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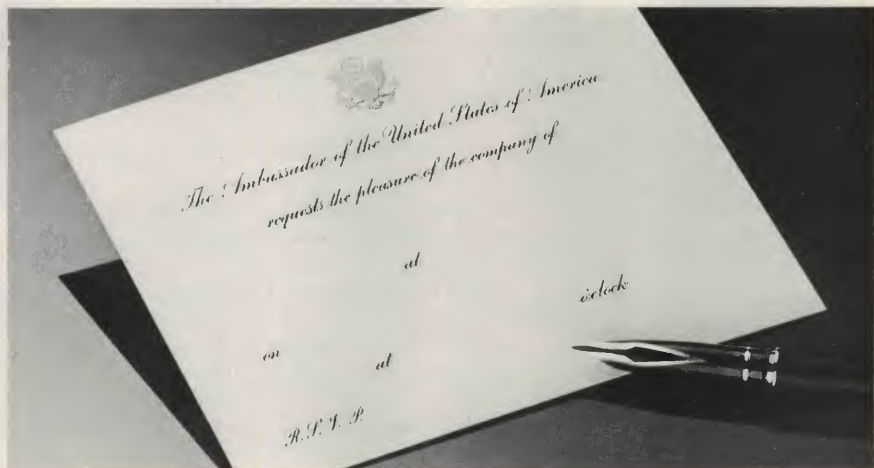
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"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Some Legal Questions

The Association often disagrees with management on specific proposals, but we proceed on the assumption that they, like us, have the best interests of the Service at heart. Why, then, has management allowed its legal advisers—the Legal Office in State and the General Counsel's Office in AID—to constantly impede progress toward agreements and stand in the way of their rightful implementation?

Whose interest is served:

—When the Legal Office holds up danger pay for Beirut and San Salvador for a full year with an unjustifiably restrictive interpretation of the statute—a year in which 18 of our colleagues lost their lives—then fights unsuccessfully for another year to prevent retroactive payment?

—When the General Counsel's Office sends four or five attorneys to fight grievances, contrary to the spirit of the grievance process, which calls for disputes to be resolved with a minimum of legalities?

—When, against the wishes of management, the Legal Office holds up the implementation of a signed agreement on weight allowances by independently seeking a ruling from the General Accounting Office?

There are countless other examples, many of which have been recorded in cables and in the ASSOCIATION NEWS. To answer our own question, no one's interests are served by such actions—not management's, not Congress's, and certainly not the Service's.

AFSA fully appreciates the need for strong legal advice on the many issues which confront the Foreign Service, but this advice must take into account the unique nature of the Service and flow from a firm commitment to the concept of a professional Foreign Service. The Legal Office and the General Counsel's Office have forgotten for whom they work. Rather than contributing to the mission of their respective agencies, they detract from it. The solution, not original but long overdue, is to staff at least half of these positions with Foreign Service professionals. Only then can these offices fulfill the role required of them.

DENNIS K. HAYS
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LETTERS

Soviet Subversion

In his article "Subverting Immunity" [July/August], James Pacy correctly describes the way the Soviet Union, during the Iran hostage crisis, "frequently ignored and misconstrued those principles of international behavior that also serve to protect its own diplomats."

Having had the opportunity to observe all this rather directly, I can recall how I was vexed, if not surprised, at Soviet ambivalence throughout that period; occasional rhetoric, yes, that appeared to criