAMILTON BEACH STEAM/DRY IRON

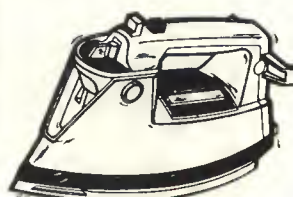


Full size steam dry iron with silverstone non-stick finish (220v.)

763SB

\$31.80

HAMILTON BEACH STEAM/DRY IRON



Full size self-cleaning steam-dry iron. (220v.)

757SW

\$33.20

HAMILTON BEACH COFFEE MAKER



12 cup clock/timer brew start coffee maker. (220v.)

804AL/B

\$45.60

HAMILTON BEACH DRINK MIXER



Drink mixer. (220v.)

727

\$27.60

HAMILTON BEACH 14 SPEED BLENDER

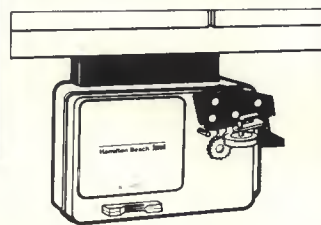


14 speed chrome blender with 40oz. glass jar. (220v.)

632CK

\$39.50

HAMILTON BEACH ELECTRIC CAN OPENER

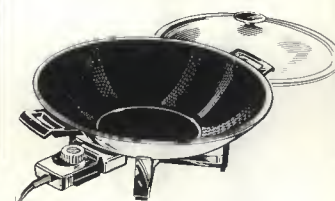


Under-the-counter electric can opener. (220v.)

840AL

\$22.10

WEST BEND ELECTRIC WOK



5.5 quart electric wok w/non-stick interior. (220v.)

5106

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AIKO AM/FM ELECTRONIC CLOCK RADIO



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AIKO ARC222

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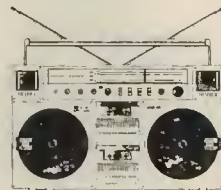
AIKO CASSETTE RECORDER



Cassette recorder w AM/FM/SW radio. (110/220v. 50/60)
RTR505

\$126.80

AIKO STEREO



Stereo AM/SW1/SW2/FM radio w twin front loading cassettes. (110/220v.)
RTR6014

\$224.30

AIKO STEREO



Stereo AM/FM/SW receiver w/cassette recorder, turntable. (2 speeds 110/220v.)
AHS240

\$271.70

10 SPEED OSTERIZER BLENDER



7 push button speeds plus grate, chop and grind w 5 cup container and chrome base. (220v.)
847-44

\$85.50

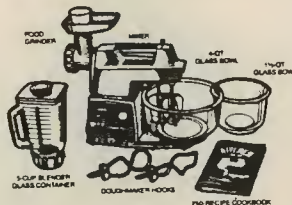
7 SPEED OSTERIZER BLENDER



7 push button speeds w 5 cup container and plastic base. (220v.)
890-46

\$64.20

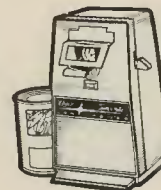
OSTER KITCHEN CENTER



Kitchen center food preparation appliance 4 in 1.
980-98

\$184.30

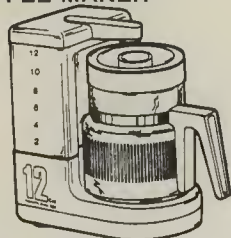
OSTER CAN OPENER



Almond color can opener. (220v.)
535-56

\$31.60

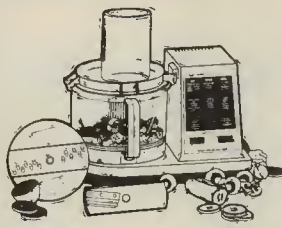
HAMILTON BEACH COFFEE MAKER



Electric drip coffee maker brews 2-12 cups in minutes. (220v.)
791

\$26.90

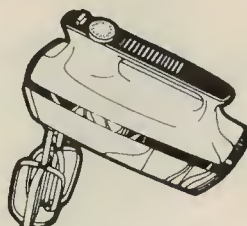
HAMILTON BEACH FOOD PROCESSOR



Professional food processor w 4 blades. (220v.)
702

\$58.00

HAMILTON BEACH 14 SPEED MIXER



14 speed mixer. (220v.)
103C

\$34.50

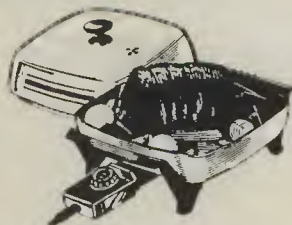
HAMILTON BEACH TABLE RANGE



Double burner table range w quick heat feature. (220v.)
815

\$30.30

WEST BEND ELECTRIC SKILLET



Electric skillet w non-stick interior. (220v.)
1438M

\$61.00

WEST BEND COFFEE MAKER



12-24 cup coffee maker. (220v.)
58102

\$35.50

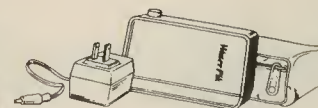
WEST BEND ELECTRIC GRIDDLE



Electric griddle w non-stick interior. (220v.)
3548

\$57.40

WATER PIK ORAL HYGIENE APPLIANCE



Rechargeable oral hygiene appliance. (110/220v.)
350W

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BRAUN AUTOMATIC COFFEE MILL



Automatic coffee mill w/9 speed settings.
(220v.)
KMM-20

\$51.40

BRAUN MINI COFFEE GRINDER



Mini coffee grinder. (220v.)
KSM-2

\$23.60

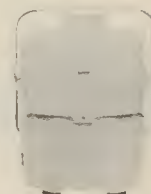
BRAUN ELECTRIC CITRUS JUICER



Electric citrus juicer. (220v. 50 HZ)
MPZ-2

\$37.80

BRAUN ELECTRIC JUICE EXTRACTOR



Electric juice extractor for vegetables or fruit.
(220v. 50)
MP-50

\$87.00

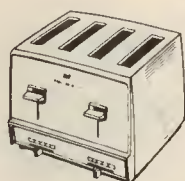
PROCTOR SILEX 2 SLICE TOASTER



Automatic 2 slice toaster in white w chrome
finish. (220v.)
T299W

\$29.40

PROCTOR SILEX 4 SLICE TOASTER



Automatic 4 slice toaster. (220v.)
T097N

\$46.60

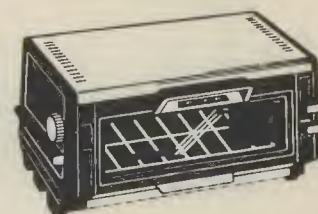
PROCTOR SILEX COFFEE MAKER



12 cup automatic drip coffee maker. (220v.)
A591AL

\$46.40

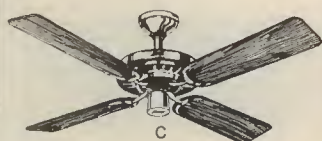
PROCTOR SILEX TOASTER OVEN/BROIL UNIT



Toaster oven broil unit. (220v.)
0297N

\$84.70

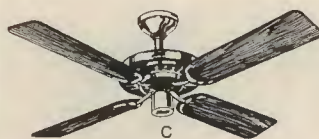
HUNTER CEILING FAN



52" brass motor w/pecan finish wood blades.
(220v. 50)
24531

\$224.00

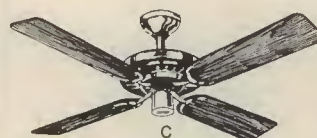
HUNTER CEILING FAN



52" brown motor w/pecan finish wood blades
and white motor w/wood blades (220v./50)
24532 (brown), 24533 (white)

\$182.00

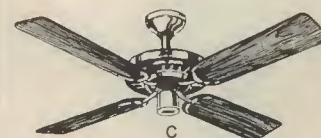
HUNTER CEILING FAN



52" brown/brass motor w/pecan finish wood
blades and white/brass motor w/white finish
wood blades. (220v. 50)
24534 (brown/brass),
24535 (white/brass)

\$208.60

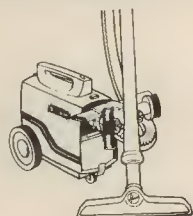
HUNTER CEILING FAN



36" brass motor w/pecan finish wood blades
and chestnut brown motor w/pecan finish
wood blades (220v./50)
24521 (brass), 24522 (brown)

\$208.60

HOOVER PORTAPOWER COMPACT VACUUM



Portapower lightweight compact vacuum.
(220v. 50)
S1029-013

\$104.40

HOOVER CONCEPT ONE VACUUM



Concept one power driven vacuum. (220v.
50)
U3101

\$352.40

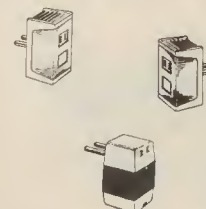
HOOVER UPRIGHT COMMERCIAL VACUUM



Upright commercial vacuum. (220v. 50)
U7073

\$165.00

FRANZUS TRAVEL CONVERTERS



Franzus F-11 50w travel converter \$10.50
Franzus 18-21 1000w travel converter \$10.50
Franzus 1600 1600w travel converter \$13.50

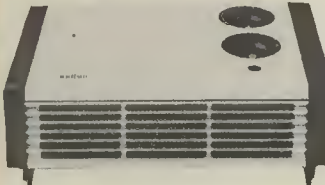
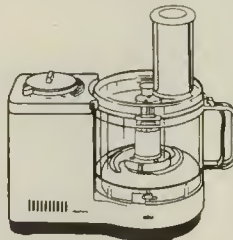
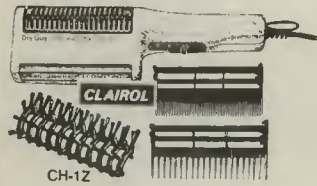
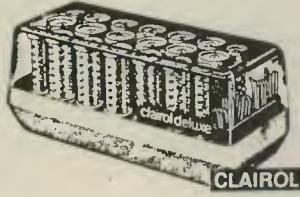
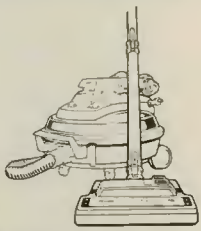
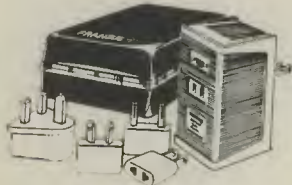
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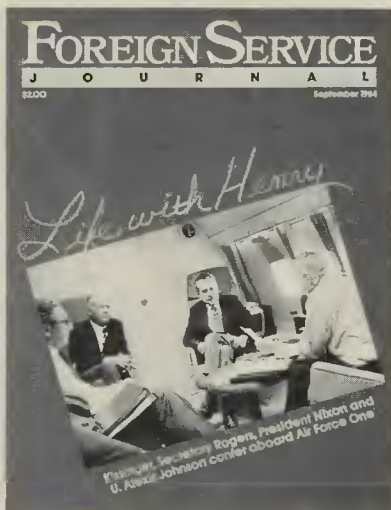
BRAUN HEATER  1500 w heater w 4 position thermostat. (220v. 50) H19TL \$50.40	BRAUN PISTOL HAIR DRYER  1400 w pistol hair dryer w 3 heat air settings. (110 220v.) PGT-1400 \$24.90	BRAUN PROFESSIONAL FOOD PROCESSOR  Professional food processor. (220v. 50) UK20 \$111.80	BRAUN RECHARGEABLE TOOTH BRUSH  Rechargeable tooth brush. (110 220v.) D3T \$46.20
CLAIROL COMPACT HAIR DRYER  Compact hair dryer w 3 speeds and 3 heats. (110 220v.) CH1Z \$23.20	CLAIROL 9" LONG HAIR STYLER  9" long hair styler w stick free coating. (110 220v.) 200Y \$14.80	CLAIROL PISTOL HAIR DRYER  1250 watt pistol hair dryer. (110 220v.) MT1 \$13.50	CLAIROL CUSTOM HAIRSETTER  Custom hairsetter w 20 light rollers. (220v.) CF20 \$45.00
HUNTER CEILING FAN  36" brown brass motor w pecan finish wood blades and 36" white brass motor w white wood blades. (220v./50) 24524 (brown/brass), 24525 (white/brass) \$182.00	HOOVER DELUXE SHAMPOO POLISHER  Deluxe shampoo polisher. (220v. 50) F4005 \$90.70	HOOVER CELEBRITY CANISTER VACUUM  Celebrity canister vacuum w/2 motor combination. (220v./50) S3179-016 \$249.00	HOOVER CELEBRITY CANISTER VACUUM  Celebrity canister vacuum w/large capacity bag. (220v./50) S3185-073 \$124.10
FRANZUS TRAVEL CONVERTER KIT  Deluxe travel converter kit 50w & 1650w converters, 4 plugs. FR1650 \$28.90	FRANZUS HOT BEVERAGE MAKER  Instant hot beverage maker. (110 220v.) HC2 \$18.80	FRANZUS PORTABLE CLOTHES STEAMER  Electric portable clothes steamer (110 220v.) WA222 \$21.80	FRANZUS TRAVEL IRONS  Compact travel iron (110/220v.) with spray AL100, AL300 (w/spray) \$22.50 \$28.50

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Before becoming secretary of state himself, Henry Kissinger was highly distrustful of the department and the career Foreign Service. With Nixon's blessing he circumvented the department in foreign policymaking whenever possible. Author U. Alexis Johnson (see page 28) outlines the frustrations and policy gaffes which resulted from overlooking Foreign Service expertise.

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CONTENTS

Inside The Manila Embassy 24

Kai Bird

Ambassador Armacost helped move the U.S. to a balance between its association with Marcos and the opposition.

Caught in the Nutcracker 28

U. Alexis Johnson

Kissinger's disdain for the Service placed the under secretary for political affairs in difficult predicaments.

The Widening Atlantic 37

Donald E. Neuchterlein

The European view that the U.S. is less interested in European security is causing dissension within NATO.

Journal: A Case of Identity 42

Fred Godsey

A startling secret threatens to disrupt a patriotic funeral run by the vice consul in a small Brazilian port.

Association Views 5 10-25-50 23

Letters 6 People 46

Books 12 Association News 52

Diplomacy 18 Annual Report 55

Clippings 22

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Hanging Together

When AFSA and management cannot agree on a matter of major importance, the issue is referred to the review board of an independent agency for arbitration. Last week, the chairman of this agency appointed a new member (formerly of the Grace Commission) to this board without consulting AFSA or management and in complete violation of statutory authority and established practice.

This was a challenge not just to AFSA or to management but rather to the Foreign Service as a whole. The procedures that Congress mandated in the Foreign Service Act calling for mutual agreement on candidates were put there to ensure that the board would be aware of the unique circumstances and many sacrifices that distinguish the Foreign Service from other branches of the government.

AFSA organized the opposition to this nomination and got the Department of State, USIA, and AFGE to join us in sending letters of protest. AID was also fully aware of this situation and was repeatedly asked to join ranks with the rest of the Foreign Service family but chose not to. AID sent no letter. AID decided to play it safe. AID didn't want to offend anybody.

In its day to day dealings with AFSA, AID is quick to invoke what it claims are its "management rights." Time and again we hear such things as: management has the right to refuse to negotiate, or management has the right to implement without reaching agreement, or even management has the right to determine that a language level of 2/2 is "good enough" for professional competence. It is therefore ironic that when a real test of a management right comes along, AID chooses to remain mute.

Despite this defection, the nominee, faced with strong AFSA-generated opposition in Congress and the media, resigned four days after being sworn in. But what about next time? The father of American diplomacy said it best—we will surely hang separately if we do not hang together.

Next year we will be faced with even greater challenges—to our retirement benefits, our allowances, our very mission. If we must worry about our back as well as our front, we will be in grave danger indeed. We call upon senior AID management to work with us to preserve, strengthen, and improve the Foreign Service. Nothing less will do.

DENNIS K. HAYS
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LETTERS

State's Evidence

1984 has truly arrived. A cable from the department announced the golden opportunity for any of us to become paid, confidential State informants.

I welcomed previous announcements which encouraged us to report instances of waste, fraud, and mismanagement. That is our duty as public servants and citizens. But the establishment of the Inspector General's Award of up to \$10,000 for whistle blowers appears to move us from the role of patriotic and concerned employees to that of paid informants. Do any of my colleagues share the uneasiness that this stirs in my breast during this Orwellian year?

ROBERT W. MAULE
Foreign Service Officer
London, United Kingdom

Inescapable Schizophrenia

I am pleased to note that Jack Perry's thoughtful article in the March JOURNAL has stimulated some comment. His plea for a restoration of a sense of institution in the Foreign Service is important. It started me thinking about AFSA, one element of this multi-faceted concept.

AFSA's problem is that it is inescapably schizophrenic. It is a "trade union" which deals with all the concerns implied by that label—working conditions, compensation, personnel policies, grievances, etc. At the same time it is a professional organization concerned with matters such as projecting a professional image of the Service, developing new diplomatic techniques, studying problems in the conduct of foreign relations, and overcoming the assumption that the Service is a politically rather than professionally oriented body. Each new administration seems to be obsessed by this assumption.

The two functions complement each other but they are also to a degree antithetical and mutually prejudicial. This is illustrated by the development of another group of professional organizations—the teachers' unions. In many parts of the country the aggressive "political action" of

these groups has so obscured their professional side that they are often popularly regarded as only self-aggrandizing pressure groups. It seems to me that AFSA is in danger of falling into a similar situation. This is a difficult trap to avoid. Every non-profit organization inevitably feels itself short of resources, both human and financial. When these resources must be divided between professionalism and its members' interest in bread and butter issues, the latter are naturally given first priority.

Another difficulty in achieving a balance of functional effort is that a different type of individual is required for each role in order to play it most effectively.

Those most involved with the trade union function should be younger members of the Service who must daily cope with the problems of bureaucratic lethargy, depersonalization of management, confrontational administration, etc.

On the other hand, those principally charged with the professional side should be senior, often retired, officers who are generally regarded within the Service, and outside it as well, one would hope, as distinguished professionals whose input under the AFSA banner might be expected to have clout with Congress and impact on public opinion. If, for instance, some of

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the former ambassadors who appear on the *McNeil-Lehrer News Hour* were identified with AFSA, the effect on our image would probably be significant and favorable, even though they routinely disclaim authority to speak for the organization. As another example, on the appointment of non-career ambassadors the congressional testimony and quiet lobbying of an AFSA representative of this stature would probably be more persuasive than that of an officer of less experience and professional recognition. The latter's personal experience, however, should better qualify him or her to speak to the fairness of, for instance, providing more money for overtime compensation.

AFSA appears to recognize the dichotomy of its two missions and to be making efforts to sort it out. That seemed to be the point of the editorial, also in the *MARCH JOURNAL*, on "The Role of the *JOURNAL*."

Upgrading the *JOURNAL* professionally does not, however, deal with the organizational side of the problem. Corporate business structure suggests an answer. The addition of a chairman of the board to the AFSA hierarchy might provide a framework within which the optimum balance of AFSA activities could be worked out. The chairman's responsibilities would include presiding at board meetings and assuming leadership in the development of the professional role. Other AFSA functions would remain the province of the president, analogous to the chief executive officer of a corporation.

With the clearly differing talents and experience needed for each top position, it might be expected that the normal process of developing slates and candidates would result in the election of appropriately qualified individuals. Or, it might prove more practical for each newly elected board to choose its own chairman. In any event, the necessary bylaw revisions should be broadly enough worded to allow flexibility for experimentation to achieve harmonious balance and maximum effectiveness of the organization.

Is this an idea whose time has come?

JAMES K. PENFIELD
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Longbranch, Washington

Institutional Memory

Your article "What Happened to U.N. Economic and Social Programs" in the *JOURNAL* of June is interesting and informative. Thank you for it. The device of an interview adds drama and human interest. It is good to have evidence that Kathleen Bell retains not only her memory but her

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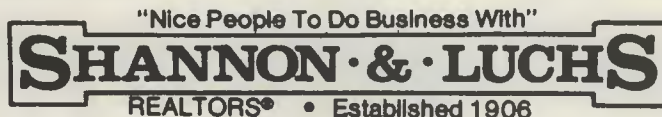
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energy, enthusiasm, and practical judgment which I remember from my days in the International Organizations Bureau and at the U.N.

We need more such reporting, since the institutional memory covering the last 40 years of the U.N. system is so weak. The department has not cultivated those policies and practices which would give us the sense of continuity about international organizations that we need in these times of rapid change. Kathleen's reply to your penultimate question, in which she called for greater careerism in the international agencies and in those who deal with them, is very appropriate in this respect.

JOHN E. FOBES
Webster, North Carolina

Political Participation

The Federal Tax Code provides incentives (a 50 percent tax credit) to encourage Americans to participate in financing political campaigns through small campaign contributions (maximum \$100 for a single person, \$200 for a married couple filing jointly).

The article in *ASSOCIATION NEWS* in your March issue on the administration's continuing attack on Foreign Service and Civil Service compensation prompts me to suggest that the *JOURNAL* would do a real service for its readers (and particularly those overseas, who have perennial problems staying in touch on matters of this sort) if it published the names and addresses of channels (PACs?) by which donations might be sent to congressional supporters of adequate compensation for the Foreign Service. At a minimum, the *JOURNAL* ought to be able to provide us with addresses of organizations to which we could write for further information.

JOHN MEDEIROS
Foreign Service Officer
Hong Kong

We asked AFSA Congressional Liaison Robert Beers to respond:

Members interested in helping advance Foreign Service personnel issues in Congress may wish to contribute to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund, which finances the Association's efforts to advance Foreign Service interests in Congress. While this fund is not a PAC in the technical sense, such contributions are also tax deductible and they have the additional advantage of being used exclusively to address Foreign Service issues. Thus far more than 650 members have donated over \$32,000 to the fund.

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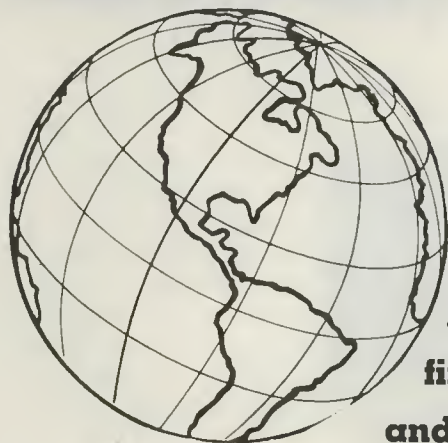


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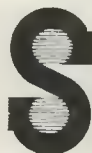
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BOOKS

Reviews

The Oil Follies of 1970-1980: How the Petroleum Industry Stole the Show (And Much More Besides). By Robert Sherrill. Anchor Press, 1983. \$19.95.

Fiasco. By Jack Anderson, with James Boyd. Times Books, 1983. \$17.50.

The energy crisis of the 1970s has been replaced in the headlines by other events, but studies of this upheaval can provide important insights into the interaction between domestic and foreign policy—insights that may become all too relevant if the situation in the Persian Gulf should take a sudden turn for the worse. These two books attempt to explain these events and their causes to the general reader, with ambiguous results.

Investigative journalist Robert Sherrill argues in his long (500 pages) book that the oil companies' control of information concerning the industry allowed them to manipulate supplies, create shortages, and increase prices and profits. Moreover, the companies were aided by the "rapacity" of OPEC and the "duplicity and stupidity" of the U.S. government. While Sherrill presents some interesting information, especially about natural gas, the book is very disappointing. First, it is poorly organized. After a 55-page opening chapter covering the 1950s and 1960s, there is a chapter per year for the period 1970-80, followed by a short epilogue and an appendix that provides details about such subjects as "Antitrust," and "Early Fright Campaigns," which Sherrill apparently could not fit into his narrative but was loath to omit altogether. Second, Sherrill's argument is largely presented in the form of competing assertions—the oil companies said one thing, but someone else said something else. While his operating assumption is that information from the companies is unreliable, he makes no independent attempt to evaluate the assertions. This is a serious problem, but the book would have still been valuable as a guide to the many debates over energy policy if Sherrill had provided adequate citations to his sources. Unfortunately, Sherrill or his publisher decided to hold

notes to the minimum so it is impossible to discover the sources for most of his remarks.

In contrast, *Fiasco* is well-documented and closely argued. Focusing on Richard Nixon's first term in office, Jack Anderson and James Boyd argue that the energy crisis had little to do with external events and largely "flowed from a pervasive incompetence and faithfulness in the performance of routine tasks and trusts Americans once thought they could do better than anyone else in the world." Anderson and Boyd begin with a well-drawn picture of the petroleum supply system dominated by the major oil companies and supported by the governments of the United States and Britain, which between the end of World War II and 1973 provided the world with ample supplies of crude at declining real prices. They then argue convincingly that the origins of the energy crises of the 1970s can be seen in terms of the demise of that system.

While Anderson and Boyd provide an excellent description of the various decisions and events which undermined western control of the world petroleum economy, their account of the motivation for these decisions consists mainly of blaming Nixon. The impact of the Vietnam war on the United States' ability to influence events elsewhere in the world, for example, is not addressed. Moreover, the desire of the oil-producing countries to gain control over their main source of wealth is not adequately appreciated. Indeed, Anderson and Boyd come perilously close to implying that western security and prosperity depend on maintaining essentially imperial relations with the oil-producing countries. Thus, they indirectly raise important questions about the interaction between domestic economic arrangements and U.S. foreign policy.

—DAVID PAINTER

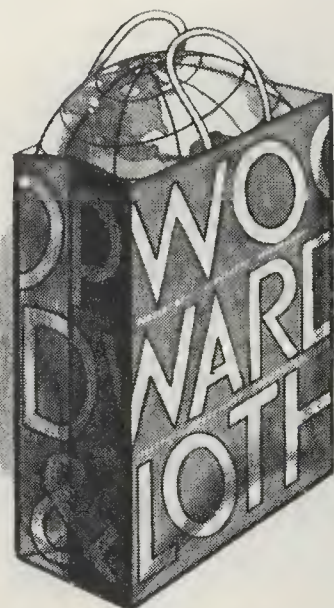
The Marshall Plan Revisited: *The European Recovery Program in Economic Perspective.* By Immanuel Wexler. Greenwood Press, 1984. \$35.

This very readable book provides a well-structured and thorough scrutiny of a complex subject. When the U.S. Congress passed the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, it mandated a recovery program for Europe based on four economic endeavors: a strong production effort, the creation and maintenance of internal financial stability, expansion of foreign trade, and the development of European cooperation.

Wexler therefore divides his analysis into four parts, each corresponding to the

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goals set by Congress and the administration. In contrast to Harry B. Price (*The Marshall Plan and its Meaning*) and John Gimbel (*The Origins of the Marshall Plan*), who cover the political background of the program in great detail, Wexler is mainly concerned with evaluating the actual fulfillment of the four-pronged congressional mission. It is widely believed that European prosperity and the end of the Marshall Plan coincided. But by focusing on European realities in 1952 when the European Recovery Program officially ended, Wexler reaches the sober conclusion that it was merely "a qualified success." The first

part of the mandate—a strong production effort—had been largely fulfilled, but a balance-of-payments disequilibrium and inflation persisted. Foreign trade had expanded, but, with the exception of the Benelux Customs Union and the newly created European Coal and Steel Community, there had been no progress toward European economic integration. When the Marshall Plan ended, it had not enabled Western Europe to achieve economic viability. Wexler, nevertheless, recognizes that the program had laid a firm foundation from which the European countries could generate their own momentum. Ten

years later Western Europe had become the second most important industrial and trading center in the world.

One rarely recognized aspect of the Marshall Plan stressed in this remarkable study is the energetic role of the European Cooperation Administration. It did not confine itself to the allocation of U.S. funds but took an effective part in directing and controlling their use. At the same time, it remained circumspect enough to avoid antagonizing American special interest groups. The interests of the U.S. shipping industry and agricultural producers were—often to the detriment of the program—well protected.

The Marshall Plan Revisited is an important book; it deserves to be required reading for young Foreign Service officers, especially those who expect a European assignment. —JOHN H. BACKER

Central America: Anatomy of a Conflict. Edited by Robert S. Leiken. Pergamon Press, 1984. \$19.95.

Anatomy of a Conflict has two virtues: it is comprehensive and contemporary. There are only a handful of Americans who qualify as Central American specialists, and it seems most were recruited for this worthy project. No aspect of the Central American issue, be it social, political, military, economic, or strategic, is left unexplored. One need not agree with the viewpoints of the 16 contributors to appreciate the book's value.

The volume attempts to present a balanced view, but most contributors are critical of the Reagan administration's approach. Viron P. Vaky, who headed the State Department's Latin America bureau when the Central America turmoil began in 1979, believes the administration is inflaming, rather than taming, conflict in the region. Tom Farar, former chairman of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, suggests that Nicaragua would have become a pluralistic oasis were it not for administration policies.

Less comforting to administration critics is the chapter by Morris Rothenberg, a former State Department official, who examines Nicaragua's deepening ties with the Soviet bloc. Joseph Cirincione, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, offers a hard-headed analysis of Central America's potential as a security threat to the United States.

The book also features two of academia's most experienced Central America hands: Richard Millett of the University of Illinois at Edwardsville and Walter LaFaber of Cornell. Millett offers an illuminating

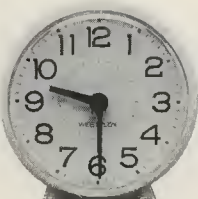
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chapter on Central America's military establishment, while LaFaber sketches a historical overview that draws as a principal conclusion what may be the most pessimistic statement in the entire book: "Each time the United States has intervened militarily in Central America after 1920, it has worsened the situation it meant to correct."

—GEORGE GEDDA

Beyond the Chestnut Trees. By Maria Bauer. Overlook Press, 1984. \$15.95.

This is the first published work by Czech-born Maria Bauer, wife of Austrian-born Robert Bauer, a retired Foreign Service officer. First work or not, Maria Bauer has produced a deeply moving and haunting, but never morose, memoir of her early privileged life in Prague between the wars, of her flight with her parents and Robert Bauer through Europe and finally to America, and of the life they created as a family in this country. One senses that this book was years in creation. It was time well-spent.

Some 38 years after she had fled Prague, Maria Bauer signed up for a State Department Recreation Association week-long tour to the city she once loved most in the world. Her story is told in a series of flashbacks as she leaves the tour to seek out old school friends, family retainers, and old haunts (her town villa at No. 18 Under the Chestnuts Street and the family summer castle *Svinare*, now a network of collective farms). As she makes her way around the city, joking with taxicab drivers, waiters, museum gallery guards, she provides fascinating glimpses of modern-day Czechoslovakia.

Bauer's memoir is also a love story and a tale of adventure. As a girl of 20 she meets young Robert Bauer at a ball in the Petshak sisters' palace—today the U.S. embassy residence. An anti-Nazi, he has fled his native Austria to be the *New York Times* correspondent in Prague. He is attracted, but she is already in love with Karel, a moody Czech artist with whom she works.

Then the Germans arrive. Tipped off by an old family friend now working for the Nazis, Maria and her parents get out of Prague hours before her father's imminent arrest.

In Paris, she meets Robert again. He gets her a job working with him on the Austrian underground radio station in Normandy. Then, a few days before the Germans take France, he becomes the family guide and protector as they join thousands of other refugees in the long trek to the south of France, then on to Spain and Portugal. Time and again his risk-taking

and ingenuity get them coveted exit permits and visas. Arrested three times, at one point he even enters a government office at night to rearrange papers so that he and Maria and her family will not be separated. Sleeping with family members in the car at night, scrounging for food with scores of friends and relatives they meet along the way, they even have time for joking and falling in love.

In Portugal, the Archduke Otto of Habsburg appears. Robert, who has worked with him on Austrian relief, introduces him to Maria's family. Her father produces a thank-you note from the arch-

duke's father which he has carried around in his wallet for the last 30 years. Tears flow, and the archduke miraculously gets immigration permits to the United States for Robert and the family. He also uses his influence to get the archbishop of Lisbon to waive the rules and let Maria and Robert get married. For the wedding, fellow refugees hire a cab and drive to the countryside to steal flowers from a garden.

Maria Bauer moves her story along briskly and fleshes out her characters with love and vivid detail. This is especially true of her psychologically flawed father, who preferred writing little short stories to

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—DOROTHY MARKS

The Wealth of Poor Nations. By C. Suriyakumaran. St. Martin's Press, 1984. \$30.95.

The best part of this book is the title. It defines a subject crying for analysis. Poor countries have wealthy people and wealthy countries have poor people, but all countries have a common wealth: their human and natural resources. The problem is how to inspire and manage both resources to promote development.

The author has a wealth of imposing credentials. He is visiting professor at the London School of Economics, capping a distinguished career at the United Nations which covered a generation of development responsibilities. The subject matter could not be in better hands.

His thesis is direct and exciting: The wealth of poor countries is locked within their own human and natural resources, but years of struggling to tap these resources and make development work have been a failure. The author turns to coming generations as the only hope for solutions to the problem. His experience, as distilled in this book, is offered as a guide. He provides a learned, detailed discussion of the major theories that have dominated the development scene since World War II. The practical outgrowths of these theories are dealt with in turn: import substitution, balanced growth, rural and community development, trickle down—the whole lot. He patiently takes the theories apart, emphasizing all the while that self-reliance, integrated resource management, and global cooperation are the *sine qua non* for the future. The book ends with a "manifesto" for action.

Unfortunately, a tentative, dense, and rambling prose shatters the book's titled promise. Unclear sentences are spun into hopelessly confused paragraphs. Valuable ideas are so hobbled with caveats and apologetic asides that one might conclude the writer harbors serious doubts about his own beliefs. The ending "manifesto" becomes a call, not to action, but to somnolence.

—WILLIAM SOMMERS

Judgment in Berlin. By Herbert Stein. Universe, 1983. \$15.95.

In August 1978, a Polish airliner on a scheduled flight from Warsaw to East Berlin was hijacked by an East German worker

named Hans Detlef Tiede and forced to land at Templehof airfield in the U.S. sector of West Berlin. Tiede stepped to freedom accompanied by a blond woman named Ingrid Ruske and her twelve-year-old daughter. Eight fellow passengers who had no connection with the hijackers also defected. Tiede and Ruske were arrested by the U.S. authorities and Tiede remained in confinement for five months while the authorities decided what to do.

The incident took place only six weeks after the Bonn summit meeting where the heads of government, reacting to the recent wave of air piracy, had agreed to suspend air traffic with countries that failed to hand over hijackers for trial. Both Poland and East Germany were demanding Tiede's extradition. Confronted with the dilemma of how to reconcile the rule of law with popular sympathy for escapees from East Germany, the United States decided to put Tiede on trial itself. But in what court? Tiede could not be turned over to the West German authorities without compromising Berlin's occupied status under the postwar treaties. The State Department, apparently with a minimum of forethought, decided to convene a U.S. district court for the U.S. sector and picked to preside over the trial a young federal judge named Herbert J. Stein with no experience in European civil law and no knowledge of Germany or the language.

This is Judge Stein's own story of what happened, told somewhat breathlessly in the third person. It is instructive as much for its revelation of bureaucratic incompetence as for its account of judicial improvisation. For example, the State Department not only believed it could control a sitting federal judge, but the decision to convene an *ad hoc* federal court was taken without reflecting on what rules would govern the procedure and whether U.S. constitutional safeguards, including the right to a jury trial, applied to the defendant. All together, a cautionary tale with a surprising denouement.

—CHARLES MAECHLING JR.

In Brief

The Transfer Agreement: The Untold Story of the Secret Pact Between the Third Reich and Jewish Palestine. By Edwin Black. MacMillan, 1984.

This is a very readable account of the negotiations that took place in 1933 between the Zionist organization and Nazi leaders to facilitate the transfer of 60,000 German Jews to Palestine in exchange for the cessation of a Jewish-led boycott of German goods as well as other financial incentives. The author claims that the 1933 economic

relationship with Germany was an indispensable factor in the creation of the state of Israel. Many of the current schisms in the Jewish movement in Israel are already reflected in this book. The work lacks an analytical conclusion, however, except for a warning against economic appeasement of dictatorships and a rather naive expression of faith in the efficacy of economic boycotts.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

By Our Readers

A Beginner's Guide to Wildflowers of the C&O Towpath. By Edwin M. Martin. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984. \$8.95.

Martin began taking photographs of wildflowers while serving as ambassador to Brazil, and he has put that talent to good use in this slim volume. The text is clear, and the photos reveal not only the plants' beauty, but also their structures. However, this book is not for those already familiar with the much larger Peterson guides, but—as the title notes—for those who have begun to notice the wildflowers along the C&O canal and in other nearby woodlands.

—FRANCES G. BURWELL

From the Think Tanks

In Search of Policy: The United States and Latin America. By Howard J. Wiarda. American Enterprise Institute, 1984. 147pp. The author argues that U.S. policymakers have only dimly perceived the realities of Latin American politics and society and that this lack of understanding is at the root of U.S. problems in that region. The United States must adjust to changes in Latin America without attempting either to lead or block this process.

International Negotiation: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. By Glen Fisher. Intercultural Press, 1983. 66pp. \$6.50. This monograph, based on a study done at the Foreign Service Institute, discusses some of the verbal and non-verbal factors that can cause confusion and even antagonism when one negotiates in a multi-cultural setting. Fisher uses Japanese, French, and Mexican examples, but suggests a line of questioning and analysis intended to be useful whatever nationality is involved.

Communicating with China. Edited by Robert A. Kapp. China Council of the Asia Society, Intercultural Press, Inc. 1983. 75pp. \$5.95. This short collection of essays on difficulties in communication between Americans and Chinese discusses the problems involved in interpretation, language, and behavior.

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DIPLOMACY

Principles for Policymakers

By ARMISTEAD M. LEE

Thirty years ago, when I was a country desk officer, I had frequent visits from a recently retired ambassador, who insisted on reviewing the cables from his old post and on advising me what to do about them. Since I regarded him as a frightful reactionary, this kibitzing was particularly unwelcome, and I vowed that this was an example I would definitely avoid after I retired.

Nevertheless, I have recently felt compelled to offer some comments based on my own experience. I present them as brief contributions to the syllabus of an imaginary orientation course—possibly at the Foreign Service Institute—intended for newly appointed ambassadors and other senior departmental officers selected by the White House. With two-term presidencies becoming the exception rather than the rule, and with political appointments now extending down to office-director level and beyond, there must surely be a growing need for orientation courses. And, although the politicians will be getting their main direction from the administration that appointed them, there will surely be some room for advice from the career officer corps. Other career officers, active and retired, might dissent from some of the items on this listing and could surely add others.

Testing Effectiveness by Role Reversal: Whether a particular policy will be effective or not is perhaps a more basic question than whether it is ethical or in the long-term national interest. An ineffective but ethical policy is not very useful. Of course, this does not mean that effectiveness should be the sole criterion for evaluating or selecting a policy.

The problem, obviously, is to know in advance whether a proposed policy is destined to fail. Even the most sage and experienced Foreign Service officer cannot know for sure in all cases. Experience in industrial relations, such as our new secretary has had, is excellent training for diplomacy and may well be better than most

Armistead M. Lee is a retired Foreign Service officer.

graduate courses in international law. But it is clear that not all people are blessed with the ability to discern effective policies. Politicians and journalists frequently insist on actions that an elementary knowledge of psychology would make clear are destined to backfire.

A good example is the attempt, early in this administration, to use economic sanctions to block the development of the Soviet oil pipeline. In the public debate on this matter, only two issues were considered: our sympathy for the Polish workers vs. the sensitivities of our European allies, who stubbornly insisted that American-owned companies operating in their countries should be subject to their laws, not ours. As time passed, observers came to recognize a third consideration, the jobs of employees in export-oriented U.S. companies like Caterpillar. But there were more basic considerations: Was it likely that our embargo of turbines for the pipeline would be an effective constraint on Moscow, even if our allies had cooperated? Would it have helped those Polish workers?

When in doubt, one can apply the simple test of role reversal. What would have been the result if the U.S.S.R. had tried to apply economic sanctions to us in an effort to influence the behavior of Chile's General Pinochet or any one of many other right-wing autocrats who are regarded by Moscow as puppets of Washington? Suppose we were continually reading of highly placed counselors adjuring the Politburo that it must be sure to send the United States the "right signals." Would Americans feel inclined to confirm such advice by behaving as such counselors expected?

Reversing roles will also demonstrate the limits on using trade controls as leverage to achieve policy objectives. A trade concession from us is most properly linked with an equivalent concession from the other side. If, however, we attempt to link the lifting of restraints on trade to the other country's performance in a completely unrelated field, particularly when it involves some sensitive area of domestic policy, it is doomed to failure. We shall manage merely to embitter bilateral relations without in any way helping the objects of our humanitarian solicitude. For example, a careful study of the 1953 and 1977 elections in South Africa shows that U.N. oratory and assorted trade sanctions actually worked in favor of the diehard nationalists. Divestiture, if it were ever achieved, would create the best climate for the continuation of apartheid, a way of life which white South Africans are increasingly finding to be incompatible with the industrialization and economic development they cherish. To test the universal validity

of this principle, just imagine the reaction of even the most devoted American liberal to a well-publicized announcement by *any* foreign country that trade or disarmament negotiations would henceforth be conditioned on the elimination of some vestigial examples of racial discrimination in Mississippi or the termination of assistance to nonrevolutionary regimes or parties in Central America.

Avoiding Caricatures: To learn how others view us and to avoid validating the most onerous caricatures, an indispensable part of training would be to listen to tapes of news analysis from Radio Moscow. Since the Soviets can hardly expect to subvert many Americans and are aiming their messages at more gullible audiences, they do not bother to employ much subtlety. They depict the United States as a country so terrified of the vulnerability of its economic system that it is determined to destroy what they describe as socialism. The United States is seen as ruled by an aggressive oligarchy that has abandoned detente in favor of provocative confrontation. U.S. policy in the Third World (the real target of their propaganda) is depicted as a quest for economic and political domination under the hypocritical guise of rescuing the developing countries from communist takeover.

We must remember that it is clearly playing into Moscow's hand if we tailor our initiatives and rhetoric so they appear to validate this caricature. Every time we seem to be trespassing on the sovereignty and sensibilities of other nations or whenever we assume that our allies will follow our lead without consultation or persuasion, we give substance to the grotesque image that Moscow draws. That damages our interests and security in ways that cannot be mended by any number of additional warships or missiles.

Avoiding Proxies: As relations between the great powers have degenerated solely to press releases, an unpleasant symptom on both sides has been a tendency to describe the adversary's allies and proteges as proxies or surrogates. We can hardly do much about Radio Moscow's assertions that Israel's actions are all dictated by Washington, but we might set the example ourselves. Thus, we might be more convincing with our European allies if we acknowledged that the civil war in El Salvador, while exacerbated by supplies from Nicaragua and Cuba, is primarily due to indigenous causes. Havana may be the source of some of the weapons—but not of the problem itself. Accusing third parties of being superpower proxies can easily backfire. If we dismiss as inconceivable the possibility that Castro might have acted on

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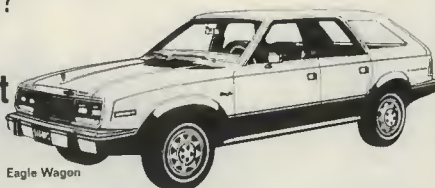
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his own when he responded to MPLA pleas to send military help to Angola, it becomes that much harder to convince others that Israel was not acting on our orders when it decided to "protect" Galilee all the way up to Beirut. If we fail to acknowledge any degree of autonomy among Moscow's wards and allies, how can we expect those countries to believe that we were not responsible for the fall of the Allende government?

Focus on the Problem: Countries such as El Salvador should be seen in their own context for their difficulties to be understood. We should take care, however, that we do not end up hypnotized by the stage setting and ignoring the actors. For example, our policymakers have generally viewed the question of South Africa primarily in terms of its impact on other African countries and those elsewhere in the Third World. At first glance, this may seem reasonable enough; after all, the friendship of the non-Caucasian peoples of the developing countries should be more important to the United States than the views of a white minority government whose separatist policies are abhorrent to most of us.

But we must ask ourselves whether the object of foreign policy is to make ourselves feel good and play to the gallery—domestic and international—or whether it is to exert a constructive and healing influence on the problem. And even if we cannot solve the problem, we can at least avoid making it worse. In this particular case it hardly helps resolve the tragedy of apartheid if we join with other governments, whose human rights violations are sometimes as bad or even worse, in an outburst of intemperate rhetoric that, on more than one occasion, has had the perverse effect of helping the National Party reactionaries strengthen their legislative hold in Pretoria.

The fact that Nyerere and Kaunda live on the same continent as South Africa makes them no more qualified to advise us about that country than we are to advise them about ethnocentrism in Quebec. As a major world power, we should not surrender our judgment to foreigners who have perfected the art of psychological blackmail, who threaten to lean toward Moscow or to denounce the United States as neo-colonialists unless we follow their advice. Just as we have resisted international bullies, we should be able to resist this new tyranny of the weak.

The Limits of Power: At a time when, it is reported, the heads of those career officers deemed responsible for "losing" Nicaragua are rolling, I am prompted to urge that we all reread Dean Acheson's introduction to

the China White Paper of July 1949, in which he concluded that the outcome of the civil war in China "was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces which this country tried to influence but could not." As British historian Denis Brogan observed in his essay "The Myth of American Omnipotence," this country is unique in nourishing the illusion that if some friendly regime abroad is overthrown, it must have been caused by some blunder in American leadership.

Since there are limits to power, a country that attempts to extend its power, even defensively, may sometimes create more problems for itself. Countries will resist hegemony almost as much as physical occupation, so reasonable security for all must require that some individual states settle for something less than what they feel is an adequate assurance of safety. Argentina's quest for security cannot justify subjecting Falklanders to alien rule, and Israel's anxiety over its narrow waist can hardly justify annexing the West Bank.

This principle is as applicable in Washington as in Jerusalem or Buenos Aires. It should not be taken as a prescription for unilateral disarmament or as a denial of the widespread public perception that we have fallen too far behind in conventional defense. Nevertheless, when the administration proclaims our military inferiority and insists that we will be "sending the wrong signal" unless we increase defense expenditure annually by 10 percent in real terms at a time when other societal demands are high and revenue has been shrinking, our allies have good reason to feel dismayed and our adversaries to feel menaced. Any government which is so determined to frighten its citizenry into making sacrifices of this dimension, even at the cost of telling the rest of the world that it is pitifully weak, must appear to foreigners as particularly irrational and threatening. They must ask themselves whether Americans can really believe that the Warsaw regime would not have cracked down on Solidarity if only the United States had had more aircraft carriers.

In describing or recommending policy options, which so often involve the choosing of lesser evils, decision makers—whether career veterans or neophytes from the outside—should take to heart that Hippocratic principle taught to every medical student: above all, do no harm. Applied to the craft of diplomacy, this requires a recognition that many of the world's problems are simply beyond the power of the United States to resolve, and that in such cases we should be content with the assurance that we have not made matters worse. □

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R.G. Livingston in Foreign Policy, Summer 1984

Diplomatic Security

"'My guess is you're going to see a bomb against the State Department,' says Dr. Robert Kupperman of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. 'Assassination attempts against individuals are also likely.'"

Bob Reiss in Washingtonian magazine, June 1984

"Administration officials, learning last month of an alleged plot by rightist elements in El Salvador to assassinate [U.S. Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering], feared that the attempt would be made while he was in Washington accompanying then-Salvadoran President-elect Jose Napoleon Duarte....Administration officials have said the plot involved associates of rightist former Major Roberto d'Aubuisson, who arrives in Washington today for a series of media events and meetings with administration officials."

Washington Post, June 27

"The sources said the d'Aubuisson group was enraged by revelations that the CIA had helped the Christian Democrats. A demand by Senator Jesse Helms, the conservative Republican from North Carolina, for Mr. Pickering's recall reportedly fueled the anger in Mr. d'Aubuisson's party....Mr. Helms, a supporter of Mr. d'Au-

buisson, called the plot story 'an absolute falsehood.'...For unclear reasons, the State Department offered Mr. d'Aubuisson a visa to the United States and he was said to have used it."

New York Times, July 15

"The State Department is asking the Office of Management and Budget for \$165 million over the next two fiscal years to redesign or build anew six or seven embassies in the Persian Gulf....Urgently needed security measures have turned some of the...gulf missions into veritable fortresses....But this siege setting isn't how the U.S. government likes its overseas missions to look. 'Ideally, our embassies should physically express the openness of American society,' says Robert Lamb, assistant secretary of state for administration. 'I'd hate to see us go the way of the Russians, who build their embassies to keep their people in and other people out.'"

Eduardo Lachica in the Wall Street Journal, June 12

"The 90-man U.S. Marine detachment guarding the U.S. embassy in Beirut will be phased out as security in the Lebanese capital improves....The normal complement of about 15 Marine guards will remain at the embassy after the phase-out, the [State] Department said."

Philadelphia Inquirer, July 19

At Home in D.C.

"Secretary of State George Shultz has quietly signaled that he may be planning to stay on the job for a while. He has commissioned a group of key aides to write a report on America's upcoming foreign-policy challenges—the kind of issues that might come up in a second Reagan term. 'He wants people to know that he's planning to stay around,' says one senior administration official." *Newsweek, July 16*

The Wilson Affair

"Ambassador to the Vatican William A. Wilson has been chastised by the Justice Department and has alarmed his superiors at the State Department because of his personal intervention in two highly sensitive and widely publicized international criminal investigations, administration officials say."

"Wilson is a close friend of President Reagan. And the nature of the two cases—those of fugitive financier Marc Rich and Vatican banker Archbishop Paul C. Marcinkus—has raised fears among administration officials that his actions could be

viewed as an improper use of his position and thus become an embarrassment."

Los Angeles Times, July 9

"California Developer William Wilson, a member of President Reagan's kitchen cabinet, had served as Reagan's unpaid envoy to the Vatican since 1981. So he was an obvious choice for ambassador when the U.S. established diplomatic relations with the Holy See last March. His meddling in complex investigations, however, has been somewhat less than diplomatic....The slip-ups did not seem to hurt him: before Wilson was made an ambassador three months later, the government gave him permission to remain on two corporate boards, which ambassadors are generally forbidden to do. He subsequently resigned from one but still serves as an unpaid member of the Pennzoil Co."

Time, July 23

Life at Post

"Diana and I are nearing completion of our first year in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, where I am serving as U.S. ambassador. With neighbors like El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, Honduras is—as you can well imagine—surrounded by trouble....The work is hard and the hours are long, but we manage to find time to enjoy this country's extraordinary scenic beauty, including some of the best scuba diving in the Caribbean."

John Negroponte in the Yale Alumni Magazine and Journal

Intelligence Gap

"A [shredded but reconstructed] memorandum from USICA one week before the [Teheran] embassy was seized: 'The climate in Iran has now sufficiently stabilized to permit renewed program activity. A piano concert is scheduled for November and some 3500 students are enrolled in English classes.'"

New York Times, July 18

State's Efficacy

"In a sample of the adult American public, 54 percent of the respondents said they had a favorable opinion of the State Department and 33 percent had an unfavorable opinion. State's image is thus somewhat more favorable than the Defense Department and somewhat less favorable than the Commerce Department....Overall, the State Department ranked eighth among the 12 departments on Roper's April 1984 poll."

Department of State cable, July

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Foreign Service Journal, September 1974: "The trend begun by the Rogers Act has not been completed. At the time of its enactment only 35 percent of our missions abroad were under career diplomats. Now 68 percent of the far larger number of missions are headed by career officers; yet that figure means 32 percent of our embassies are under noncareer envoys. In other words, the spoils system is still far from dead....

"While always leaving space for specially qualified noncareer ambassadors, it seems only just that the intentions of the Rogers Act should be fully carried out."

C.L. Sulzberger

Foreign Service Journal, September 1959: "The world has become used to the United States rotating like some vast planet every four years....The resignation of Mr. Dulles, however, halfway through one of these quadrennial periods was a reminder not only that the rhythm is not necessarily so fixed but also that the planet is not alone. Rather, the president now appears (like Saturn) as only the center of a series of concentric rings of which by far the nearest and most important is the secretary of state. The world, perhaps as never before, is now conscious of the potency and dimensions of the office, and views a change in its incumbent as only one degree less significant than a change in the tenancy of the White House itself."

H.G. Nicholas

Foreign Service Journal, September 1934: "When a diplomatic or consular official is to pay an official visit aboard a U.S. man-of-war, a boat is placed at his disposal for this purpose. A commissioned officer acts as boat officer.

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INSIDE THE MANILA EMBASSY

When anti-government rallies followed the Aquino assassination, the U.S. ambassador began to rethink the embassy's closeness to the Marcos regime

KAI BIRD

AFTER FILIPINO opposition leader Benigno Aquino was assassinated in August 1983, the first decision confronting the U.S. ambassador was whether to attend mass for the fallen leader. President Ferdinand Marcos had made it clear that he wanted no one in the diplomatic community to appear at the service. His foreign ministry informed all diplomatic missions that their attendance would be viewed as an unfriendly act.

U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost decided to go anyway. And, according to an officer in the embassy's political section, Armacost made the decision without any extensive consultation with Washington. He maintained that attending a funeral mass had nothing to do with protocol, and so the State Department was merely informed that the ambassador would attend. His attendance was the first overt signal to the Filipino public that the United States would no longer give Marcos unequivocal support.

In this era of instant communication, it may sometimes seem that the role of the ambassador in the field has become superfluous. The conventional wisdom is that foreign policy is ostensibly made in Washington, and that the ambassador is merely the executor. When a crisis occurs, however, the policymakers in the capital are rarely knowledgeable enough about local circumstances to adopt intelligent policies. Furthermore, Washington seems invariably to prefer the status quo to the unknown. When momentous events—a coup, an assassination—occur, our diplomats abroad really begin to influence policy.

This was the case in the Philippines during the two-year tenure of Armacost. The former U.S. colony has been governed by Ferdinand Marcos since 1972 under a constitution that gives the president essentially dictatorial powers. In recent years the regime has become increasingly unpopular. Aquino's assassination focused this discontent, and when middle class Filipinos began protesting in the streets, it seemed for a time that the Marcos regime would not survive.

Washington has two major strategic concerns in the Philippines: Clark Airfield and the naval base at Subic Bay. In June 1983, just a month before Aquino was murdered at Manila's international airport, Armacost had completed negotiations to renew the lease on the

two bases. The Aquino assassination then jeopardized the entire U.S. stake in the Philippines, in large part because Washington was completely identified with the Marcos regime. Indeed, to many observers a replay of the U.S. debacle in Iran seemed on the agenda.

These dire predictions of the Philippines' becoming another Iran have not come to pass, however. Admittedly, the crisis is not yet over—Marcos has survived, but many diplomats expect him to step down by the 1987 presidential elections. But regardless of whether he does or not, the Filipino public's perception of U.S. policy has changed. The United States is no longer seen as always controlling political events nor as completely wedded to Marcos.

THIS REPRESENTS A significant change from before the assassination, when the opposition called the U.S. ambassador "the American member of the Cabinet." During the first year of his tenure, Armacost acted as if Marcos was a permanent fixture on the political scene. The opposition was not seen with American officials, let alone heard by them. The local press dubbed Armacost "Armaclose," in a backhanded tribute to his closeness to Marcos. Yet, by the time Armacost left Manila last April, his relations with Marcos had soured and his departure was publicly mourned by prominent opposition politicians. Former Filipino diplomat Salvador P. Lopez said the lanky U.S. ambassador had shown himself to be "sympathetic" to the "aspirations of the people for democracy."

In the beginning, however, it was different. "Armacost's first priority," says a Foreign Service officer in the State Department's Office of Philippines Affairs, "was establishing good personal relations with Marcos....He had about six months to read up on the Philippines, so he came out with a set of preconceptions that initially affected his decisions. He was, for instance, a little chary at the beginning of dealing too closely with the opposition." Only after the Aquino assassination, when public protests against the regime spilled over into the middle classes and the business community, did Armacost attempt to make contacts in the opposition community, according to this FSO. "The Aquino assassination," he says, "brought to the fore many political forces that were simply inevitable. But they came out a lot earlier than anyone expected."

Another high ranking officer explained that while

Kai Bird, a foreign affairs columnist for The Nation, is the recipient of a 1984 Fellowship from the Alicia Patterson Foundation to study the Foreign Service. This article is adapted from a report to the Patterson Foundation.

Armacost did pay "courtesy calls" on a few opposition leaders when he first arrived, "the center of gravity in handling the opposition remained with the deputy chief of mission and the senior political officers."

In an interview, Armacost would not speak on the record concerning any of the details of his tenure in Manila. But he did say, "I would like to think that I had a fair and realistic understanding of the Marcos regime when I went out there....It is not really a matter of personal views. The hardest thing for a diplomat is both to display empathy for a foreign government and people, and, on the other hand, retain the detachment you need, the hard-headed thinking necessary to advance the U.S. national interest. That is what we are there for....I tended to tell Washington what I wanted to do and simply gave them the chance to object."

The U.S. embassy in Manila, with more than 1500 employees, is one of the largest in the world. If Washington is ever misinformed, it will not be due to a lack of reporters. The political section is staffed by about a dozen FSOs and there are an equal number of economic officers. Usually eight officers from USIA are posted to the embassy. The Central Intelligence Agency probably has at least a dozen officers under embassy cover. Everyone from the Veterans' Administration to the Internal Revenue Service has representatives in the building.

Despite this diversity, every ambassador strives to imbue the embassy's reporting on any particular issue or event with a clearly defined consensus. "As head of mission," says one officer in the political section, "cable traffic goes out under the ambassador's name. If there are differences of opinion, well, you can report the nuances. But if there were polar opposite opinions, then people back in Washington would begin to ask why the ambassador allows such disagreement." No ambassador wants to appear incapable of forging a consensus. Thus, only before the official consensus is cabled back to Washington is there time for airing different views. Nevertheless, during Armacost's tenure in the Philippines, these differences had a considerable impact on the reaction of U.S. policymakers.

If Armacost was initially chary of the opposition, there were few FSOs who were not already disillusioned with Marcos. "The consul general," says one officer, "is known around here as the one royalist. He tries to compare the things Marcos does to the late Mayor Daley and the Chicago machine....Most of us don't see it that way. By comparison to other countries, things are very unambiguous in the Philippines. [The Marcos regime] is ripping off the society. They solve political problems in this country with murder."

Some of the most astute observers of the embassy are the Filipino businessmen and politicians used as sources of information by FSOs. One such contact, a businessman with close personal and political connections to Marcos and his family, became good friends with Air Force Colonel Richard G. Woodhull, who until recently was the defense attache in the embassy. Woodhull was the kind of officer who spent more time with Filipinos than he did wallowing in the complacent life of the Manila expatriate community. He and his wife traveled all over the islands and even

learned the local language. According to his Filipino business friend, Woodhull knew it was a mistake to identify U.S. policy—and the Clark and Subic bases—so closely with Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. "He would come to me almost every week with stories about his arguments with people in the embassy," says this Filipino businessman. "Armacost thought for a long time that there was no alternative to Marcos, that Marcos was salvageable. Woodhull told me that the turning point came when Marcos shut down the only opposition publication in town, *We Forum* magazine. Armacost was apparently visibly upset that Marcos couldn't tolerate even such an insignificant opposition voice as this little magazine."

STILL, NO ONE was prepared for the public outcry and emotionally charged mass demonstrations that took place in the wake of the assassination. (Aquino was shot from behind while surrounded by a military escort. The independent judicial commission investigating the slaying has virtually demolished the Philippine government's contention that he was shot by a communist hit man. The commission's report, due out in August, was expected to implicate the military and a group of officers close to the presidential palace.) "Everything has changed so drastically since the assassination," says one FSO. "Our relations with the palace have changed. But I guess the consensus inside the embassy ultimately changed when we realized how nervous the commercial banks had become." In the wake of the assassination, hundreds of millions of dollars left the country, as local and foreign investors lost confidence in the regime. Another high-ranking officer explained, "It was not that my opinion [of Marcos] changed, but that events occurred which changed our circumstances and our reporting....The very way in which the assassination occurred mobilized sentiment that had been passive since the imposition of martial law. These were not irresponsible people. Many of them were leaders of the business community."

Because Armacost was the only embassy officer seeing Marcos on a regular basis, he did much of the reporting himself throughout the crisis. But at times so much was going on that the political section recruited young consular officers out on their first tour abroad to do some of the reporting. Inevitably, some sections of the embassy overreacted to the rush of events, and a consensus on the stability of the Marcos regime was difficult to maintain.

In particular, many Foreign Service officers in Manila criticized the CIA's reporting. Theoretically, the ambassador can see everything wired to Washington, even raw intelligence cables. But in practice this just doesn't happen. In the Manila embassy a "reading file" available to all political officers contains copies of intelligence reports. But certain of the CIA station chief's most sensitive assessments are probably seen only by the ambassador. Since the CIA manages the communication system used to send reports to Washington, they see everything their Foreign Service colleagues are reporting. "The CIA was very quick to say that things were going to hell," says one FSO, "while we only reported that things were rough."



President
Marcos was no
longer
Washington's
only boy in
town by the
time Armacost
left the
Philippines



Ambassador Armacost's public speeches became implicitly critical of Marcos four months after the assassination

Washington, however, placed more credence in the CIA's reporting; when the State Department's inspectors came out to Manila last spring, they complained that some officers were "wedded to a rosy picture." But another officer familiar with both State Department and CIA economic reporting responds, "Financial information collected by covert means is worthless stuff. Everybody has to get their figures from the same public sources."

The CIA and the rest of the embassy staff also disagreed on their assessments of the armed opposition to Marcos. The major guerrilla organization is the leftist New Peoples Army. "Much of our reporting in the political section was done just to counter what the CIA was telling Washington," says an FSO who served as political counselor in Manila for four years. The generally accepted consensus in the embassy—the "line" to which Armacost was willing to sign his name in reports back to Washington—gives the NPA an estimated strength of 8,000-10,000 armed regulars. The NPA is regarded as a major irritant, but certainly incapable of toppling the Marcos regime. To be sure, some FSOs in recent years have agreed with the CIA's pessimistic assessments. "I had one officer," comments the former political counselor, "who came out convinced that the communist insurgency was strong and growing. He was just certain of his position." And another officer in the political section said, "If the agency is often accused of reporting every little rumor, I must admit that I've been satisfied with their reporting here. They have withheld from their cables some of the rumors that everyone was getting."

Aside from reporting to Washington, the embassy was also working to maintain a visible U.S. presence in the Philippines. "After the assassination," says Allan Croghan, the embassy's press officer, "we were going around the clock for six or seven weeks. Non-stop work. We had the ambassador out there all the time making speeches and issuing statements. I had reviewed what kind of public events Armacost had been attending. Before the assassination, they were all dam openings and the like, all events in which he was identified with the Marcos regime. So I had a discussion with him and he agreed we could assign a full-time photographer to cover those events in which he would appear in non-official settings."

By early December 1983, the ambassador's public speeches became implicitly critical of Marcos. "Powerful and able leaders need the discipline and they need the competition of a democratic system and a free press," he told a Rotary Club convention in Manila. "Competitive markets and competitive politics go hand-in-hand." Armacost made public statements on the need to have a fair judicial inquiry into the death of Aquino, and embassy officers began to show up at the public hearings of the Agrava Board investigation of the assassination.

IF ARMACOST WAS pressuring Marcos in public by talking of democracy, in private the ambassador had increasingly become the bearer of bad tidings. As one senior FSO said of Armacost, "He had to tell people in high places things they don't like to hear." About this time, William Sullivan, a

former ambassador to the Philippines, publicly suggested that perhaps a special envoy of ambassadorial rank ought to be sent to read Marcos the riot act. A high official in the embassy firmly discredited this idea: "The whole purpose of having an ambassadorial relationship [with a head of state] is to use it for good or bad. In the Philippines crisis, there wasn't just one piece of bad news to convey. It was a matter of constant cajoling and obtaining progress on such issues as the financial fallout from the assassination and ground-rules for the election."

On one occasion in the autumn of 1983, Marcos had to be told that President Reagan had decided to cancel his scheduled November visit to the Philippines. The formal decision to scrap the trip was made in Washington, but the embassy's political officers were certainly opposed to the visit. "We weren't sure how the 'front office' [the ambassador] was going to come down on the trip," said one FSO. "I know I almost considered filing a dissent cable arguing against the trip.... But in the post mortem, talking to the ambassador and the desk officers back in Washington, I don't think there was any serious difference of opinion. We were all opposed to it."

Soon the ambassador began twisting arms. According to sources in the diplomatic community, Armacost had another private meeting with Marcos in December. "McCoy"—the Philippine president's nickname—was told he must persuade Imelda Marcos to resign her position on his Executive Council and issue a statement renouncing any intention of succeeding her husband into the presidency. Because Imelda's monopolistic activities had severely antagonized the business community over the years, both steps did much to mollify the businessmen in the Makati commercial district of Manila, the scene of repeated anti-government demonstrations.

In return, Armacost promised to do what he could to alleviate the government's debt problems. A \$200 million credit for food imports was extended through the Commodity Credit Corporation. Credits were expanded from the U.S. Export-Import Bank and disbursements were accelerated from the Economic Support Fund—actually the "rent" Washington pays for the military bases. "It doesn't happen that often," said an AID officer in Manila, "but when an ambassador demands it, we can re-program monies originally intended for other projects. In this case, we managed to re-program \$50 million in a few months to help the government with its cash-flow problems."

None of this went unnoticed by the Filipino opposition, attuned as ever to the slightest change in U.S. policy. "There's less defense of Marcos," former Senator Ramon Mitra said in January. "Armacost used to be a defender of Marcos. Now, I see subtle criticisms of Marcos's policies."

By this time, the embassy was engaged in a tight-rope act. Armacost's pressure on Marcos to liberalize his regime was winning the United States credibility with some factions of a very divided opposition. But simultaneously, the embassy was using what new influence it had to persuade the opposition to participate in the May 14th assembly election. Political Counselor Scott Hallford met with church leaders in Mindanao, for instance, and in March, political officer

Jim Nach arranged a meeting with a group of prominent lawyers who had decided to boycott the elections. The election, which was to be the first even somewhat free referendum on the Marcos regime since 1972, could provide the government with a legitimacy it direly needed. But if the opposition was to be persuaded to participate, Marcos had to be persuaded to let a good number of them win assembly seats. And lastly, Washington had to be persuaded that the liberalization policy was working.

"You have to know what phobia in Washington to address," says Robert Rich, deputy chief of mission in Manila. "If the subject is the Philippines, the first thing you get asked is, 'Will the Philippines be another Iran?' " The Philippines, of course, is different in many ways from Iran. But Washington feared that liberalization induced by U.S. pressure might only destabilize Marcos—just as some believed that Shah Reza Pahlavi's determination and ability to rule was undermined by American demands for liberalization.

THIS FEAR, HOWEVER, never seemed to be a concern of the embassy staff in Manila. If anything, the political section under Armacost was anxious to prove that liberalization was working beyond all expectations. On one occasion, the political section drafted a cable on the subject of press freedom. It asserted that the Philippines now possessed a virtually free press. But one USIS officer disagreed: "There have been instances in which the political section has overrated the change in press freedom.... Since the Aquino assassination, there has been a change. The papers are giving space to opposition views. But there are still government-controlled papers which only publish the government line." In fact, a recent report by the State Department's inspectors suggested that the political section ought to take more advantage of USIS knowledge and sources in their political reporting. "More often than not," says this USIS officer, "the people in the political section just write something up and send it down to us to sign off on.... We don't always agree, though it is often just a matter of nuance."

Just before the May elections, a political officer drafted a cable devoted to discussing the extent of voter registration fraud. The political section had agreed that there were probably more than 600,000 "flying voters" (citizens who had registered at more than one polling site) registered in greater Manila alone. "After drafting the cable," says one officer in the political section, "we decided it would excite people back in Washington too much, so we decided not to do it. You don't want to have people going off the deep end back there.... We'll report the information, but in another context. You do have to acquire a sense of management on how to convey things back to Washington."

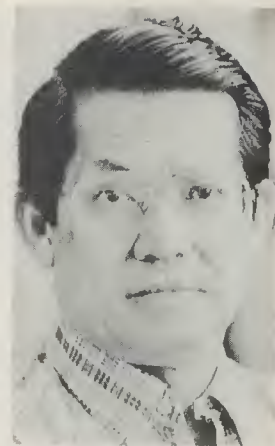
The election was carried out with considerable irregularities. (In an effort to limit fraud, indelible ink to mark the finger of each voter was flown in from the U.S. in an embassy diplomatic pouch.) In some constituencies where early returns showed the opposition far ahead, it was clear that some seats were stolen by

the ruling party. This was certainly the case in the opposition stronghold of Cebu province, where final results were delayed for days. Still, the results were an impressive upset: where the opposition expected to receive no more than 40 seats, the final rallies gave it 63 to the ruling party's 109. The results couldn't have pleased the embassy more. Enough of the opposition was elected to impose some constraints on Marcos, even though the elections gave the regime the legitimacy it needs to last until the 1987 presidential elections. At that time, most FSOs hope, Marcos will step down.

Armacost left the Philippines just a month before the election to become under secretary for political affairs. He had arrived two years earlier wedded to the political survival of Ferdinand Marcos. By the time he departed, his personal relations with the presidential couple, particularly Imelda Marcos, were cold and formal. Under the pressure of events, the ambassador had supervised a change in U.S. policy. His replacement in Manila, Stephen Bosworth, announced that the United States' number one priority is to help ensure "an orderly transition to the next generation of responsible political leadership." Marcos was no longer Washington's only boy in town.

If the Armacost ambassadorship shows how a skilled envoy can make a difference in a crisis, it also underscores a recurring weakness in U.S. diplomacy. The scenario facing Armacost should be familiar to critics of U.S. policy in much of the Third World. Whether it be Somoza's Nicaragua, Pinochet's Chile, or Mobuto's Zaire, Washington is all too enamored of the status quo. Although it takes no particular inside knowledge to understand why a Marcos or Mobuto is unpopular and why their regimes become unstable, Washington nevertheless seems to think that a good ambassador can always restore what once was. And if the career ambassador fails to shore up a failing dictator, as was the case with William Sullivan in Iran, Washington's instinct is to send out a political—or worse, a military—envoy to knock heads. Thus, Sullivan had to put up with the ill-fated Huyser mission, and last year the U.S. ambassador in Lebanon had to stomach the presence of Robert McFarlane. The real lesson, of course, in places like the Philippines, Lebanon, or Iran, is not that diplomacy failed, but that policy failed. However sensitive our diplomacy may be, it cannot forever compensate for plain bad policy.

In the Philippines, our policy is predicated on the out-dated and short-sighted notion that the Clark and Subic military bases define absolutely our interest in that country. "Many people will tell you that what we have in the Philippines really are bases in search of a mission," says Donald L. Ranard, a retired FSO who once was director of the Office of Korean Affairs. "The fact is," says Ranard, "that the Marcos government is falling. When it does, the United States will be in the position of trying to maintain military bases among a populace that is increasingly concerned about these bases and which has concluded that the reason we supported the authoritarian government of Ferdinand Marcos is simply because of these bases." Armacost may have helped Washington weather a storm, but the day of reckoning is still to come. □



The very way in which Benigno Aquino's assassination occurred mobilized sentiment that had been passive since the imposition of martial law

CAUGHT IN THE NUTCRACKER

*The highest career official in State
found himself trapped between his loyalty
to the department and Kissinger's schemes*

U. ALEXIS JOHNSON

TWO DAYS AFTER CHRISTMAS 1968, Secretary of State Dean Rusk sent me an urgent message to return to Washington. William Rogers, newly designated as secretary, wanted to see me in the small conference suite he had on the first floor of the department. When I got there Rogers called me in immediately and, after some preliminaries, asked if I would become his under secretary for political affairs.

At first I told him no. The position had only been filled sporadically through the years and had tended to be somewhat of a fifth wheel. Although it would be nice to have the title, I said, the job would not interest me unless it carried all the functions I had performed as deputy under secretary, such as supervising the assistant secretaries and handling relations with Defense and the intelligence community. Even if I could perform those tasks, however, I felt that I could do more good by remaining as ambassador to Japan. We agreed that we would both sleep on it and talk the next day.

During that second conversation Rogers told me that he wanted to establish the under secretary for political affairs as the equivalent of the permanent under secretary in the British system. He said he did not foresee any difficulty transferring to it the deputy under secretary's functions and abolishing that post. The president very much wanted me in Washington, he added. Under those circumstances, I replied, I had no choice and would do it willingly and to the best of my ability.

The night of January 5, I accompanied Rogers to New York and stayed in his apartment. The next morning we entered the frantic confusion of the president-elect's transition headquarters in the Hotel Pierre. There I met Elliot Richardson for the first time. Richardson, the attorney general of Massachusetts and a former colleague of Rogers in the Eisenhower administration, would be serving as the secretary's deputy. Later, Rogers and I went in to see the president-elect. After some conversation, Richard Nixon graciously introduced us to the press.

U. Alexis Johnson entered the Foreign Service in 1935 and retired from his last post as SALT negotiator 42 years later. This adapted excerpt from his book Right Hand of Power: Memoirs of an American Diplomat, to be published this month, records his tenure as under secretary of state for political affairs. © 1984, Prentice-Hall. The book was written with the assistance of Jef McAllister.

Before we left the Pierre we saw Henry Kissinger, newly appointed as the president's national security adviser, for about fifteen minutes. That was long enough for me to see that some rough roads lay ahead. Henry outlined his thoughts for wiping out the Senior Interdepartmental Group—Interdepartmental Regional Group system—"SIG-IRG"—I had worked with General Taylor to establish in 1966 to give State broad responsibility for directing the interdepartmental foreign affairs work of the government. Henry intended to establish a system based in the National Security Council staff, with himself as head. I had only two minutes to expostulate with him. Then, as I was going down in the elevator to get a cab to the airport, I tried to brief Rogers and Richardson on the important bureaucratic theology involved in SIG-IRG as far as State was concerned—an area with which, of course, they were entirely unfamiliar. I brooded about this on my flight back, and as soon as I arrived in Tokyo I sent a long back-channel message to Richardson trying to explain the issues involved and urging that he and the secretary mount the ramps before January 20 against any Kissinger/NSC takeover of State's interdepartmental functions.

I started work January 23. I felt as if I had come home. I knew the department and its people, its strengths and weaknesses, how the machinery worked and how to get things done. I felt I could work effectively for the president, as soon as he made clear what he wanted done.

Richardson, Rogers, and I met promptly that morning to get acquainted, and Rogers had us to lunch. While we ate we discussed how to divide up our work. We met again that evening before going home. We continued this pattern of conferences in the morning and evening and an occasional lunch with other departmental officers. I quickly took a liking to both men and was satisfied we would be compatible. Richardson turned out to be more interested in administration than I had expected, and I cheerfully deferred to his desire to chair the Board of the Foreign Service, which I had somewhat envisioned for myself.

In my first conversation with them, I learned that Kissinger had got the president's signature on the necessary executive order within hours after the inauguration and was already ensconced in the lordly position he had outlined at the Hotel Pierre. I could see the logic of this new system, which people besides Henry advocated. If a president wanted to be person-



As under secretary of state for political affairs, the author (center) was frequently caught in the crossfire when National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger (left) put the squeeze on Secretary of State William Rogers (right) during the first term of the Nixon administration. Kissinger and President Nixon frequently sought to discredit and embarrass the secretary.

ally active in foreign affairs, a system that allowed him to reach down deep into the decision-making process—before State, Defense, and other agencies had concerted their positions and presented an impervious joint recommendation—was obviously more suited to him than SIG-IRG. Former Eisenhower aide Andrew Goodpaster, for one, had strongly recommended to Nixon that he shape policy before the bureaucracy left him with only a few options that he might not like. But I could also see problems ahead, particularly for State. My experience had convinced me that the interplay of personalities determines policy more than organization charts. As it turned out, the formal structures and personalities so reinforced each other that the result was a president who took less advantage of the State Department's capabilities than any chief executive since Franklin Roosevelt.

FROM THE START it was obvious that Kissinger was extremely insecure and had an obsession, which persisted throughout his White House years, that the State Department and Foreign Service were determined to undermine him. Perhaps this was a defensive mental posture that allowed him to emasculate the department in just the way he thought State was trying to do it to him. His fears reinforced Nixon's long-standing paranoia that the Foreign Service consists solely of Democrats who despise Republicans, him in particular. The president had not always been warmly received in our embassies when he traveled abroad as a private citizen, apparently, and he did not forget it. His virulent distrust of the department did not seem to be mitigated by the fact that its new secretary was his early political supporter and friend. Nixon and Kissinger never lost an opportunity to humiliate and degrade Bill Rogers, both publicly and privately. Bill is a first-class human being who was slow to take offense and tried his best to avoid and deflect the confrontations that the White House continually forced on him. I respected him for his forbearance, but its result was to leave the field to Henry. Without Rogers to take the lead, I could only go so far in opposing him.

Before officially assuming my job I had to endure not one but two grueling sessions before the Senate

Foreign Relations Committee. Chairman William Fulbright (D.-Arkansas) made sure to hold them in the large Foreign Relations hearing room, where he sat in magisterial solemnity on the impressive raised dais of which senators are so fond. I sat quite alone at the enormous witness table, bathed in the floodlights, feeling rather like a criminal defendant, which I am sure was not far from Fulbright's intention. I have never felt more alone or under more unfriendly pressure.

As the first State Department nominee with any kind of history in foreign affairs to come before the committee that year, I became Fulbright's vehicle for getting at the administration on Vietnam. Besides that, he wanted to land a few blows on me personally. Having no knowledge whatever of what the administration intended to do on Vietnam, I had to answer everything based on my own knowledge and convictions. Since I believed that we should continue to help South Vietnam resist communist domination, my answers did not satisfy the senator. He voted against my confirmation—the only such vote cast against me in the seven times the committee was called upon to confirm me.

My calendar for these years records that this job carried the same pressured pace and variety of problems I had grown accustomed to in Washington. I had a meeting on a new subject about every thirty minutes, and between the meetings there were phone calls, memos, and telegrams. I put in twelve or fourteen hours a day, six days a week. From the outset I sought to use the enormous breadth of knowledge, experience, and wisdom of which the State Department is the repository instead of building up a large personal staff, which is the tendency of most newcomers. There was virtually no subject on which I could not pick up the phone and get hold of an in-house expert, or at least someone who knew where the knowledge could be found. Not only did the department serve me and the government well, but being called on directly by someone on the seventh floor was good for staff morale.

Ambassadorial appointments occupied much of the new administration's attention. As the only career officer on the seventh floor, I had a fair amount of say on the decisions about career appointments. For po-

litical appointees, the White House, Richardson, and I set up an orderly screening system. We separately interviewed each of them (except for Walter Annenberg, whose appointment to London was automatic) to get some sense of their background, character, and potential ability. Sometimes they had specific countries in mind, other times not. Many had family wealth, others had made fortunes in business. But they all coveted that title.

Many distinguished ambassadors have been political—Ellsworth Bunker, David Bruce, and Averell Harriman, to name a few. What surprised me about many of this crop, however, was how dense they were, even though they might have made tremendous fortunes in business. Several candidates came in clutching photo albums showing wives, houses, horses, stables, servants, gardens, and tasteful interior decoration, all evidently designed to show that they knew how to live right and would be a credit to the United States abroad. They naturally wanted a nice post where they could entertain properly. Their conversations about foreign policy were generally not as interesting as their photography. Fortunately, we did not have to accept all of them, but neither could we reject them en masse.

Richardson and I would get together afterwards and see if we shared conclusions. If we agreed that they passed, we would discuss what posts they might do best at and negotiate our preferences with the White House. When we thought things were just about settled, however, Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans—who had been one of Nixon's big fundraisers—would call and insist that the White House have four more ambassadors. Some of the political appointees turned out to be quite effective; others did not interest themselves much in the embassy, letting their career deputies do the work while they stuck to entertaining; and some regularly gummed up everything they touched.

In general, I had stepped back into many of the responsibilities I had handled as deputy under secretary in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations: overseeing relations between State and the Pentagon; serving on the interagency intelligence committee; and being the seventh-floor agent on science, space, and other technical fields. I also became the resident Japan expert. However, I soon found that most of these responsibilities tended to be hollow shells of their former selves. Nixon and Kissinger systematically froze out the State Department from real influence on the subjects they considered most vital: ending the Vietnam war, detente, relations with Peking, SALT, and, later, the Mideast. It was not a heroic time for State.

Under Kennedy and Johnson the department had more or less been at the center of things, and I had been able to make some constructive and lasting changes in the way American foreign policy was formulated and implemented. But under Nixon my mission became chiefly defensive, trying to shield State from the pummeling of the president and his national security adviser. As the senior officer with a lasting commitment to the department and the Foreign Service, I felt very deeply about wanting to protect it and, more important, to see it make the contribution

to foreign policy I knew it could and wanted to. But I did not have the necessary clout, and I was not inclined to use my elbows too vigorously. I felt I could best accomplish my purposes by working from within rather than by creating antagonism that would leave me on the outside.

WHILE KISSINGER CERTAINLY enjoyed putting the boot to State whenever possible, I never doubted that Nixon was ultimately behind him. I always considered it my duty as a Foreign Service officer to serve the president as he chooses to be served; if he chose to ignore the department that was his right. So I was torn between my duty and my loyalty to an institution that I knew would serve him well if only he let it. And whatever they may have thought about the Foreign Service, the president and his national security adviser always seemed to respect my experience and judgment as someone who could "get things done." I was part of the Washington Special Actions Group, the crisis-coordinating board that Kissinger established and chaired; I served on the 40 Committee, which handled covert action; and I think I was generally accepted as the pipeline between the NSC staff and the knowledge they needed from State. I never leaked anything, never told stories against Kissinger, never complained in any way that would embarrass the White House. In fact, I held information from WSAG very tightly so that it would not leak, which made me unpopular in the department. I did not pretend to play in the league of global superstar to which Kissinger aspired, but for the skills I did offer I believe I was respected and, compared with many others in the department, decently treated. Even so, it is not a period I look back on with excessive fondness.

There were subjects in which Kissinger was not particularly interested, and some of those he left for the department to handle. One, by and large, was Japan. Kissinger was fascinated by the Chinese, especially the urbane and sophisticated Chou En-lai. By contrast the Japanese always seemed prosaic, obtuse, unworthy of his sustained attention. As Henry once complained: "Every time the Japanese ambassador has me to lunch he serves Wiener schnitzel." I was fortunate that one of my major interests was one of Kissinger's major blind spots, and I had a fairly free hand in a few other areas as well.

Relations with the military continued to concern me. Apart from Vietnam, I dealt with the Pentagon on a host of subjects—the negotiations with Japan on Okinawa, Soviet moves in Cuba, Libya's decision to expel us from our important air base at Wheelus, the Spanish base negotiations, the Canadian grab for what had been high seas, the Iraqi attack on Jordan, the Indian-Pakistani war, and innumerable operational items stemming from the war in Vietnam. My liaison at the Pentagon was the deputy secretary, Dave Packard, and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, first General Earl "Bus" Wheeler and then Admiral Thomas Moorer. We saw each other almost daily as fellow members of the same NSC committees: WSAG, the 40 Committee, Defense Program Review Com-



Johnson (third from left at table) at a meeting of the Washington Special Action Group chaired by Kissinger. Kissinger had an obsession throughout his White House years that the State Department and Foreign Service were determined to undermine him.

mittee, and the vice president's Outer Space Committee. Sometimes we were not sure until we sat down what committee was meeting, since Kissinger would usually be at the head of the table when he eventually arrived, late and out of breath. There were, of course, also the full NSC meetings, at which Dave and I would be representing or backing up our principals.

As far as Vietnam itself was concerned, I was only involved when incidents occurred or operations were planned that required State's facilities or expertise. The same was true of talks with Peking. I was occupied to some extent with the SALT negotiations, but Richardson had the department's seat on the Verification Panel and, in any event, the most important decisions were made in conversations between Kissinger and Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin, without State's even being informed.

Ending the Vietnam war, of course, was a major preoccupation of the Nixon administration. The president had come to Washington resolved to end American involvement while unclear as to how to accomplish it. A delicate course had to be charted among the requirements of popular and congressional opinion, the needs of our military forces, our long commitment to South Vietnam and its own desire to survive, and our reputation as a world power that supported its allies and kept its word. The secret negotiations Kissinger conducted with Le Duc Tho to establish the conditions of the "decent interval" largely bypassed me and the State Department. Because I served on WSAG, however, I participated in many of the stormy decisions along the route to withdrawal—supporting Lao forces against the North Vietnamese advance in March 1970, the "Cambodian incursion" in April and May 1970, the mining of Haiphong just before the May 1972 summit, and our efforts to supply Saigon with sufficient equipment to fight on its own as we moved toward an armistice.

IN MARCH 1970, Sirik Matak (whom I had known when he was ambassador to Tokyo) and General Lon Nol mounted a successful coup against the government of Prince Sihanouk, who was in Moscow. With more courage than judgment, Lon Nol and Matak set out to expel the approximately 40,000 North Vietnamese troops then in Cambodia.

This development, in principle at least, encouraged us, but we were quite sure that the Cambodian forces were not equal to the task. We worried that they would bite off more than they could chew and then appeal for help from American forces. After Lon Nol's troops managed to close the port of Sihanoukville as a North Vietnamese supply point, North Vietnam did attack and Lon Nol did appeal to us. In the WSAG we strained to find ways to help that would not involve all of Cambodia in hostilities that could lead to Lon Nol's overthrow and a communist takeover. We arranged to supply enemy weapons captured in Vietnam to Lon Nol's forces, but it was not enough.

In the WSAG, we developed various programs for harassing North Vietnamese troops in Cambodian border areas, using air attacks and raids by South Vietnamese forces. For all practical purposes these border areas were under North Vietnamese occupation. No Cambodians remained. The troops were supporting communist forces operating in South Vietnam, so actions against them were clearly in self-defense. I never had reservations about them. Neither Sihanouk nor Lon Nol objected as long as we did not face them with an issue of principle by publicly declaring they could not keep the North Vietnamese out of their territory. Despite our efforts, however, the North Vietnamese army continued to augment its strength in Cambodia.

All through March and April, the WSAG debated the pros and cons of an American assault against the Cambodian sanctuaries. Nixon, Kissinger, Rogers, and Defense Secretary Melvin Laird were doing the same. Rogers told me he opposed it primarily because he was concerned that American opinion would interpret it as widening the war, though in fact it was the North that had done so. He also had some skepticism, which I shared, about the military's claims of what could be achieved. Nixon, who would of course have the final say, was feeling beleaguered by domestic criticism about the war. As he deliberated whether to invade, he saw the movie *Patton* three times in the same week. On the evening of April 30 he announced the American incursion into Cambodia. It was an emotional speech he wrote largely himself. Instead of describing the operation properly and soberly as a logical continuation of our efforts to get at the North Vietnamese army wherever it was located, he present-

ed it as a dramatic and courageous move. He almost taunted his opponents to challenge him. The speech produced exactly the kind of over-reaction from domestic critics of the war he needed to prevent.

My only responsibility was to prepare the political scenario for briefing our allies and handling the U.N. and the North Atlantic Council in Brussels, as well as getting out the many necessary telegrams and messages to our embassies. After listening to the speech with Rogers at the department, I went home to bed. At about two in the morning, an insistent telephone woke me from a deep sleep. I groggily picked up the receiver. The caller's voice blasted out: "This is the president. I want you to make sure all of those sons of bitches are fired first thing in the morning!" At first I had no idea what he was talking about but, in the course of a twenty-minute tirade full of abuse and expletives, I gathered that the wire services were reporting that a group of Foreign Service officers had signed a letter opposing the Cambodian action. My categorical instructions were to fire them by 8 a.m.

I told him I would investigate but, since I was not sure just what had happened, I carefully avoided any promises. Nixon was holding me, the senior Foreign Service officer, personally responsible instead of complaining directly to the secretary.

I called Rogers first thing in the morning. He suggested I talk to Bob Haldeman in the White House as soon as I pieced together the facts. By mid-morning I had learned that some fifty junior FSOs, having heard rumors of the impending incursion, had addressed a protest letter to the secretary. They were perfectly entitled to do this as long as it remained private, but inevitably copies reached the press. I did not want to see these officers fired, and I told Haldeman that I thought doing so would only fuel public distress about the action. He agreed but would not say so to the president. So Rogers and I went to see Nixon. The president was still consumed with anger, but we managed to talk him out of immediately firing the lot. Instead he wanted all of their names by that evening.

I had no enthusiasm for this idea either, because I was sure the officers' careers would be ruined if the White House mafia found out who they were. Rogers agreed to take my list and lock it in his own safe. At the same time I promised the president that I would keep an eye on all of them to make sure none were promoted or posted to Southeast Asia. Then I had a meeting with those I could identify as having signed the letter, not a happy occasion for any of us. Though I obviously disagreed with the content of the protest, I did not criticize them for that but only for their naivete in thinking that a sensitive letter in multiple copies would stay private. I stressed the loyalty that we all owe the president, unless we choose to resign, and the harm they had done the Foreign Service in his eyes and those of the country. I did not reveal the president's initial reaction to their letter or what I had done to save their jobs. Emotions ran high, and some were bitter that I appeared to be taking the president's side.

Having a list of fifty officers who could not be promoted or posted to Southeast Asia for political reasons was anathema both to our personnel system

and my own idea of the way the Service should work. But it was better than having them all fired. As it turned out, I never had to intervene to halt their promotions, and after Nixon left office their careers resumed their normal pace. I eventually even worked out a complex arrangement with Ellsworth Bunker to have some of them go to Southeast Asia. But Nixon never forgot. For a year afterwards he regularly asked me for written and oral reports on what was happening to them. "We've got it all under control," I always answered.

BETWEEN THE SELF-DEFEATING way Nixon handled the public relations and the self-imposed 30-kilometer limit on our advance, the Cambodian incursion backfired badly. The congressional and public outcry was so severe that the administration was forced into announcing a premature date for terminating the operation. Even though the will-o'-the-wisp Viet Cong headquarters continued to operate just ahead of our forces, we did capture or destroy large quantities of military supplies and equipment before they could be withdrawn behind the 30-kilometer line. They refused to give battle except at times and places of their own choosing, so their casualties were light and their gains substantial.

Unfortunately for me, this period coincided with Elliot Richardson's departure in June to become secretary of health, education and welfare. We had worked well together, and he had great skill in repairing the damage caused by some of Kissinger's more outrageous outbursts against Rogers and State. His absence meant that I got placed in the nutcracker more often, adding to the burdens of an already stressful job. Richardson's replacement was John Irwin, a prominent New York lawyer who had been the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs during the Eisenhower administration. Jack Irwin was an equally fine person, but he never immersed himself in the turbulent seas between the White House and the department as had Richardson.

A year and a half later, I visited Saigon, as well as Phnom Penh, Vientiane, Bangkok, Tokyo, and Taipei. South Vietnam had made obvious progress, but I felt a great anxiety about its future, which grew more uncertain with every act of Congress. Prime Minister Thieu had continued to mature politically and had a good grip on events. At a dinner Ambassador Bunker hosted, attended by a large number of politicians representing divergent factions, I was struck by how completely they accepted the existing framework and wanted to work together within it. That was a vast change from 1964-65. I felt that the South could hold out, that Vietnamization had a chance if we could only supply equipment and maintain air support after our ground troops left. But I was not able to be optimistic because many in the United States seemed determined to throw away all we and the South Vietnamese had been able to accomplish. I had to give the same message to Lon Nol, who seemed to be faring about as usual despite the presence of North Vietnamese troops a few miles from the end of Phnom Penh's runway. It disappointed me to have to say that



Johnson reviews the troops on his 1971 visit to Southeast Asia. The White House frequently ignored State Department advice on how to conduct the war, resulting in doomed policies and a loss of support by the American people.

Congress had tied our hands so that we could not help him no matter how well he did.

That winter I suffered a fairly severe heart attack that put me out of circulation until April. When I returned to work (minus three packs of cigarettes daily), South Vietnam's forces were no longer doing well against a strong North Vietnamese offensive. Vietnam was a regular topic at the WSAG, so I was surprised and disappointed to learn while watching television at home one Sunday evening in April that the United States had resumed bombing Hanoi and Haiphong. Not only were Nixon and Kissinger shooting from the hip, they were not bothering to consult or even inform those agencies that were directly concerned. Despite the supreme indignity of learning about it the same way I had, Rogers handled himself magnificently when he had to defend the decision before the Foreign Relations Committee on Monday morning. We worried, and the press speculated, that Secretary Brezhnev would cancel Nixon's scheduled May 22 visit to Moscow, but the president's reading turned out to be correct. Peking and Moscow both reacted mildly. The bombing reinforced Nixon's "tough guy" image and possibly helped morale in the South. But it had no effect on the fighting.

A CRYPTIC PHONE CALL woke me early one Sunday in May. It was Rogers, who was on a trip to consult with our European allies before the summit. Irwin was out of town and I was acting secretary. Rogers said he was immediately returning home and he hoped the statement he had just given the press would not be misinterpreted. He said it was difficult to cancel his appointments in the various capitals and return to Washington without creating something of a stir. (As the call came over an open line, I was unable to question him about the reasons for his return.) While I was still puzzling over what this was all about, I received another call. Kissinger wanted to see me at 9:30.

He started by saying the president was very unhappy about how much publicity Rogers's statement had received. (The 8 o'clock news on the radio had carried a brief item about the sudden cancellation of the secretary's trip.) I pointed out it was hardly possi-

ble to hide such a thing, or to prevent speculation about it. Henry then proceeded to brief me on a plan for an immediate mining of Haiphong harbor, coupled with a heavy bombing campaign against overland traffic from China into North Vietnam.

The object was to prevent materiel from reaching North Vietnamese forces in the South. The idea had been around a long time, so my first reaction was to tell him that I very much doubted the Air Force's claims about what they could do to interdict overland supplies from China. We had learned from Korea, and were learning in Vietnam, that it was impossible to really choke off such supply lines with bombs. But even if the Air Force did achieve what it promised, I said, that would not affect the course of the current battle in the South, which depended on supplies long since stockpiled. Mining the harbor, which was full of Soviet and other non-Vietnamese ships, would also generate a storm of charges in the U.N. and elsewhere that we were violating international law. The prospect of having the summit canceled also weighed heavily.

Henry said he agreed. He felt the chances of losing the summit were 95 to 5, while the president only rated it at 50 to 50. He said he had been trying to persuade Nixon against the mining, which he claimed was the brainchild of John Connally and John Mitchell, but to no avail. He said we would have to rely on Rogers to sway the president's mind at the NSC meeting scheduled for that morning. Laird would not do it because "he was always on every side of every problem." In case Nixon went ahead with the plan, however, Kissinger wanted me to get lawyers from State and Defense to work out a legal justification for the action and to draft a scenario for the international political steps that we would have to take. I said I would have something ready to consider at the WSAG meeting scheduled for that evening, to which Henry agreed I could bring William Sullivan, deputy assistant secretary in the East Asian bureau, who had continued to work on Vietnamese matters.

I met Rogers at Andrews Air Force Base late that afternoon and briefed him on what I knew. He said he doubted that Kissinger really was against the mining. After the WSAG meeting that evening, however, when I sensed that Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had no great enthusiasm for

the scheme, I talked privately to Henry again. He confirmed that he opposed it. He acted depressed about the way the president was heading. He wondered whether I had told Rogers about our earlier conversation and asked me to relay that he hoped the secretary would speak up against the mining at the NSC meeting. Henry said he did not intend to himself because he did not want to oppose the president in an open meeting.

Rogers's hunch that Henry was only pretending to oppose the plan turned out to be right. Kissinger's memoirs recount in great detail how he had concluded that mining Haiphong was the right route and obtained Connally's support the previous Thursday. He had persuaded the president the same day and had Moorer start the military planning. He also describes how he fought off doubts among his staff and opposition from Laird and CIA Director Richard Helms. I can only speculate, of course, about why Henry misled me so blatantly during two extended conversations. Given his addiction to Machiavellian intrigue, perhaps he was trying to discredit Rogers further with Nixon by setting him up to attack a decision the president had already made. There were few things Nixon dreaded more than open confrontation. The secretary, however, eluded the trap: Kissinger's account of the NSC meeting states that "Rogers was ambiguous."

The meeting was obviously a charade to front for the decision already made. In the meantime, with the help of Sullivan and John Stevenson, State's legal adviser, I prepared all the necessary messages to countries around the world announcing the mining and providing justification. This act differed fundamentally in character from anything we had done previously in Vietnam, since blockading a port with mines threatened the interests and safety of ships of all other nations. Done in the absence of a formal declaration of war, an act like this was at best in the twilight zone of international law. An essential part of these messages was the minimum time before the mines activated, so that vessels of other countries could leave Haiphong without risk of being sunk.

Shortly after lunch a few days later Rogers was told that Nixon had approved the plan, and an hour later Kissinger called a WSAG meeting to review the military and political scenarios. All of the messages I had prepared for foreign chiefs of state, the U.N. Security Council, and individual countries, as well as the president's speech announcing the move, were based on my understanding from the WSAG meeting that the mines would not activate themselves for three days after sowing. I stressed the importance of accuracy on this point, for we did not want to have ships being blown up in the period we described as safe. Moorer had his aide call the Navy to get this point confirmed, but he found out that 72 hours "was only an average." This, of course, produced consternation. After some more checking, 58 hours turned out to be the best estimate of the minimum safe period. We set about changing all the messages.

The president's speech was sober, avoiding the supercharged histrionics of the Cambodia speech. Even so, public and congressional reaction was predictably outraged. Henry phoned me the morning following

the speech with his customary tirade against State for leaks revealing the inside story of how the government made the decision, but in fact the department held together very well. At a meeting of senior officers the secretary gave the rationale for the mining and effectively appealed for support for the president. Although Henry denied to me that he had even seen the correspondent whose story had contained the most revealing details, I learned for a fact that they had had lunch together just before the article appeared. Henry, like most geniuses, has spectacular talents but corresponding faults. He was amazingly successful juggling a profusion of balls while pirouetting atop a highwire. When some of the balls dropped, however, it was obvious that devotion to truth was not always his guiding principle. Perhaps someone who achieves so much may be exempted from normal moral standards, but in the long run, I feel that the confidence of other countries, their belief that we mean what we say, is the only sound basis for foreign policy.

As I expected, the entire blockade and air campaign never had the slightest effect on the offensive in the South. By late August, when I discussed with Henry the trip to Paris, Saigon, and Tokyo from which he had just returned, the North was using heavy ammunition, rockets, and mortars at the greatest rate of the entire war. No shortage of supplies was evident.

By October it appeared that Hanoi might be willing to move toward some sort of agreement, perhaps because they thought Nixon would win the election and would have the greatest incentive to make concessions beforehand. At Henry's request, with Sullivan, his staffer Walter Cutler, and George Carver from the CIA, I worked out a proposal for a cease-fire in place, including supervisory machinery, that Henry could put on the table if appropriate.

Despite the drawbacks of an in-place cease-fire, we thought that what we had drawn up might have some chance of working, because the South Vietnamese army had succeeded in obtaining control of most of the countryside. With the election near, however, I feared that the president and Henry were becoming so eager to get an agreement that it was beginning to influence their judgment. But Alexander Haig, who was Henry's principal assistant and deputy, shared the desire of Sullivan and me to do all we could to righten the inevitable loopholes. He was very skilled in dealing with Henry and, as it turned out, some of what we had drawn up survived into the final agreement only, unfortunately, to be promptly ignored by the North.

Having worked out a deal with the North, Henry went to Saigon in mid-October. A week later, on the eve of the election, he made his "peace is at hand" statement. However, the "chemistry" between Thieu and Kissinger was not good. Thieu flatly refused to accept some of the points already agreed to, and Henry was finally forced into the position of agreeing to reopen negotiations with the North. It was a good demonstration of our propensity often to pay more attention to our enemies than to our friends. However, the North showed little disposition to agree to what was required to obtain Thieu's acquiescence. It was only after the "Christmas bombing" of the North



Chairman Mao greets Nixon on the 1972 trip to China. Instead of the United States' playing the China card, China adroitly played the American card, and the manner in which Kissinger and Nixon left out the Japanese permanently harmed relations with Tokyo.

and Haig's skillful twisting of Thieu's arm, as well as the president's assurances that we would react to violations of the agreement by North Vietnam, that the pact was finally initialed on January 23. Poignantly, Lyndon Johnson had died the previous day.

Of course, in a series of actions Congress promptly vitiated any threat that we would react against the North in the event it violated the agreement, thus removing whatever incentive it had to observe it. This, together with Congress's message to the South that it could not expect any more military supplies from us no matter how well it did, inevitably and surely set the stage for the debacle of 1975 that "liberated" the South from the best government it had had, then turned it over to the tender mercies of the North. The hapless people of Cambodia were also turned over to the knives of Pol Pot's executioners.

As Kissinger's relationship with Nixon grew more confident and his ascendancy in the foreign policy area more established, his scorn for the department became more obvious. From the start Nixon and Kissinger had excluded Rogers from most conversations with foreign visitors and had relied on foreign interpreters rather than those from State. Every embassy in Washington got the message that matters of importance had to go through Kissinger. The Soviet ambassador was given free and immediate access to the White House at all times, and if he chanced to have a conversation with the secretary, Kissinger in effect let him know that Rogers did not necessarily represent the president's views and should be ignored. Henry sought to humiliate Rogers further by having subordinates on the NSC staff call him with what they said were instructions from the president. Rogers put a quick stop to this, but then Henry found ways of passing messages through Richardson, me, or others in the department.

Nixon and Kissinger also humiliated ambassadors. For instance, Jacob Beam, our ambassador in Moscow, was rendered impotent by being kept entirely ignorant of Henry's dealings with the Kremlin. Kissinger plotted with the Soviets so that neither Rogers nor Beam knew about his trip to Moscow in April 1972. Beam did not even know that Kissinger was in the country. No more diabolical plot to discredit the president's ambassador or his secretary of state could have been conceived.

HENRY'S PASSION FOR SECRECY, combined with his contempt for the department and disdain for the Japanese, threw a devastating wrench into our relations with Tokyo on the question of China. Few thoughts aroused more trepidation in the Japanese government over the years than the possibility that the United States would suddenly reverse its policy toward Peking, leaving Tokyo, which had loyally kept China at arm's length despite many reasons not to, bobbing red-faced in our wake. Koichiro Asakai, one of the first Japanese ambassadors to Washington and a very competent diplomat, once said he had had a dream that we abruptly switched policy toward Peking without even informing Japan, and this scenario became known in the Japanese foreign office as the "Asakai Nightmare." Given the extraordinarily strong relations of trust and confidence that we had carefully built up with the foreign office, however, I and everyone else involved in American policy toward Asia scoffed at the nightmare and assured them that such a thing would be impossible. They accepted our assurances at face value.

Late in the evening of July 14, 1971, I received a call from Al Haig at San Clemente. My presence there was desired immediately, though he gave no hint of the reason and asked me to say nothing to Rogers, who was already there with the president. A White House plane would be waiting for me at Andrews in a few hours. I was intrigued, but I was not unaccustomed to such cryptic instructions, so I calmly dressed and got ready to catch the plane. Within the hour, however, Al called again and said the signals had been switched: now I should take a flight leaving the following afternoon.

When I arrived at the El Toro base near San Clemente the following afternoon, I was told I would have to take a car to San Clemente because all the helicopters were tied up taking the president and a large party into Los Angeles. Winston Lord, one of Henry's principal assistants, was at the motel near the Western White House when I arrived. He told me that the president would shortly announce the startling news that he was going to visit Peking. My first thought was the Asakai Nightmare. I asked what steps had been taken to notify Japan and other countries who were vitally concerned. Winston told me

that Secretary Rogers (left behind, as usual, by the president) was at his house telephoning as many ambassadors in Washington as he could reach, which was difficult since it was after working hours there. I immediately took a car to join him, and as I walked in the door I discovered that Japanese Ambassador Ushiba was on the phone frantically trying to reach me. Covering the mouthpiece, I learned from Rogers that he had talked to Ushiba about twenty minutes before I arrived. He had given the ambassador the news that the president had gone to Los Angeles to announce on television that Kissinger had just returned from a secret trip to Peking, where the president himself would soon visit.

I knew nothing more, and there was nothing to be gained by trying to stall Ushiba. He and I had a very good relationship developed through many battles fought together, over the Bonins, Okinawa, military bases, textiles—literally every issue that had confronted the two countries during the last four eventful years. His first words to me were: "Alex, the Asakai Nightmare has happened." I had to agree with him but, talking as fast as I could to forestall questions I could not answer, I tried to cite all the reasons I could think of on the spur of the moment why Tokyo should not be too surprised or take it too hard. I must say I did not sound very convincing even to myself. The damage had been done. After this "Nixon *shokku*," as the Japanese called it, there has never again been the same trust and confidence between our two governments.

How easy it would have been to avoid. I later learned that the initial plan, and the reason for Haig's first phone call, was to send me directly to Japan to inform Prime Minister Sato on behalf of the president. That would have enabled Sato to preserve his carefully acquired posture of having a special relationship with Washington, something that was valuable to both countries. Instead he had to confess that, on a subject of such great importance to Japan, he only learned of the "nightmare" in the middle of the night, via a phone call from his ambassador, just as Nixon's statement was being carried on the wires. Kissinger told me that Nixon's phobia about leaks caused him to cancel my trip to Sato, though I am entirely confident that the prime minister would never have leaked a development of this kind.

I am afraid that the scintillating Kissinger mind let itself get mesmerized by the charm and urbane intelligence of the cosmopolitan Chou En-lai. Kissinger, and later Nixon, understandably found Chou (and Mao) fascinating, but the resulting policy was lopsided. America, including supposedly hardheaded business executives, embarked on a period of rapturous enchantment with China and all things Chinese, a recurrent phenomenon in our history. Japan, for the foreseeable future our most important ally in Asia by far, was shoved rather brusquely to the back burner—another example of taking our friends for granted. Instead of our playing "the China card" against the Soviet Union, what really happened was that China very adroitly played the "American card." I had ample opportunity to view the president's visit to Peking in February 1972 from the hospital bed where I was recuperating from my heart attack. His public rela-

tions people had flown a satellite ground station to Peking to make sure every second received maximum coverage at home. One would have thought Nixon had landed on Mars rather than on the very solid earth of North China.

I could not help but think, watching those pictures of Nixon sitting on the edge of his chair while Mao reclined royally, that the Chinese must have felt triumphant. For years they had labored without result to arrange a meeting between our respective foreign ministers. Now the president himself had journeyed to their capital, learning only after he arrived that he was to be granted the "privilege" of seeing Mao. For centuries kings and ambassadors from outlying barbarian states had come to Peking to pay obeisance and deliver tribute to the imperial throne of the Middle Kingdom. The similarity in symbolism of Nixon's trip, which represented such a dramatic reversal in our policy, was not lost on the Chinese or those who were familiar with the history of their relations with other states.

Nor did we improve our performance with time. Ford's and Carter's Cabinet members all made their requisite pilgrimage to Peking, with very little in the way of reciprocation. It was not lost on Japan that Tokyo was a very incidental stop on these pilgrimages, usually just to refuel. I agree wholeheartedly that the time had come to normalize relations with China and that Nixon and Kissinger deserve great credit for doing so. But the way they did it unnecessarily damaged our ties with Japan and weakened our hand in the hard bargaining that has followed to put our relations with China on a sound footing.

In November 1971, not long after the Asakai Nightmare became reality, I made a trip to Asia that included a stop in Japan. Conversations with Sato and foreign office officials naturally focused on the future of American relations with China. I told them not to expect a rush of progress just because Washington and Peking had started communicating. We had had diplomatic relations with Moscow for more than three decades, but our problems had hardly been resolved. Our defense arrangements in Europe, especially NATO, had played an important role in the context of our relations with the Soviet Union, and I told Sato I expected we would be equally attentive to our allies and defense capabilities in Asia as our relationship with China progressed. They had nothing to gain by making concessions to Peking without getting something substantial in return, I told them. I also said that China would not respect us if we lightly abandoned our relations with Taiwan. I blamed Washington's failure to consult with Tokyo about the Nixon journey on our experience with sensitive material leaking via Japan, but given our own record on leaks I must say I had a hard time putting conviction into the excuse.

After the election, Bill Rogers's tenure in the department began to draw to a close. The president was becoming preoccupied with Watergate, and Henry was able to fill the power vacuum in foreign affairs by being named secretary of state the next May. The appointment suited Nixon. The appointment also suited Kissinger, who now would directly hold the reins of the department he had so often disparaged. □



THE WIDENING ATLANTIC

*Rough seas are ahead for NATO as the
European allies leave the United States' wake
and set a more independent course*

DONALD E. NUECHTERLEIN

GEORGE ORWELL'S GLOOMY predictions for this decade have proved to be unfounded but, when he wrote *1984* in the early postwar period, he had reason to be pessimistic: the cities and industries of Europe lay in ruins, Britain was the only democracy to survive Hitler's onslaught on western civilization, and the political mood in Western Europe bordered on desperation. In Italy and France, the Communist parties came close to achieving power through elections and general strikes. Britain, Orwell believed, would eventually succumb to an authoritarian government led by the far left faction of the Labour party.

Thirty-five years later none of this has occurred, and Western Europe's democracies are probably stronger than at any time in this century. The Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain have renounced fascism in favor of parliamentary democracy, and no Western European country has seriously contemplated turning over political power to the Communists. All are more prosperous economically than at any time in their history. Why, then, are

Europeans today so pessimistic about the future?

Their unease results from a perception that Europe's destiny is not controlled by its own people and governments and, further, that a major war will occur and destroy the gains made since 1945. This foreboding is a relatively new development. During the 1950s and '60s, Europeans believed there was little likelihood of war because the United States' clear superiority of power—especially in nuclear capability—made it unlikely that the Soviet leadership would risk its own destruction by launching an attack. Even when nuclear parity occurred in the 1970s, the Europeans were reassured by the conclusion of a strategic arms limitation agreement and the launching of détente in the political and economic sphere. The Helsinki accords of 1975 were hailed in Europe as the beginning of an era of hope. This feeling of confidence came to an abrupt halt in 1979, however, and five years later we find deep concern on both sides of the Atlantic about the possibility of nuclear war.

Three factors account for this new pessimism. First is the fall of the shah of Iran, which had a profound effect on the balance of power in the Persian Gulf and southwest Asia. After the new revolutionary government in Teheran imprisoned 52 U.S. diplomats in November 1979 and the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan a month later, differing U.S. and European reactions quickly came into focus. European govern-

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The central problem in the trans-Atlantic relationship is the growing divergence in American and European attitudes on how to deal with the U.S.S.R.

ments, by and large, urged the Carter administration to show restraint in dealing with Iran and the Soviet Union. From their perspective, the taking of American hostages was unfortunate but no cause for military action. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could be understood, many Europeans said, as an attempt to control instability on the Soviet border and its impact on the 50–60 million Soviet Moslems. Political and some economic pressure, not a military buildup in the Indian Ocean, was the way many European leaders urged the United States to respond.

President Carter initially ruled out a military response, instead adopting severe economic and political sanctions against the Khomeini regime and imposing an embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union. The Europeans, however, were reluctant to adopt these sanctions because of their need for Iranian oil and export revenues. They were also unwilling, particularly in Bonn, to agree to trade sanctions against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, although they did go along with political gestures such as withdrawal from the Moscow Olympic Games.

In April 1980, however, Carter, under increasing domestic pressure, decided on a military rescue mission in Iran and a show of naval strength in the Indian Ocean. The ill-fated rescue attempt caused great unease in Europe, where it made clear how desperate Carter was to end the crisis. The European governments did not criticize the expansion of military power in the Indian Ocean, but neither did they identify themselves with the growing U.S. concern about the region by, for example, sending naval and air units. Indeed, they became even more worried after Carter's declaration in January 1980 that the Persian Gulf area was a vital interest of the United States and would be defended by force if necessary, which raised the prospect in Europe of war in the Mideast and an interruption of Europe's vital oil supply. U.S. official opinion, meanwhile, continued to move steadily toward adopting tougher measures, including military ones, to deal with the Iranian government and warn the Soviets away from military adventures in the Gulf. European fears were heightened in the summer of 1980

when Ronald Reagan became the Republican nominee for president and promised to rebuild American power around the world after what he described as its ruinous decline during the 1970s.

The second factor that changed the generally optimistic mood of Europeans emerged as the time approached to implement a 1979 decision of NATO to deploy theater nuclear weapons. This triggered a massive and sometimes violent response from European peace groups and great unease among a majority of the population. Of course, the proposal to match the Soviet SS-20 missiles with an equivalent NATO force was initiated in 1979 by European leaders (specifically West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt) out of concern that a U.S. president could not be realistically expected to counter a Soviet missile threat to European cities with strategic weapons launched from the United States. Although U.S. military planners were convinced that a Soviet nuclear attack on Western Europe would lead to retaliation by a submarine-launched nuclear force, Carter agreed to deploy Pershing II missiles in West Germany and install ground-launched cruise missiles in Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium, as well as Germany. NATO leaders agreed that the actual deployment of these theater nuclear weapons would depend on the outcome of talks between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit such weapons. In 1979, most observers still expected that the SALT II treaty would be ratified by the U.S. Senate.

WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR to Europeans in 1981–82 that a new arms limitation agreement between the superpowers was unlikely to be achieved and that the United States would go ahead with deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles, the reality of the 1979 NATO decision burst upon Europeans like a thunderstorm. Instead of creating a greater feeling of security, the prospect of deployments in the autumn of 1983 brought forth protests from people in all European countries except France (which was not part of NATO's military structure and so was not involved in the deployments). Anti-nuclear movements in Germany, Britain, and the Netherlands were aided by skillful Soviet propaganda, and indeed, some left-wing and moderate opinion in Europe branded the United States, not the Soviet Union, as the principal threat to peace. In March 1983, the anti-nuclear movement in West Germany succeeded in electing a small block of representatives from the Green party to the Bundestag, and by the end of that year, the German Social Democratic party had adopted an anti-nuclear statement as part of its platform. Similarly, in Britain the peace movement caused the Labour party to adopt an anti-nuclear program directed not only at removing U.S. nuclear forces in Britain but also at dismantling the United Kingdom's independent nuclear deterrent.

The U.S. reaction to these events was bewildering. Although a nuclear-freeze movement had gained considerable support with both the Congress and the public, there was little public enthusiasm for abandoning the basic policy of nuclear deterrence and

the weapons it required. When Catholic bishops came close to calling for the scrapping of nuclear weapons in a pastoral letter in 1983, they received little support for their views. And among conservative and moderate Americans, the anti-nuclear movement in Europe had an unsettling effect. The Reagan administration seemed dismayed that the United States was being painted by Europeans as the villain, while their own perception was that Euromissiles would improve NATO's deterrent capability and so reduce the likelihood of war. Many U.S. political leaders were astonished to find the Soviet Union making inroads into moderate European thinking and nudging it toward neutralism and pacifism. Belated efforts by Washington to show flexibility on the number of missiles deployed, in exchange for Soviet concessions on the number of SS-20s, changed the direction of European public debate only marginally. The debate also intensified the view of American conservatives that Western Europe was going "soft" and was no longer interested in opposing the Soviet threat. Even moderate American opinion, especially that west of the Eastern seaboard, wondered if 326,000 U.S. servicemen and their equipment should remain in Europe if the Europeans preferred to accommodate Soviet power. In June, Senator Sam Nunn (D.-Georgia) introduced an amendment to the defense budget bill that called for the withdrawal of nearly 100,000 U.S. forces from Europe unless European NATO governments increased their conventional forces and defense expenditures. This measure, although defeated, received substantial support from both Republican and Democratic Senators.

The third factor contributing to European disenchantment with NATO is a strong negative perception of American political leadership. According to the Europeans, recent presidents either have dealt ineptly with the superpower relationship (as during the Carter administration) or they were too bellicose and endangered European security (as during the early Reagan tenure). This criticism was already apparent in the late 1960s and '70s, but it became a serious political issue after the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan. Americans had voted for stronger leadership in foreign policy than that exhibited by President Carter, but Europeans were astonished that a man who had never served in Washington and who held what they saw as extreme views would now exercise the power of life and death over them. The image of Reagan as a "trigger-happy Hollywood cowboy" was carefully nurtured by Soviet propaganda, and his strong speeches to conservative political groups were taken as policy statements of U.S. intentions.

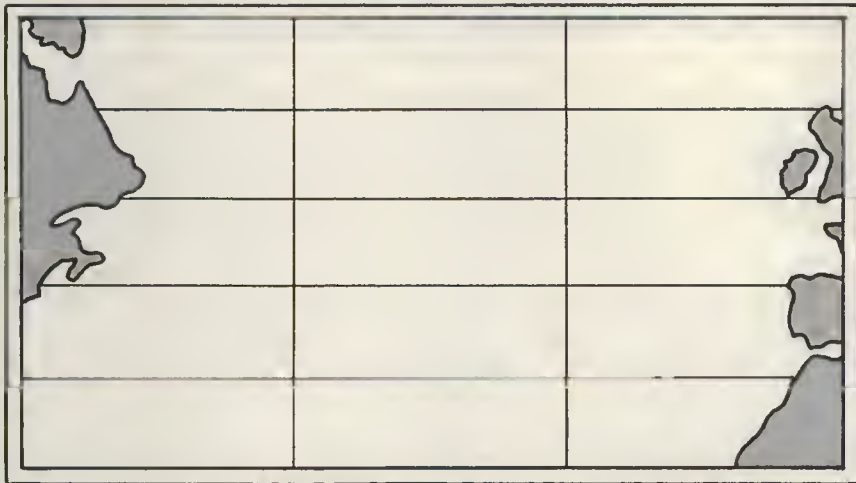
Many Europeans, however, failed to appreciate that the modernization of U.S. armed forces had been neglected during the 1970s and that Reagan had pledged to change that. Further, little was reported in Europe about his eight years as governor of California, during which he displayed remarkable skills for compromise and for perceiving the reality of situations despite his conservative rhetoric. This is not to say that many Americans, like Europeans, were not troubled by some of Reagan's strong anti-Soviet and anti-communist speeches; but Americans more than Europeans recognized the distinction between the president's rhetoric and his actions. For example, at

the height of the Solidarity movement, when unrest in Poland made the Soviet Union vulnerable in terms of its own security, Reagan was careful not to encourage the Poles to the point of open rebellion.

Disagreements over U.S. policy toward Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the deployment of Euromissiles are not simply the result of Reagan's hard-line rhetoric. During the last year of the Carter administration, U.S. policy was already moving in the direction of a large defense buildup and a much tougher approach toward the U.S.S.R. Indeed, Carter had an even more ambitious program than Reagan for deploying the MX missile as a means of matching increases in Soviet strategic forces.

THESE DISAGREEMENTS are really only symptoms of the primary debate within the alliance: whether to confront the Soviet Union over its arms buildup and aggressive behavior or to accommodate Soviet superiority in military power and influence in Europe. A key element of this is the correct European assessment that Reagan is not interested in detente with the Soviet Union on the basis of conditions that prevailed in the 1970s. The central problem in the trans-Atlantic relationship is not the specific president who occupies the White House, but the growing divergence in American and European attitudes about how to deal with the Soviet Union and maintain the security and freedom of Western Europe. A majority of Americans do not seem willing to accept a military and political accommodation with the Soviet Union in Europe if Moscow continues to support revolutions around the world and to use political intimidation and trade to undermine the resolve of the West. At the same time, a new generation of Europeans has emerged that is unprepared to limit its postwar gains—either by spending more on defense or by risking Soviet displeasure over NATO policies.

The divergence in U.S. and Western European views over NATO policies results from differing perceptions of their interests. The Federal Republic of Germany's primary national interest is the prevention of war with the Soviet Union, for such a war would destroy large portions of its territory and population within days. Since the 1950s, West German military and political leaders have asked that massive U.S. nuclear and conventional military power be based on the border with East Germany so the Kremlin would never be in doubt that a military probe across that line would mean war with the United States. The threat of an immediate, credible military response by the United States is the best way, most Germans believe, of deterring the Soviet Union. At the same time, successive German governments have argued that Bonn has no interest in provoking the Soviet Union, particularly when the issue does not directly involve German-Soviet relations. German leaders were extremely reluctant to support policies that might have caused the Soviet Union to send its own forces to restore order in Poland. Similarly, Bonn more than most NATO countries has sought to maintain trade and cultural ties with Eastern Europe. Further, although Bonn does not see any vital interests at stake in the Mideast, it



Western Europe is likely to exercise more independence in coming years, while pressing Washington to renew detente with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

remains highly conscious of its vulnerability to a cut-off of Persian Gulf oil.

France, unlike the Federal Republic, is not on the front line between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces, and its national interests differ accordingly. Although France's security interests require continued membership in NATO, it has not permitted foreign bases or troops on its soil since 1966, in part because it deeply resented its exclusion from U.S. decision-making on a range of international issues, and because its independent nuclear force gives France a rationale for not needing U.S. nuclear forces. Recently, however, President Francois Mitterrand has quietly brought France into greater informal cooperation with NATO military planning than did his predecessors.

The French people and their government believe that France has an important role to play in Africa, the Mideast, and perhaps in Indochina. In particular, the French government wishes to increase its influence with the Arab countries, especially Lebanon and Syria (both former colonies), and has taken a stronger line against Israeli policies than has the United States. France was among the first to send peacekeeping forces to Beirut in 1982, and was the last to remove its contingent in 1984. Also, France maintains a sizeable Indian Ocean fleet at its former colony, Djibouti, and keeps troops in several African states—notably Chad, which was invaded by Libya in 1983. In general, the Mitterrand government has made supporting the Third World an important part of its foreign policy and has distanced itself from U.S. positions on Central America and the Mideast.

Italy, like France, is not preoccupied with the threat of sudden invasion. Instead, Italy believes that, as a former colonial power in Africa that has maintained good relations with the Arab countries, it can play a larger role in the Mediterranean than simply defending its territory. Its willingness in 1982 to send the largest contingent of peacekeeping forces to Lebanon and the excellent relations its forces enjoyed with various Lebanese factions while stationed there gave Italian leaders confidence that their country may be able to build bridges to the Arab countries and

increase trade and investments. Unlike France, however, Italy does not believe it can do so without a U.S. military presence. Because it sees its security interests as linked to those of the United States, the Italian government has accepted the stationing of U.S. cruise missiles on its soil and has maintained U.S. bases.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT views its national interest as closely tied to the fortunes of NATO and the United States. It therefore maintains sizeable military forces in West Germany, which in 1984 it decided to increase. It is also willing to have numerous U.S. military bases—some with nuclear forces—on its soil. So long as the Conservative government remains in power that commitment seems firm. However, the Labour party is committed in principle to removing all nuclear weapons from the country, a position that could disturb allied unity when it returns to power.

And, Britain, despite its withdrawal from a world-wide empire, still perceives itself as playing a significant political role in the world. After it withdrew from "East of Suez" in 1971, many Britons believed that their country should be merely a European power. But the Falklands crisis illustrated the Thatcher government's determination to uphold commitments outside Europe and particularly not to retreat from either the South Atlantic or Gibraltar. Britain's international interests are also closely tied to the Commonwealth, where it enjoys considerable prestige. British unhappiness over the U.S. action in Grenada, a Commonwealth country, illustrated its sensitivity over former colonies' interests, even when the vital interests of Britain's closest ally, the United States, are at stake. Its decision to withdraw the British contingent from the Lebanon peacekeeping force last February, without coordinating with the United States, was further evidence that London wished to follow a more independent policy. In general, Britain's current international priorities demonstrate a growing emphasis on the Commonwealth and the European Community and somewhat less on a special relationship with the United States. This does not threaten U.S.-British defense ties or American military bases in Britain, but it does suggest a slight cooling in the political relationship.

The United States' view of its security interests during the early years of the Reagan administration reflected a desire to attain a Pax Americana. Recently, however, there have been signs that this globalist view of U.S. vital interests, and particularly the tendency to see everything as part of the East-West struggle, might be abating. For example, the withdrawal of the Marines from Lebanon suggests that the United States rethought the definition of its interests there and decided they were not vital. Congress was unwilling to commit additional American power in a vain effort to prop up a faltering Lebanese government, and Reagan finally concurred in this assessment.

The region that has emerged as vital to U.S. security, however, is now Central America and the Caribbean, largely because of a perception in the White House that the outcome of the struggle between Castrolism and Americanism could eventually affect U.S.

borders. Having failed to reach an understanding in 1981 with the Marxist Sandinista government of Nicaragua, Washington decided that this "communist cancer" in the American backyard had to be prevented from spreading to other Central American states and Mexico. The Europeans, however, were fearful that the United States would become involved in an unwinnable war in Central America that would divert its attention from the defense of Europe and the Persian Gulf. The U.S. invasion of Grenada was viewed by many European leaders as a prelude to an invasion of Nicaragua, a move they feared would have a disastrous impact on the European public's image of the United States and on trans-Atlantic relations.

Nor do the Europeans generally share Reagan's view that the Soviet Union is an "evil empire" which must be confronted militarily. Europeans tend to believe in the desirability of talking with the Soviets about reducing world tensions and reopening trade and cultural relationships associated with detente. The Reagan administration, however, seems convinced that only by keeping the Kremlin on the defensive can NATO feel secure and believes Europeans must avoid potentially entangling trading and political relationships with Eastern Europe. The American stance may have been designed to ensure that the European governments proceeded with deployment of the theater nuclear weapons. This might explain why 1984 has been a year of softer rhetoric by Washington and renewed efforts to resume talks with Soviet leaders. However, Moscow's decision to withdraw from the Olympics and its refusal to resume arms negotiations has made any improvement in relations difficult in the near term.

IF THESE DIVERGENCIES in national interests continue, one outcome could be that the countries of Western Europe, particularly the northern ones, will exercise more independence in the coming years, while pressuring Washington to renew detente with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In any case, defense expenditures by Britain, West Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway are unlikely to increase, and neutralist sentiment in all will exert greater influence on government policy. Italy, Greece, and Spain will continue to accept U.S. military bases, although Greece is likely to adopt some neutralist policies. France, even though it will maintain separate defense forces and keep some distance from the United States, will support a strong NATO defense posture in Europe, the Mediterranean, and Africa. Britain under Margaret Thatcher will not deny U.S. access to important military bases on its soil; but it is likely to follow a more independent policy, emphasizing its Commonwealth links more and a close relationship with the United States less.

A second outcome could be that the United States will substantially reduce its military presence in Europe and propose that the Soviet Union do likewise. Washington would not necessarily remove the Pershing II or cruise missiles, but it might withdraw a large number of tactical nuclear weapons from the border between West and East Germany. Washington will press the European allies to improve NATO's

conventional forces and ask the Federal Republic to provide additional manpower and funding to compensate for the withdrawal of a sizeable proportion of the nearly 326,000 U.S. troops now based in Europe. If Reagan is re-elected in November, the United States will shift its attention to Central America and the Caribbean, and it may station sizeable military forces in this area. In a second Reagan administration, the United States may also be more involved in preserving the security of the Persian Gulf. A necessary side effect of an increased U.S. military commitment in the Caribbean and the Persian Gulf would be a diminution of the U.S. role in Europe.

This shift in U.S. policy might be accelerated if economic confrontations between the European Community and the United States and Canada continue. Also, U.S. trade and investment in Asia has grown rapidly during the past few years—a trend that is likely to continue and will further reduce Europe's influence on U.S. economic policy. Although Reagan has curtailed his strong anti-Soviet rhetoric during the 1984 election campaign, a new Reagan administration could see a renewal of the tough line pursued by the president during his first three years. A Democratic presidential victory would result in a more modest expansion of defense budgets and greater emphasis on achieving accommodation with the Soviet Union on arms reductions and other issues.

A third outcome, although less likely, must be considered: that West Germany will move away from NATO and adopt more conciliatory policies toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union than its partners think prudent. Bonn is already making a serious effort to foster closer links with East Germany and at some point in the next few years may suggest that NATO and the Warsaw Pact be asked to reduce their military forces substantially in both Germanies. Although it is unlikely that a conservative West German government would ask for the complete removal of nuclear weapons on the East-West border, the thinning of such weapons, as well as a reduction in conventional forces, is a goal Bonn might feel obliged to pursue. The response of other NATO countries to such a development would be mixed, with France, Belgium, and the Netherlands—who deeply fear the resurgence of a unified Germany—being likely to exhibit the greatest anxiety. Other NATO members would object to a unilateral West German pursuit of such policies. But, if the Soviet Union and East Germany were to offer reciprocal withdrawals, the West Europeans would feel great pressure at least to permit Bonn to explore the possibility of a mutual pullback of forces.

The Atlantic relationship will undoubtedly cool somewhat over the next few years because the countries of Western Europe will seek to reduce tensions and reinstitute detente—a movement the United States is unlikely to support with any enthusiasm. Regardless of the course of U.S.-Soviet relations in 1985, European leaders are likely to press for renewed detente, and the gap between U.S. and European perceptions of national interest will widen further. This trend seems irreversible, and Washington needs to accept a more independent role for its European partners if the Atlantic alliance is to remain healthy. □

A Case

As the townspeople gathered for the American sailor's funeral, the vice consul made a poignant discovery

FRED GODSEY

THE MAN'S BODY was discovered in the early morning by a Brazilian fisherman who was gathering driftwood on a sandy beach near the river's mouth. The fisherman, who knew about such things, estimated that the corpse had been in the sea for about six hours. Sharks and the elements had done their work. The torso was severely mutilated and the face was unrecognizable. The only clothing on the body was a small piece of shirt sleeve on the left arm. There were no shoes, no jewelry, and no identifying marks.

The United States had just entered World War II, and Axis submarines were increasing their activity along the coast of Brazil. They preyed on American merchant ships bringing supplies to Allied military bases and returning with bales of raw rubber and other war cargo. One such merchantman, in fact, a freighter en route to Baltimore named the S.S. *Corbis*, had been torpedoed the day before the body washed up on the shore. Four men were lost in the wreck.

The mangled corpse on the beach had blond hair, so there was no doubt that the body was of one of the missing American sailors. The fisherman concluded that the proper thing to do was to bring the body to the American consulate several miles upriver in the port.

Wisps of steam from a brief morning shower were still rising from the cobble-

stone streets of the port when Vice Consul Wilson arrived at his office that day. Two fishermen were there to greet him. They told him of the discovery and that the body could be found at the town morgue, an open-air shed with a red tile roof one block from the river bank. Because of the tropical heat and the lack of refrigeration, immediate burial was the law. The vice consul grabbed his hat and headed for the morgue.

As Wilson expected, no officials were on hand. A glance at the body convinced him that further identification was impossible, and he accepted the conclusion of the fisherman that it was one of the four missing seamen. He instructed the carpenter whom he had brought along to bring a coffin as soon as possible. Because of rigor mortis, the carpenter pointed out, the right leg was bent at a sharp angle at the knee, which would prevent the coffin from being closed. The consul told him to cut a hole in the lid and to leave the unsealed casket on a table under the shed for a funeral service.

A BIGAIL HAWKINS, a predatory-looking woman with iron-gray hair, began to make arrangements for the funeral. Hawkins, the only American secretary at the consulate, was a prim lady of fifty or so years who had spent nearly two decades doing missionary work in Peru and Brazil before joining the staff. A perpetual look of belligerency on her face was widely held to be the expression of a losing life-long battle with sin. But she was familiar with religious matters—she was still connected with the Virgin Saints of the Holy Flame and distributed their tracts, printed in English, to the Portuguese-speaking illiterates of the tiny port—so she was a logical choice.

Several local priests were available for the service, but none spoke English well enough, so she headed off in the consulate's station wagon for the nearby American air base. She planned to commandeer Padre O'Bannion, but she found the chaplain recuperating from one of his sprees in the padded cell of the base hospital. O'Bannion had just got word of

his brother's death in the Philippines the previous night. After consuming nearly a quart of local rum, he had wandered into the base movie house and sat in the front row. The picture was unusually bad, and the padre began to insert his own dialogue in a voice sufficiently loud to carry to the back row.

"It was a real bad pitcher," the chaplain's assistant tried to explain to Hawkins. "This guy, his name be Custis or Curtis or somethin', well, he was tellin' this dame that her contract with some biggum at a Hollywood studio weren't any good, and she said, 'Well, what do you want me to do with it,' and the padre, he say, 'Stick it—'"

"Young man!" Hawkins shouted. Her face turned red and her nostrils started to quiver. She drew herself up to her full height and stalked out.

Her next stop was at the Reverend Lunsford's small missionary church on the outskirts of town. The reverend was away in the interior searching for rare butterflies—he was a renowned entomologist—but his assistant and organ player McDougal was there sweeping the floor. McDougal was an elderly reformed drunk who was widely presumed to have jumped ship somewhere on the Brazilian coast before the war. Lunsford, with the aid of Vice Consul Wilson's predecessor, had succeeded in weaning the man from the bottle, an enterprise that had led the hapless consul into an unwanted familiarity with all the madames in town [THE JOURNAL, June]. But the consul's kindness was remembered by the organist, and it stood Hawkins in good stead. McDougal readily agreed to bring the antiquated foot-bellows organ to the morgue that afternoon, and to sing some hymns in his gifted, West Indian voice.

The arrangements made, Hawkins reported back to a relieved vice consul, who put the matter out of his mind and began to work on a stack of papers. An hour before the ceremony, however, his calm was broken by the arrival of a distraught fisherman from downriver who claimed urgent necessity.

"It's about the dead American seaman, O Senhor Consul," the man said. He was carrying a small piece of cloth rolled into

Fred Godsey is a frequent writer of unusual but true experiences for this section. Readers are invited to submit manuscripts for consideration.

of Identity



NIAGDA FRENCH

a shapeless wad. "Some children playing on the beach this morning found this only a short distance from where the body was discovered. It surely belonged to the dead American seaman, O Senhor Consul. I have brought it to you."

He placed the cloth on Wilson's desk. It was a blood-stained remnant of a man's shirt. A part of a sleeve and a buttoned pocket were still intact. He immediately recognized the cloth as being of the same material as that found on the corpse.

"There is something in the pocket, Senhor," the fisherman said. "We have left it there just as we found it."

Wilson thanked the man, handed him a few cruzeros, and escorted him out. Then he unbuttoned the pocket. Inside was a small metal trinket. As he examined it, his hands trembled so that he dropped the piece on the floor. His face turned pale. The vice consul was not a drinking man; however, he searched the office for a pint he had once seen, locked his door, and took three long pulls directly from the bottle.

A FEW ROWS of folding metal chairs had been set up under the roof of the morgue for the service. The coffin was draped with the American flag, rising in a slight bulge over the protruding knee. The organ and lectern were in place, with McDougal beaming his toothless grin to the arriving mourners. All the American

community of the town was there—all half dozen—and the ladies cooled themselves with large palmetto fans while the men mopped their brows. Also on hand were the local businessmen who were honorary consuls of various countries. Among them were the local distributor of Gordon's Gin, the town's tailor, the Quaker Oats importer, the leading exporter of Brazil nuts, a prominent dealer in hides, and the owner of Madame Fi Fi's bordello. The local agent of the *Corbis* was also there with his wife. Even the governor had sent a representative.

In addition, a crowd of the curious had gathered on the river bank below the morgue: *caboclos* from the interior, barefoot rubber rappers off the small river boats, far peddler women in their colorful shawls, carrying baskets of bananas and mamao fruit balanced on their heads, half-dressed street urchins with their shoeshine boxes. The funeral of an American was a lavish affair, and a rare one indeed for the tiny port.

Shortly before five, Vice Consul Wilson and Hawkins arrived. A driver pulled up in an aged taxi and unloaded a large wreath made up in flowers of red, white, and blue. Hawkins was puzzled. She could not remember having ordered a wreath and was glad her omission wouldn't be noticed. But she could not figure out who had arranged for the flowers. She glanced at McDougal, who was wearing his best shirt and his only bow tie, carefully knotted around a high, stiff collar that served to squeeze his

prominent Adam's apple till it looked tumorous, but McDougal, she realized, would not have had the wherewithal, let alone the money, to buy the wreath.

As soon as the audience was seated, the vice consul gave the signal to begin. McDougal began the first hymn. The assemblage grew quiet, as did the rabble on the riverbank. Some of the *caboclos* removed their floppy straw hats and made the sign of the cross. A few women openly wept, though none even knew the deceased's name.

As the first strains of music began, three more taxis arrived. There was a gasp from the women sitting on the folding chairs. Madame Fi Fi and eight of her girls got out of the taxis, everyone dressed in demure black dresses. They walked silently to the edge of the shed but took care to stay outside. They bowed their heads in unison. McDougal played on. The crew of the *Corbis*, Wilson reasoned, must have been good customers of theirs. Hawkins suddenly understood where the flowers had come from.

McDougal's deep, sweet voice began, singing the words of the old hymn that he had learned as a child from American missionaries.

*Shall we gather at the river—
The beautiful, the beautiful river?
Gather with the saints at the river—
That flows by the throne of God?*

When he finished, the governor's representative said a few words in praise of the brave American seaman who had given his life to keep the sea lanes open. Hawkins read a few passages from her ever-present Bible. The American women continued to weep, and tears were seen in the eyes of the prostitutes.

The light of the late afternoon sun began to fade. A gentle breeze from the river wafted the perfume of the sour-orange blossoms through the shed. Overhead, a flock of cranes flying inland after feeding cried into the sunset. It was a time of peace.

Vice Consul Wilson and three other men walked to the coffin to lift it the few steps to the waiting truck that would carry it to the cemetery. As Wilson folded the American flag and removed it from the coffin, he dropped a small white envelope through the hole in the lid. Inside was a bronze medal depicting a German U-boat surrounded by oak leaves, with the eagle and swastika of the Third Reich. After placing the coffin in the truck, Vice Consul Wilson crossed himself and walked home in the gathering dusk. □

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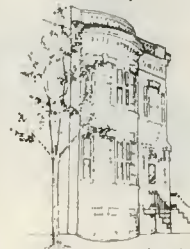
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1984 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Winners

This year, 25 winners in the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards Competition, instead of the usual 22 finalists, have been chosen to receive \$500 each. The volunteer review panelists evaluated 96 outstanding applications from dependent Foreign Service juniors who graduated from high school in 1984, either at home or abroad, and these brief biographies and pictures introduce our superior students. The awards are named in memory of the late educator Clarke Winship Slade, long-time friend and adviser to the scholarship programs and the AFSA Committee on Education. The winners on these pages deserve our congratulations for their outstanding academic achievements, and we wish them success in the years ahead.

Interested applicants who will be graduating from high school in 1985, and who are qualified dependents of career Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad in foreign affairs agencies of the U.S. government operating under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, are encouraged to apply. Write to Dawn Cuthell, AFSA Scholarship Programs Administrator, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, for applications and information in October. Financial Aid Grant information for full-time undergraduate education in the United States may also be requested. Merit Awards are based solely on academic excellence; Financial Aid Grants are based solely on need. Qualified applicants may apply for either or both programs. The deadline for completion and return of all program materials to the AFSA office is February 15, 1985. Please apply early.



Douglas Chang, son of John C.D. and Sally S.K. Chang, AID. Douglas is a graduate of Carol Morgan School in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, and has also lived in El Salvador, Vietnam, and Egypt. He was his school's top student in math, science, and social studies and was a member of the National Honor Society. He was a member of the honor roll and received a first place prize in extemporaneous speaking. Douglas plans to enter the California Institute of Technology to major in computer science.



Robert S. Chase, son of Robert and Joan Chase, AID. Robert graduated from the Rabat American School, where his interests included student government, soccer, skiing, and track. He was a Presidential Scholar finalist, a National Merit finalist, and student body president. He will be attending Williams College this fall, where he plans to major in political science or physics.



Michael C. Friedman, son of Gerald A. and Philomena C. Friedman, State (retired). Michael has lived in the Central African Republic, Zaire, Cameroon, Britain, and the Ivory Coast. He was graduated from Phillips Academy, where he was editor-in-chief of the school sports magazine, a writer and photographer for the school newspaper, and participated in student government. A National Merit commended student and a prize-winner in French, he will enter Williams College this fall.



Susanne A. Hauger, daughter of Donald Wayne and Brigitte Hauger, USIA. Susanne has lived in West Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Brazil. She is a winner of the Bausch & Lomb Honorary Science Award and a National Merit commendation. She was nominated as a Presidential Scholar for 1984 and was valedictorian of her class at Escola Americana de Brasilia. Her interests include languages, art, music, drama, writing, and science. This fall she will enter Duke University, where she will study zoology and physics.



Maria M. Isaacs, daughter of Arnold and Judy Isaacs, State. Maria has lived in Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, and Ecuador. She is a graduate of Cotopaxi Academy in Quito, Ecuador, where she was a member of the National Honor Society, president of the student council, yearbook editor, and winner of the Outstanding English and History Student Award. She is interested in drama, tennis, and philately. This fall she will enter Brown University, where she will follow a liberal arts curriculum. She intends to go on to earn a graduate degree in business administration.



Liesl C. Leach, daughter of Jerry W. and Marianne M. Leach, State. Liesl has lived in Britain and New Guinea. She is a graduate of George Mason High School in Falls Church, Virginia. She was a member of the French National Honor Society, the National Honor Society, and the Virginia Girls' State Championship Tennis Team. She is a winner of a National Merit commendation and a science award and the National Leadership Merit Award. Liesl will enter Harvard University, where she will study economics and international relations.



Darrell Martin Kienzle, son of Don and Monika Kienzle, State. Darrell has lived in the U.S.S.R., Thailand, West Germany, Denmark, and Israel. He was a Presidential Scholars Finalist, a member of the National Honor Society, and a two-time recipient of a National Merit Scholarship Honorable Mention. He is interested in computers, electronics, math, war-games, role-playing games, and poetry. He plans to attend the New College of the University of South Florida to study computer science.



Indra A. Levy, daughter of Howard S. and Henriette L. Levy, State (retired). Indra has lived in Japan and is very interested in Asian cultures. She won a Meritorious Performance Award in journalism and the Silver Plate Award. She was a 1983 National Merit semifinalist. A graduate of George Mason High School in Falls Church, Virginia, Indra is primarily interested in journalism and literature. She will attend Columbia University with plans to major in English or East-Asian studies.



Jonathan D. Kulick, son of Gilbert D. and Judith S. Kulick, State. Jonathan has lived in Somalia, Ethiopia, and Israel. He was graduated from Georgetown Day School, where he was a National Merit finalist and a winner of the Mathematical Association of America Award. He also won a prize for best production in the Folger Shakespeare Competition. Jonathan plays frisbee and is interested in mathematics and music. He will study mathematics and engineering at Swarthmore College this fall.



Kimberly Linton, daughter of Mark and Donna Linton, State. Kimberly has lived in Greece, Zaire, Hungary, and Ireland. As a student at St. Andrew's College in Dublin, she received the Science Prize, the American History Prize, and the Class Prize for overall academic achievement. She is also a recipient of the Federation of American Women's Clubs Overseas Community Service Award and represented Ireland at the Model United Nations in the Hague. She will study political science or economics at Stanford University this fall.



John F. Moran, son of James B. and Jean E. Moran, State. John has spent summers in the Peoples Republic of China. He was the recipient of a National Merit commendation, a National Merit science award, and a Certificate d'Honneur from the Concours National de Francais. He was named Most Valuable Swimmer of the Robert E. Lee High School swim team in Springfield, Virginia, three times and won the U.S. Student Council Award for Outstanding Latin Student. This fall he will attend Tulane University to study linguistics, language, European history, and English literature.



Donald J. Planty Jr., son of Donald J. and Regina E. Planty, State. Donald has lived in Panama, Chile, Mexico, and Italy. He was graduated from Notre Dame International School in Rome, Italy. He was a member of the National Honor Society, a National Merit Scholarship finalist, a 1983 Kiwanis Club Outstanding Youth Salute member, and was nominated as a Presidential Scholar. A tennis player, bicyclist, philatelist, camper, and a hiker, Donald will attend the College of William and Mary to study political science.



Monique M. Morrissey, daughter of Dennis and Michelle Morrissey, AID. A graduate of Yorktown High School in Arlington, Virginia, Monique has lived in Nicaragua, Peru, Tunisia, Syria, and Turkey, the last as an American Field Service exchange student. She is the winner of first place honors in a French drama contest and is a member of the National Honor Society and a National Merit Semifinalist. She plans to enter Swarthmore College in the fall but will interrupt her studies for a year of traveling.



John H. Rogers, son of Stephen H. and Kent B. Rogers, State. John has lived in England, France, and Mexico. He attended J.E.B. Stuart High School in Falls Church, Virginia. He was a recipient of a National Merit commendation and was a member of the National Honor Society and the Social Studies and Math societies. John was also a member of the Virginia All-State Chorus and the District Chorus and was selected for the J.E.B. Stuart Madrigal Singers. He will enter Princeton University this fall.



Claudia G. Nenno, daughter of William C. Nenno, State. Claudia has lived in Australia and East Germany. She attended Georgetown Visitation Preparatory School, where she won the General Excellence Medal for highest academic average three years in a row and first honors all four years. She also was awarded the Century III Leader Award and was editor of her school yearbook. She jogs, plays tennis, and enjoys horseback riding. She will enter Brown University, where she plans to major in history and take pre-medical courses.



Julia Lundy Rogers, daughter of Stephen H. and Kent B. Rogers, State. Julia has lived in England, France, and Mexico. She graduated fourth in her class from J.E.B. Stuart High School in Falls Church, Virginia. A winner of the Harvard Book Award, she also received a National Merit commendation. She was a member of the Math Honor Society, the Social Studies Honor Society, the National Honor Society, and the District Chorus. Julia plans to attend Amherst College to study history and languages.



Michael Rubenstein, son of Irwin and Estelle Rubenstein, State. Michael has lived in Peru, Uruguay, Colombia, Nicaragua, Israel, and Mexico. At the American School Foundation of Mexico City he was a member of the school senate, business manager of the yearbook, vice-president of the Honor Society, and salutatorian of his class. He was also winner of the American Legion Oratory Contest in Mexico. This fall he will enter Wesleyan University, where he will study political science.



Mike Schwartz, son of Louis Jr. and Patricia S. Schwartz, State. Mike has lived in Germany, Jamaica, and Brazil. He is a graduate of the Bolles School in Jacksonville, Florida, and a winner of the Jefferson Book Award from the University of Virginia. He is interested in Tae Kwon Do, chess, philosophy, and Asian cultures. He will study philosophy and physics at Florida State University.



Amy C. Russell, daughter of Christopher and Elsbeth Russell, AID. A cum laude graduate of the American School of Paris, Amy has lived in Laos, the Philippines, Jordan, and France. She is a National Merit finalist and is interested in drama, creative writing, and dance. She plans to study literature and languages at Yale this fall.



Stratton C. Strand, son of Robert R. and Penelope A. Strand, State. Stratton has lived in Zaire, the U.S.S.R., and Belgium. He was graduated from Falls Church High School and won second place in northern Virginia in the Concours National de Français. He is a winner of the Sportsmanship Award in baseball and was on all-star teams in baseball, soccer, and basketball. His other interests include the violin, reading, and foreign languages and cultures. This fall he will enter Dartmouth College to study English and political science.



Mary A. "Alexis" Sarros, daughter of P. Peter and Mary P. Sarros, State. Alexis has lived in Italy and Iceland. She was president of the Latin, Fine Arts, and National Honor societies at Washington-Lee High School in Arlington, Virginia. She is a National Merit Scholarship winner and an intern at the Smithsonian Institution. She is interested in cross-country, photography, languages, politics, and archeology. She will attend Princeton University this fall.



Alzada J. Tipton, daughter of John B. and Marian L. Tipton, State. Alzada has lived in Guatemala, Chile, and Romania. She attended Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Maryland. She was a finalist in the National Merit Scholarship program and participated in the Folger Shakespeare Library High School Fellows Program. Alzada is interested in Shakespearean theater and environmental issues. She won the Regents' Scholarship to attend the University of California at Berkeley, where she plans to study history after a summer at Oxford University.



Sarah Lindsay Turrentine, daughter of A.R. and Jean B. Turrentine, State. Sarah has lived in West Germany and Sweden. She attended Chantilly High School in Chantilly, Virginia, where she won awards for outstanding senior English student and excellence in advanced biology and physics. She was a National Merit finalist. In 1983, she attended the Virginia Governor's School for the Gifted. Sarah is interested in music, debate, math, and computers. She will attend Brown University, where she will study biology and computers.



Maria C. Williams, daughter of Richard and Jane Williams, State. Maria has lived in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. She is a graduate of the Hong Kong International School and was a member of the National Honor Society. Among Maria's interests are badminton, journalism, Chinese, and tutoring. She plans to attend Stanford University this fall.

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Alex Bong Wright, son of Mr. and Mrs. Lacy A. Wright, State. Alex has lived in Italy and Vietnam. A graduate of J.E.B. Stuart High School in Falls Church, Virginia, he is a member of the National Honor Society and the French National Honor Society. He directed a variety show to promote cultural awareness and was awarded the Choral Directors' Award. Alex plays the piano and violin and enjoys composing, drawing, painting, and calligraphy. He will attend Yale University to study economics or politics.



Bookfair '84

THE 24TH ANNUAL AAFSW BOOKFAIR will be open to the public in the Department of State October 20-27 (except Tuesday and Wednesday). Special features this year include two soapstone heads from Gabon. Proceeds benefit many charitable organizations, including the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards. Donations continue to be accepted. Call (202) 223-5796 for information.

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ASSOCIATION NEWS

Open letter to Wick gets reply, wide coverage

The open letter to USIA Director Charles Z. Wick that was printed in the ASSOCIATION VIEWS column of the last issue received national media attention and a reply from the director. The letter, written by AFSA's USIA Standing Committee, was entitled "Loyalty and Respect: Two-Way Street" and called for greater cooperation between the career staff and senior management to restore agency morale injured by "a climate of mistrust and secrecy" created by the present large numbers of political appointees—four

Tax relief for survivors of overseas decedents

Congress has amended the Internal Revenue Code to expand the provisions of Section 692 pertaining to exemption from federal income taxes for military and civilian personnel dying as a result of injuries sustained overseas. The change will benefit the employees' survivors.

Previously this exemption was available mainly to individuals who lost their lives while serving in a combat zone as defined by an executive order. No such combat zone has been designated since the Vietnam war although specific legislation was enacted to extend the exemption to members of the crew of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* detained by the North Koreans in 1968 and to cover Americans held hostage in Iran.

The new amendment broadens this exemption to cover all military and civilian personnel who die "as a result of wounds or injury incurred outside the United States in a terrorist or military action." The exemption applies to the year of death plus the last taxable year before the year in which the wounds were incurred. The legislation makes this change retroactive to cover all tax years since 1979. Eligible individuals have until April 10, 1985, to file for a credit or refund of any overpayment of tax.

times higher than ever before. Many of these, the letter went on to say, are "underqualified."

"I believe that many Foreign Service officers do not share the views reflected in the letter," Wick said in his response. His non-career appointees are "skilled and dedicated people" who are "as fully qualified as the career staff." Wick went on to cite various achievements during his tenure, the most important of which had already been noted favorably in the open letter.

After United Press International called the letter by career professionals criticizing an agency head "unprecedented," coverage took off. The letter was featured nationally on ABC-TV's *Good Morning, America* and by the Associated Press. The *Washington Post* carried two stories on it, the *New York Times*, *Federal Times*, and *Washington Times* one each. In addition, WRC-AM radio asked AFSA President Dennis K. Hays to comment on it during an hour-long segment of its popular prime-time program *Braden & Buchanan* devoted to the letter, with additional comments by James T. Hackett.

The standing committee has written followup letters to the various publications that reported on the open letter to express its appreciation, but also pointing out that the open letter was not meant principally as a criticism of the director but rather as a commentary on a government-wide problem that preceded this administration but that has been seriously aggravated by it.

AFSA protests Purple nomination to labor board

Four days after AFSA took the lead in protesting the appointment of former Grace Commission member Andrea O'Neal Purple to the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board, the newly sworn-in member resigned. AFSA had objected to the manner in which she was named, claiming that the appointment violated procedures established in the Foreign Service Act.

The three-member FSLRB was established by the act primarily to supervise representation elections, resolve unfair

Unity Slate members elected to board

Eight members of the Unity Slate were elected to Governing Board positions in July, the AFSA Committee on Elections has reported. Dennis K. Hays was re-elected as president, Anthea S. de Rouville as vice president, Douglas Broome as second vice president, Irving Williamson as secretary, and JoAnn Jenkins as treasurer. In addition, William Calderhead was elected as a retired representative, and Roger Provencher and John Thomas were re-elected as retired representatives.

In all, 1374 valid ballots were counted. The members of the slate ran unopposed, and there were a small number of write-in votes.

At the same time, both referendums placed before the electorate to change the AFSA Bylaws were passed. Henceforth, the entire board will be up for election to two-year terms in odd-numbered years, instead of approximately half the board being elected to two-year terms every other year. (The current board will therefore step down next summer to effect the transition.) The second bylaw change replaces the second-preference voting system with a simple plurality system for board elections.

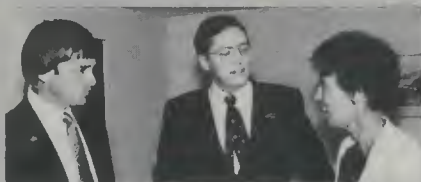
The call for nominations for the next board will be mailed in the winter.

labor disputes, and decide disagreements concerning collective bargaining agreements and negotiability issues. The act specifically requires that the board chairperson appoint his or her two fellow board members from among nominees approved by the foreign affairs agencies and the exclusive employee representatives.

AFSA was joined by AFGE, USIA, and the State Department in protesting the appointment on the basis that they were denied the opportunity to nominate individuals for appointment. All asked that the swearing in be delayed until the dispute was resolved. Despite the objections, the swearing in took place on schedule.



James Spain, former ambassador to Turkey and to Tanzania and a member of the AFSA Governing Board, tells an audience of 40 educators that the Foreign Service can be a valuable resource in teaching about international relations. Spain joined former Ambassador Lucius Battle and AFSA President Dennis K. Hays as guest speakers at an Association-sponsored dialogue with teachers from across the country.



AFSA Executive Director Lynne Iglitzin greets James O'Neill, director of the Center for Economic Education of the University of Delaware (left), and Foreign Service Officer Douglas Kinney.



Roger Provencher (second from right), AFSA Governing Board retired representative, welcomes social studies and economics teachers Joel Sink, JoDean Ward, Diana Lewis, and Sara Kinard.

AFSA begins outreach program with teachers

The Foreign Service is an "unwrapped resource" that can provide more information to teachers and give students a better understanding of the global community, James O'Neill, director of the Center for Economic Education of the University of Delaware, told a luncheon audience at the Foreign Service Club in July.

The luncheon, entitled "Broadening Horizons: A Dialogue Between Educators and Foreign Affairs Professionals," was sponsored by AFSA, in cooperation with the center, as a first step in its goal of creating a broad national constituency for the Foreign Service. AFSA Executive Director Lynne Iglitzin said that the Association plans to sponsor "many kinds of programs to reach out and broaden understanding about the people and the process involved in foreign policymaking."

Speakers at the event included AFSA President Dennis K. Hays, former ambassadors Lucius Battle and James Spain, and Judy Noall, a social studies teacher from Vancouver, Washington. Welcomes were given by O'Neill and Iglitzin. About 20 teachers from across the country attended the luncheon, as well as several Foreign Service officers and AFSA

governing board and staff members.

Speakers emphasized the need for enhancing communication between educators and members of the foreign affairs community to create greater cross-cultural understanding. According to Battle, this need is one of the most important yet frequently overlooked elements of foreign policy decision-making. Spain stressed the public service aspects of the Foreign Service and encouraged teachers and students to make use of the many resources it provides, particularly in its embassies around the world.

Noall challenged the teachers to devise ways to incorporate these concepts into actual classroom experiences. Many expressed interest in tapping the resources of Foreign Service personnel, especially retired officers living in the teachers' home areas, as a network for guest speakers and as a resource to supplement textbooks. They also discussed ways to introduce the Foreign Service and related fields to their students as an area for career opportunities.

The educators were nominated by their state chapters of the Joint Council on Economic Education to participate in a master's program in economic education at the University of Delaware. The course encourages teachers to use community resources in their classrooms. The teachers attended several foreign policy briefings at the State Department before the luncheon.

—NANCY BARTELS

New Sinclair language awards process started

Next May, the first four to five annual winners of Matilda Sinclair Language Awards will receive stipends of \$1000 each based on their distinguished study of hard languages and associated cultures. The awards are funded by a \$75,000 bequest by the Sinclair estate, and the winners are determined by a panel named by the Governing Board and including the dean of language study at the Foreign Service Institute, the AFSA executive director, a public member, and a Governing Board member as chair.

Nominees must be career officers of the Foreign Service or reserve officers in a junior officer program who are candidates for Foreign Service appointments. A nomination may be made by anyone with a direct knowledge of the nominee's qualifications. Winners must show evidence of outstanding success in study of a hard language, one that normally requires eight months or more of intensive study. Eligible languages include Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Turkish, and Arabic. Native speakers are not eligible.

The award committee will be guided in its choice by scores received in the appropriate language tests administered by or approved by FSI, as well as by other information demonstrating the student's outstanding accomplishments in learning the language and culture. Nominees should have scores of at least S-3+/R-3+ at the end of the normal length of training or scores of S-3/R-3 after less than the normal length. Other unusual achievements may be considered if suitably documented, and scores above S-3+/R-3+ resulting from field experience rather than formal training may be considered if documentation includes evidence of any formal training, statements showing effort at self-study, and evidence of full involvement with normal duties at the time.

Nomination statements should be submitted on the Sinclair Award form available from AFSA or FSI. The nomination must include documentation of formal training and a nominating statement by a language training supervisor who is familiar with the candidate's training. Nominations for awards for study completed by August 1 are due by January 15.

AFSA Awards nominations sought by committee

Each fall AFSA solicits nominations for four awards honoring Foreign Service people. These awards are the most prestigious in the Foreign Service and have gone to outstanding individuals in the past. They are presented at a special awards ceremony in the spring.

The Herter Award, given in memory of the late Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, is for senior officers. The Rivkin Award honors the memory of the late Ambassador William Rivkin and is open to officers in grades FS1-2. The Harriman Award, named for the former under secretary of state, is designated for officers in grades FS3-6. The Bohlen Award is presented by Pamela Harriman in memory of the late Avis Bohlen, wife of the late Ambassador Charles F. Bohlen, and is open to a member of a Foreign Service family.

The Herter, Rivkin, and Harriman awards are presented to individuals nominated by their colleagues for outstanding intellectual originality, courage, forthrightness, and creative dissent. All-around high performance and efficiency are not in themselves considered sufficient criteria for the awards. The Herter and Rivkin awards carry stipends

of \$1000 each; the Harriman Award carries a stipend of \$2500.

The Bohlen award goes to a Foreign Service family member "whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States in the tradition of the late Avis Bohlen." It carries a stipend of \$2500.

Nominations should be sent to the AFSA Awards Committee, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Deadline for receipt of all materials is January 15. The nominations should include *two* full sets of materials, unbound, with each page marked with nominee's name. The recommended format is:

- Biographic data: Name, birth date, grade, agency;
- Association with the candidate (Strictly limited to 250 words);
- Justification for nomination (500-750 words). Summary of specific reasons for the nomination. The narrative should discuss qualities of mind and spirit which qualify the nominee for the award and specific examples of the candidate's accomplishments.

Anyone with knowledge of a Foreign Service colleague's or family member's accomplishments is eligible to nominate for these awards, and peer nominations are particularly encouraged. The awards are open to any Foreign Service employee, irrespective of agency or rank.

Association hires new comptroller and secretary

AFSA has hired a new comptroller in its headquarters building and an executive secretary in its labor relations office. Alicia Brehm replaces retiring John Tierney as comptroller, and Demetra C. Papastrat is the new secretary.

Brehm is a licensed public accountant who specializes in working with non-profit organizations. She has a bachelor's degree from Benjamin Franklin University in Washington, where she majored in accounting and business administration and was graduated as valedictorian. Previous clients include the Supreme Court Historical Society and the National Ocean Industries Association.

Papastrat is a cum laude graduate of Boston College who made the dean's list all eight semesters. Her majors were education and history. She was valedictorian of her high school class in Millbrook, New York. She was a teacher and teacher's assistant for several years before joining the staff of former Ambassador Robert Ellsworth, where she coordinated conferences and activities of the U.S. Committee of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Both Brehm and Papastrat began their duties in mid-summer.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



"The intentions of OPM's Donald Devine toward the Foreign Service retirement system are, of course, strictly honorable."
—Paul N. Wenger, 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 free carafe of wine.

Send entries to:
LIFE AND LOVE #14
AFSA
2101 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037
Contest deadline is October 15

Competition #14



ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNING BOARD 1983-84

President's Overview

The American Foreign Service Association has been and will continue to be the strong independent voice of the professional Foreign Service. Only AFSA has the experience, the commitment, and the authority to address the full spectrum of issues which confront us.

During the past year, the Governing Board of the Association has sought to strengthen our traditional services while aggressively moving into a number of new areas. We have gained significant experience in working with the agencies, the Congress, the courts, and the media and have developed an excellent record of success advancing those issues that concern the Foreign Service.

The next year promises to be the most important one for the Foreign Service since the 1980 act, and perhaps ever. There will be strong challenges to both our retirement and allowance systems, continued excessive resort to unqualified non-career appointees, and questions raised about the very concept of a career Foreign Service.

As in the past, our success or failure will rest squarely on our own shoulders. If we continue to insist that we be directly involved in our own future, if we continue to be willing to work to ensure that our voice is heard in the agencies, in Congress, and in the media, and if we continue to have an outpouring of ideas and contributions, then I am confident that we will preserve and improve the Service. Anything less courts disaster.

Labor/Management Relations. Virtually every regulation, guideline, and policy which affects a member of the Service passes through the hands of AFSA. In the past year the Association has worked on issues ranging from the assignment and treatment of tandem couples to retroactive danger pay in Beirut and San Salvador for the year they were erroneously kept off the list—a year during which 18 of our colleagues lost their lives.

Professional Issues. This was an extremely active year on the Hill, with AFSA testifying in opposition to pre-publication review, lie detectors, inexperienced ambassadorial nominees, and USIA Director Charles Z. Wick's taping of phone conversations, and in favor of security supplementals and additional positions for reporting and analysis.

Association Management. In the last few years AFSA has completely reorganized its professional staff, and the Association can count on the high level of support which we will require. Our membership is strong, our finances are solid, and the club has grown so popular that it sometimes has to turn people away.

Retirement. AFSA has been extremely active behind the scenes preparing for next year's battle over federal retirement programs. Through the Legislative Action Fund we have raised more than \$32,000 and retained the services of a professional lobbyist who has been working with allied federal organizations to ensure continued equity of treatment for all employees. AFSA has also taken the lead in pushing for a program which will give equal benefits to new hires brought in under Social Security.

Public Affairs. In the long run the success or failure of the Foreign Service will depend on how we are viewed as an institution by the American people. AFSA has become an established source for the media, and we are quoted regularly in the national press on issues as diverse as spouse compensation and the threat of terrorism. AFSA also has appeared on programs ranging from *CBS News* to *20/20* to *National Public Radio*.

The specific actions of the Association over the past 12 months are detailed in the following sections.

—DENNIS K. HAYS

Executive Director's Report

1983-84 was a busy and productive time during which the administrative, business, and financial practices of the Association were tightened and improved. The last six months in particular have seen an increased pace of activity in a number of areas important to AFSA's administrative functions.

All service contracts AFSA had been using were evaluated. Through a process of competitive bidding and careful monitoring, these contracts have been reworked and we are now receiving services at considerable cost-savings. Improvements were made to the AFSA offices in the headquarters building that have resulted in better and more efficient use of space. The purchase of Wang word-processing equipment for both the headquarters building and the labor relations office in State has resulted in better use of staff resources, especially within the Communications Department.

A number of personnel changes occurred in the AFSA staff during the past year. Lynne Iglitzin was hired as executive director in March, replacing C.B. Sanner, who retired; Alicia Brehm was hired in July as comptroller, replacing the retiring John Tierney; Supajee Lapcharoen took over as secretary-receptionist in May; Nancy Bartels was hired as editorial assistant on the JOURNAL; and Demetra C. Papastrat assumed the executive secretary position in the labor relations office in August.

Computer services from ADP, a national data-processing company, were gradually instituted in the spring. These services include payroll, advertising and club receivables, and financial ledger. Our long-term goal includes the eventual purchase of our own equipment to perform these tasks in-house. In the interim, the ADP services will allow us to get our record-keeping and reporting in clear, standardized formats and to train staff to work with computerized data. We are already realizing cost-savings and better use of staff resources as a result, and we expect this trend to continue in the future.

Membership recruitment is assuming an increasingly important role. We conducted three direct mail campaigns in the past year and have several drives planned for the fall. Campaigns have been focused on both active duty personnel and retirees, with a particular emphasis on the mid-level career categories in which we are relatively weak (see the chart in the Membership section of the ANNUAL REPORT). Our fall drives will also focus on obtaining associate members from the Washington area. Membership promotion efforts have included development of a new membership brochure, as well as periodic inserts in the JOURNAL (the first of which is in this issue).

We have initiated increased contacts with AFSA post representatives and keypersons. A new quarterly newsletter, the POST DISPATCH, will provide a regular information source for these persons, supplementing AFSA cables to the field. The list for REDTOP bulletins has been updated and expanded to some 600 individuals and offices who now regularly receive AFSA communiques. Due to the size of the list the mail-out of REDTOP is now being handled through our membership and mailing service bureau at the Marine Corps Association.

Major efforts have started to reach the sizable portion of our membership retired from active duty. Under the coordination of Ambassador Spencer King, the RETIREMENT NEWS is now a regular feature of the JOURNAL. This section carries items about the activities of retirees and solicits ideas for ways to make AFSA responsive to their interests and needs.

During the summer, we initiated a series of meetings with heads of various foreign affairs associations in the Washington area to build stronger bridges of collaboration and cooperation. The goal of all of these initiatives is to broaden the understanding of the Foreign Service among the general public. AFSA hosted a dialogue at the Foreign Service Club in July between area Foreign Service retirees and a group of elementary and secondary school economics and social studies teachers from all over the country. We hope this is the first in

a series that will explore ways to use the resources of retired FSOs to enhance cross-cultural understanding in the classroom and to foster a greater national awareness of the Foreign Service.

—LYNNE IGLITZIN

Finances

Fiscal year 1984 closed with a modest surplus of approximately \$20,000. Exact accounting will be done when the books are closed and accounts are audited, which is scheduled for mid-September. All excess monies have been targeted by the Governing Board for a capital expenditures reserve fund for equipment purchase and repair during 1985.

The Scholarship Fund declined slightly as the result of a pronounced downturn in both the stock and bond markets during the past year. As of June 30, the Scholarship Fund portfolio had a market value of \$760,000. Interest from these investments, plus annual contributions, serves to fund the Merit Awards and Financial Aid Scholarships to children of Foreign Service families. (See Scholarship section for details.) In January, AFSA began making regular quarterly payments to the Scholarship Fund to amortize the balance of its mortgage loan, which stood at \$54,951 at the end of the fiscal year.

A new restricted fund administered by AFSA is the Matilda Sinclair Language Awards Fund, totaling \$72,000. According to the will of the donor, interest from this account will be used for language awards to Foreign Service officers beginning in 1985.

AFSA 1985 BUDGET: REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES

	Unrestricted Fund	Restricted Fund	Total
Revenue:			
Communications (Journal-Adv.)	\$ 78,000		\$ 78,000
Communications (Journal-Sub.)	7,500		7,500
Communications (Lecture Series)	1,590		1,590
	87,090		87,090
Club sales	229,600		229,600
Membership dues	497,700		497,700
Investment Income:			
Scholarship		\$ 51,180	51,180
AFSA Fund (includes Sinclair Fund)		9,350	9,350
Other	2,200		2,200
Contributions:			
Scholarship		79,600	79,600
Legislative action		17,500	17,500
AFSA Fund		9,000	9,000
Insurance commissions	9,000		9,000
Total Revenue	825,590	116,630	992,220
Expenditures:			
Direct:			
Communications	190,280		190,280
Club	198,290		198,290
Membership	60,840		60,840
Management and general	133,500		133,500
Labor relations	153,500		153,500
Scholarship Fund		131,100	131,100
Legislative action		16,280	16,280
AFSA Fund		11,800	11,800
Total Direct Expenditures	736,410	159,180	895,590
Indirect:			
Communications	7,830		7,830
Club	53,200		53,200
Membership	5,880		5,880
Management and general	17,310		17,310
Scholarship Fund		1,500	1,500
Legislative action		1,250	1,250
AFSA Fund		2,250	2,250
Total Indirect Expenditures	84,220	5,000	89,200
Total Expenditures	820,630	164,180	984,810
Operating Surplus	4,960	2,450	7,410
1984 Surplus	20,000		20,000
Capital Expenditures	16,600		16,600
Excess of Revenues over Expenditures (Including 1984 Surplus)	\$ 8,360	\$ 2,450	\$ 10,810

The budget for fiscal year 1985 reflects a long and careful process in which the Governing Board worked closely with staff in developing a budget that projects revenues and expenditures much more specifically than has been possible in the past. The budget also estimates indirect, as well as direct, costs for each of the Association's functions. Thus, overhead costs of equipment maintenance as well as staff salaries have been broken down department by department, providing a more realistic picture of the cost of operations.

For these reasons, the budget shown here is in a format that differs from those presented in past years. Details are provided for a variety of expenditure and revenue lines, and the budget differentiates between the unrestricted (general operating funds) and the restricted funds of the Association.

The current projections call for a balanced budget for 1985. The 1984 surplus will be used for the purchase of additional word-processing equipment in the headquarters building and as a reserve for building maintenance and repair. A modest remodeling project in the club lounge is expected to pay for itself through increased sales resulting from additional available space. Revenue projections are based on an estimated five percent gain in membership and modest gains in advertising dollars and club sales.

Expenditures reflect the need to expand our services to members: the addition of a full-time staff member in the Grievance division of our labor relations office to meet growing requests for assistance; the hiring of a half-time comptroller, supplemented by outside computerized financial services, to provide improved organization administration; and expanded staffing in both the Membership and Communications departments, to allow for the increased membership services. Projected expenditures also include increases in staff salaries and benefits.

Several items in the budget call for more detailed explanation. "Professional fees" include the auditing and special accounting services provided by our auditors, Leopold and Linowes, throughout the year. Overhead expenses associated with building use for the 2101 E Street building are allocated at 65 percent to the club and 35 percent to all other association functions. The term "Communications" covers the following functions: the JOURNAL, ASSOCIATION NEWS, press relations, other publications, and the AFSA Lecture Series and special events.

Any member may obtain copies of the fiscal year 1984 audit by contacting the AFSA office after September 30.

—JOANNE JENKINS

Membership

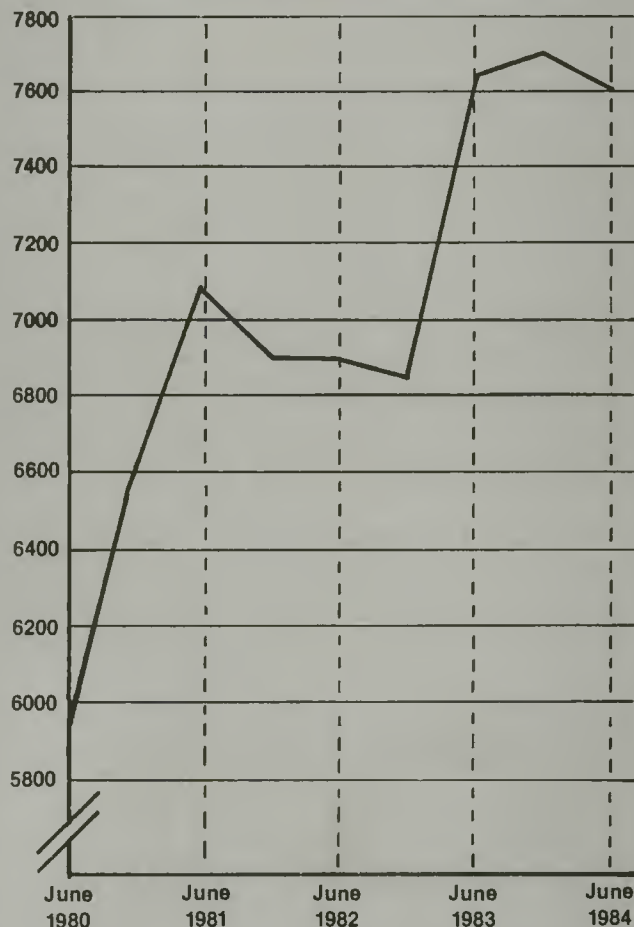
From June of 1980 to June of 1984, membership has increased an impressive 29 per cent, from approximately 5900 to more than 7600.

The accompanying chart shows the remarkable upward trend. A year of rapid growth started in the summer of 1980, and another spurt, even sharper, began in early 1983. Both periods of growth were the result of vigorous recruitment combined with the threat to both active duty and retired members from proposed reductions in benefits. The most rapid rise was among the retirees, 374 of whom joined in the 1980-81 increase and 426 in the 1983 rise. Active duty personnel also joined in record amounts, 146 in the first increase and 168 in the second.

AFSA will concentrate its recruitment efforts in four main areas during the coming year: the middle ranks, where we have been most successful in the past; the lower ranks, which are underrepresented; retirees, who have responded positively to AFSA efforts on their behalf; and personnel at posts. AFSA has been extremely successful lately in recruiting junior officers just after they have completed their training at the Foreign Service Institute. This bodes well for the future.

Several programs are planned for the coming year. A new membership brochure will be available shortly and will be used in several direct mail campaigns. We will also be reviving the largely inactive Post Representative and Keyperson networks, enhancing communi-

Membership Increase, June 1980-June 1984



cation with them through the quarterly POST DISPATCH. These networks should aid us in our recruitment efforts as well as in membership service.

—LEE MIDTHUN

State Standing Committee

This year has been a busy one for labor-management relations. We are still in the process of attempting to implement some of the benefits of the Foreign Service Act. It has been a frustrating time for negotiations, however, given the current anti-union and anti-federal employee bias of Washington and subsequent adverse decisions of agencies such as OPM, GAO, OMB, etc.

Despite obstacles, we have accomplished a great deal:

- Retroactive danger pay;
- Raise in shipping/storage allowance;
- Allowance for required dental care;
- Improvements in regulations for assigning tandem couples;
- Improved grievance regulations;
- Performance pay/presidential pay;
- Liberalized Fly America regulations;
- Protection of retirement benefits;
- R & R to the United States for all differential posts should be in place by October 1;
- Short-term assignments/bridge assignments.

Through constant monitoring and action we have been able to overcome the inertia of management and its reluctance to implement agreements fully.

And then there are the "benefits" we are still struggling with:

- Special incentive differential is, for all intents and purposes, in limbo, as management finds one legal dodge after another to delay it;

●The proposal for sabbatical is so hedged with restrictions and generalities that it's almost unbelievable that management feels all this is needed to deal with three, repeat three, senior officers a year;

●The latest proposal for compensatory time for officers is still unacceptable;

●The second consumables allowance is awaiting agreement among the agencies before coming to us.

To look ahead, we have already been put on notice that as the big yearly agreements come up for negotiating next year—open assignments, selection board precepts, performance pay—management intends to propose sweeping changes, placing more of the onus on the employee to maintain "discipline."

The State Standing Committee acts as a subsidiary to the Governing Board with regard to making and negotiating labor-management proposals dealing with matters specific to the State Department. The State Standing Committee also has taken the lead in negotiating joint regulations involving all foreign affairs agencies. The day-to-day professional concerns of the Service, both in State and AID, also claim a large share of the committee's attention. Input from AID Governing Board members and the AID Standing Committee is of course crucial in these areas.

—ANTHEA S. DE ROUVILLE

AID Standing Committee

The AID Standing Committee considers the last year to have been an extremely successful negotiating season.

The agency mounted several attacks on employee rights that were successfully dealt with. There was an attempt to use the precepts as a RIF mechanism, for instance, specifying the number of employees to be selected out by backstop. Additionally, the agency attempted to ignore Section 2106(e) of the Foreign Service Act, which protects those not subject to selection not prior to the act.

The committee is currently undertaking a major review of all changes AID is proposing in the various handbooks. Further, we have initiated briefing luncheons for new IDI classes.

The committee strongly protested AID's de-emphasis on language skills in the agency. We are prepared to seek congressional action if we cannot convince management that our success is often dependent on our ability to deal directly with the people we work with overseas.

We closely monitored the open assignments policy and negotiated further selection out safeguards. AID Standing has worked hard with the State Standing Committee on negotiating the joint regulations implementing the Foreign Service Act.

Commissioning of AID Foreign Service employees came into effect in March, one of the high points of the year.

—DOUGLAS BROOME

USIA Standing Committee

This year for AFSA in USIA has been even more critical than last. The first phase of a membership drive has already strengthened our rolls by 12.5 percent, and the returns are still coming in. Standing committee meetings now tend to be pleasantly well-attended, and a smaller executive group from within the committee has been elected to permit greater flexibility and rapid action when necessary. Steve Telkins has joined the JOURNAL Editorial Board and heads our group concerned with external communications, and Kathleen Brion heads the internal communications group, charged with reaching membership in Washington and overseas. Caroline Osterling chairs our group concerned with congressional activities. And a group of longtime AFSA activists has begun its deliberations on a set of goals to guide the USIA membership in the near and longer term.

Our editorial in the July/August JOURNAL, an open letter to USIA's director, triggered much national media attention to the question we raised: the challenge to professionalism in USIA and the general foreign affairs community posed by the unusually high num-

ber of outside appointments in recent years. Unfortunately, it was widely interpreted by the media and agency management as an attack on the director rather than a look at broader questions. The committee had focused on the question of appropriate quantity, quality, and use of outside appointments as the root of our membership's concerns at this time—most administrative decisions dealing with personnel, after all, are based on a correct understanding of the relationship between career professionals and politically appointed leadership. Our approach symbolizes a decision by AFSA's USIA unit to deal predominantly with professional issues, in a role suited to our present non-representative status in USIA.

The key to this focus is embodied in an idea which has now been carefully defined: a series of midday discussions this year with key public figures who have, in their work and thought, come close to the problems of public diplomacy and of USIA's handling of its mandate. The series, to be launched in early fall, will treat key issues in depth and sharpen perceptions of our problems as well as our progress.

Our short-term goals are unchanged: vitalize the standing committee and orient it to flexible action; build membership; enhance internal communications with members in Washington and abroad, with non-members in the foreign affairs community, and with those outside our world who care about professionalism in public diplomacy and government; and highlight key issues through discussion with prominent figures and followup articles in the JOURNAL.

Meanwhile, we have not forgotten the daily bread. Working through our AFSA parent organization, we have paid no less attention to members' day-to-day concerns and interests. While focusing clearly on professional issues, we are fully aware of the component problems that go into this broader concept. We intend to address these as they arise.

After a year of prologue, we look forward to a year of gain.

—RICHARD ARNDT

Legal Actions

AFSA has joined with several other federal unions in lawsuits to prevent various proposed Office of Personnel Management directives from taking effect. The proposed directives included limitations on premium pay and the scope of bargaining over conditions of employment.

AFSA charged the State Department with violating federal statutes governing overtime pay. The issue arose out of the department's failure to compensate properly employees of the Office of Security serving on detail to the United Nations. AFSA sought additional overtime compensation for these employees, and we were prepared to file suit in federal court. Negotiations are currently taking place with the department to settle the case without litigation.

After three years and numerous mediation sessions and written submissions, the foreign affairs agencies and the unions have reached agreement on new grievance regulations. Among other things, the regulations allow nontenured employees facing termination to seek a stay of action pending a decision on their cases. This runs contrary to last year's court decision that precluded grievances of nontenured employees seeking extension of a limited appointment. The conflict will most likely be addressed in another case.

Among the many grievances which AFSA handled, the Association represented an employee who claimed that he had been denied the opportunity for promotion for a 10-year period. The lack of promotion was due to the department's reclassifying his position and failing to notify him of the effects of the reclassification on his opportunity for promotion. The Grievance Board held for the employee, finding that the department had competed him in a group for which it had removed all promotional opportunities. However, the board failed to award a retroactive promotion based on a comparison of the employee's files with those of others in his class. AFSA has filed an appeal in court challenging the method by which the board reached its decision on relief. Nonetheless, the underlying finding may well apply to other specialist employees. AFSA represented a

number of communicators whose standby pay entitlement had been miscalculated. In all cases, we were successful in obtaining additional pay for these employees.

AFSA intervened in an individual grievance where AID had refused to allow an employee to retire voluntarily after he had received notice of his proposed separation for cause. The issue that concerned AFSA was preserving an employee's right to retire voluntarily at any time, with attendant benefits. The board found in our favor and allowed the employee to retire prior to his separation hearing.

As a result of victories in several grievance hearings, AFSA has sought attorney fees from an agency when its actions appear to have been taken without consideration for the facts of the case. AFSA has established a Litigation Fund that will allow its attorney to be reimbursed at market rate as opposed to the actual rate of pay.

AFSA testified before committees of the House and Senate in opposition to the administration's directive requiring many federal employees, including Foreign Service employees, to sign prepublication review agreements. AFSA also testified against proposals to use polygraph examinations where employees are suspected of having leaked information. Under the directive, employees who decline to submit to polygraph testing would be subject to disciplinary action.

AFSA testified before the House and Senate in favor of legislation that would prohibit the surreptitious recording of conversations by federal employees. The bill came about as a result of the discovery that USIA Director Charles Z. Wick had been recording conversations without informing the other party.

AFSA successfully fought both on Capitol Hill and within the department to have danger pay to employees serving in Beirut and El Salvador made retroactive to November 1982. The department had argued that such retroactive payment was contrary to law.

AFSA sought a revenue ruling which would allow Foreign Service employees over age 55 to sell their homes without paying taxes on any gains, even if, due to overseas service, the employees failed to meet the normal IRS requirement of residence in the house for three of the five years preceding the sale. The IRS declined to issue a blanket ruling but stated that it would look at each case on its individual facts.

—SUSAN Z. HOLIK

Grievances & Members' Interests

Grievances are often a complicated and emotionally draining process. The problem is exacerbated overseas, where it is difficult for the individual to obtain sound advice or even know how and where to begin. Much counseling is, therefore, provided by AFSA cable, overseas phone calls, and letter exchanges. Of grievance cases filed in 1984 where AFSA was representing, a third have been favorably resolved and another quarter were denied at the agency level. Most of the latter were appealed and are still pending before the Foreign Service Grievance Board. The majority of grievances concern performance evaluations which in some cases resulted in low ranking, separation, or denial of promotion. Other issues include travel and other Foreign Service allowances and benefits.

Equally important as representation is the grievance and career counseling AFSA provides. Employees generally are unfamiliar with the process and, therefore, can be unrealistic in their expectations and require assistance in properly preparing their cases. Many potential grievances arise out of lack of communication and can be resolved informally.

AFSA continues to answer numerous tax questions, in particular concerning home leave deductions, domicile status, and sale of residence. Members are informed of changes in the tax laws and IRS rulings through articles in the *ASSOCIATION NEWS*, cables to the field, REDTOPs to keypersons and most offices in Washington, and on an individual basis.

Members frequently contact us regarding interpretation and application of regulations on benefits and allowances. These are the bread and butter issues of the Foreign Service, and we're often surprised at the extent of misinformation, misapplication, and lack of official guidelines made available to employees. Occasionally,

employees bring a matter or situation to our attention which is simply not addressed in regulations. As a result, AFSA has negotiated new or amended regulations. In other instances, informal talks with management have resulted in improved services to employees. For instance, we are currently conducting a survey on pouch facilities, requesting post comments. We have received a large number of helpful and detailed responses which will be presented to management and, we hope, result in improved pouch services.

—SABINE SISK

Communications

A Communications Department was formed this year to incorporate the *JOURNAL* and other public relations functions in a single division of the Association. The department's three-person staff has as its primary duty the publication of the *JOURNAL*, but the staff members also act as Association press officers, provide support for the AFSA Lecture Series and other meetings, and produce other AFSA publications such as flyers, brochures, and REDTOPs.

JOURNAL: The Governing Board approved a 60th Anniversary Proposal by the *JOURNAL* editors to expand the magazine and enhance its professional appeal. The average issue today is one-third larger than three years ago, yet because of printing economies and new technology is about 30 percent less expensive to produce. Though advertising sales fell by four percent from last year's record level, ad revenues were still robust and, along with the production savings, contributed to the ability of the Association to produce a quality magazine at an annual cost of only \$7.50 per member—a worthwhile bargain.

The expansion of the magazine has enabled it to publish a fourth feature in many issues and to add columns that cover Congress, the media, diplomacy, foreign affairs periodicals, and the retired Foreign Service community.

Press Relations: Last fall, the Association named the *JOURNAL* editor and associate editor as AFSA press officers. Though they do not act as spokespersons, the press officers provide the Association with a staff mechanism to handle the dozens of press inquiries that come in every month, provide information where needed, and forward inquiries to the appropriate member or officer. The press officers have developed a 250-name press list and generate and distribute press releases to the list as needed.

AFSA has appeared frequently on television, radio, and in the print press, particularly in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. In addition to appearances on *Nightline*, *Bill Moyer's Journal*, *WJLA-TV*, National Public Radio, *WRC-AM's Braden & Buchanan*, *20-20*, and *Good Morning, America*, last year the Association was cited on Foreign Service issues at least 80 times in various publications, and with wire service coverage the true number is probably in the hundreds. Journalists know to turn to AFSA for authoritative viewpoints and information on the Foreign Service.

Publications and Lectures: A significant improvement was made last year in distribution of REDTOP bulletins on employee-management relations to Foreign Service employees serving in the United States. The list was increased from about 75 offices in the various agencies to more than 600, so nearly every Foreign Service employee, member or not, has access to up to date information on AFSA union activities. The identical text is distributed to the field through cables to the AFSA post representatives. At the same time, lists of nonmembers have been generated so special mailings can be directed to them when desired.

In addition to the *JOURNAL*, AFSA will soon be publishing a quarterly bulletin for keypersons and post representatives called the *POST DISPATCH*. The Communications Department also generates other publications as needed, such as a new membership brochure and flyers announcing club functions, membership benefits, etc.

The AFSA Lecture Series continued this year, with Frank Carlucci speaking on the commission he headed on the future of foreign assistance and Philip Habib talking about the mechanics of shuttle diplomacy. Because providing a forum for noted diplomats and other

foreign affairs experts is an important educational function of a professional association, AFSA hopes to increase the frequency of its lectures and has created a program committee to that end.

—STEPHEN R. DUJACK

Scholarship Fund

AFSA provides two separate scholarship programs: Financial Aid and Merit Awards. Financial Aid Scholarships go to full-time undergraduate students studying in American colleges and universities, based solely on need. In academic year 1983-84, 61 scholarships were given, totaling \$53,770. These awards range from \$200-\$2000 depending on need and allowability by the individual colleges. The bulk of the Scholarship Fund is used for these awards.

AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards for graduating high school seniors were named in honor of the late Clarke W. Slade, noted educator and long-time friend and adviser to the scholarship programs and the AFSA Committee on Education. This year, 25 finalists were awarded certificates and \$500 each. Seven runners-up received certificates and honorable mentions. AFSA contributed \$7000 and AAFSW contributed \$5500 to the \$12,500 cost of the awards. Usually, 22 awards are given each year, paid equally by AFSA and AAFSW, but in 1984 the close scoring warranted three additional winners. Of the winners, 13 were women, 12 were men, and 11 were from overseas schools.

Tax deductible contributions to the Scholarship Fund come from AFSA members, the AAFSW Book Fair, overseas groups, bequests, current memorial donations, and perpetual scholarships established as named memorials for Foreign Service people. These contributions supplement income from the scholarship investment portfolio. In academic year 1983-84, some 86 students received awards in the two programs, totaling \$66,270. The AFSA Committee on Education is chaired by Claude G. Ross. The members are Janet M. Biggs, AAFSW; Robert L. Caffrey, State; David T. Jones, State; Susan L. Modi, USIA; and James D. Singletary, AID. Dawn H. Cuthell is the Scholarship Programs Administrator.

—DAWN CUTHELL

Retired Interests

Under the Social Security Reform Act of 1983, all persons entering the federal workforce after last December became subject to mandatory Social Security coverage. Congress has until the end of next year to develop a new federal retirement program to mesh with and supplement the basic retirement income provided by Social Security.

Consequently, last fall the House Post Office and Civil Service and the Senate Governmental Affairs committees began to collect the necessary data and map out approaches for setting up the new system. AFSA participated in a series of day-long conferences and hearings organized by the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs that brought together retirement experts from private industry and state and local governments to examine the retirement programs in place in those areas and to assess their possible applicability to the federal government. Concurrently, AFSA participated in hearings conducted by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee pointing toward the same objective. As a result, it is expected that several different bills incorporating different approaches toward establishing the new supplemental retirement system will be introduced in the 99th Congress.

Because of the political ramifications in a presidential election year, no significant effort was made to make any substantial cuts in the benefit structure of the current retirement system. In submitting the budget for fiscal year 1985, however, the president reintroduced a number of proposals along this line. These included postponing the next scheduled cost-of-living adjustment and placing a cap on future COLAs; changing the retirement annuity computation base from a high-three-years average salary level to a high-five; and increasing the level of employees' contributions. Only one of these recommendations was enacted into legislation. This was the postponement of

the next COLA for retirees from June 1984 to January 1985. Henceforth, retiree COLAs will be computed on the percentage increase in the consumer price index between the third quarters (i.e., the average CPI for the months of July, August, and September) of two successive years. The one positive achievement in the retirement area during the past year was the lifting of the one-half COLA limitation for retirees under age 62. Beginning with the annual COLA payable in January 1986, all Foreign Service retirees will receive the same adjustment irrespective of age.

Most legislative activity in the retirement area during the past year related primarily to planning and preparing for a thorough overhaul of the federal retirement system after the election. This effort probably will proceed along three fronts: establishing a new system to supplement Social Security for new employees; seeking to cut back on the benefit levels of the present system by such means as raising the optional retirement age, tightening the annuity computation formula, and raising the level of employee contributions; and placing some sort of cap on COLAs for those already retired.

Whichever candidate takes office in January, it seems certain that the move to reduce the overall cost to the government of the federal retirement program will accelerate. The present system was established more than 60 years ago, when the federal work force was small and our demographic, social, and economic climate was radically different from that of today. AFSA's role in the face of inevitable change must be directed toward three primary objectives: preserving the role of the Foreign Service retirement program as an integral element in the operation of the Foreign Service personnel system; preventing any overall erosion in the present level of retirement benefits; and ensuring the integrity of present annuity levels and COLAs for those already retired.

1985 promises to offer AFSA a full legislative agenda if these objectives are to be realized.

—ROBERT BEERS

Insurance Programs

The AFSA Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs emphasized the strengthening and expansion of AFSA's three insurance plans during the 1984 fiscal year.

Last year's decision to seek lower rates and more flexible coverage for the *Accidental Death and Dismemberment Insurance Plan* turned out to be more prescient than was wished. The plan paid substantial sums to survivors of Foreign Service victims of the terrorist attacks in Beirut and Namibia. In both cases, the Federal Insurance Company determined that acts of war were not involved, and the war-risk clause that reduces benefits by 50 percent was not invoked.

The *Hospital Income Insurance Plan* has doubled its participation since it was transferred to a new carrier. This plan, which provides up to \$100 per day while participants are hospitalized, fills an important need as larger deductibles in health insurance plans increase out-of-pocket costs.

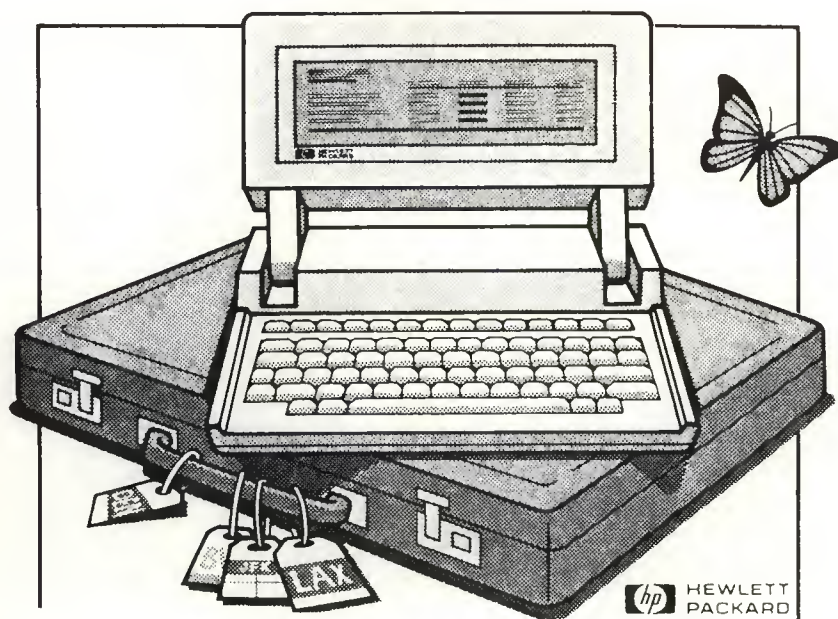
Between May and September, the *Accidental Death and Hospital Income* plans were both opened to non-members for a one-time only open season. Non-members were assessed an administrative fee of \$10 if they chose not to join AFSA.

The *Personal Effects* protection plan continues to be available only to AFSA members who are stationed abroad or are going abroad. The Board of Trustees believes that this plan is the most economical and the most flexible in its claims service of any on the market today.

The Board of Trustees was active last year in a joint effort with the American Foreign Service Protective Association to persuade management to terminate the requirement that employees overseas claim reimbursement for hospitalization expenses from their private insurance plans. The cost of overseas hospitalization is supposed to be covered by the government, not the insurers. Our medical insurance premiums are therefore higher than they should be. While we were not successful last year, management has agreed to seek the appropriations necessary to terminate the requirement in the future.

—HUGH WOLFF

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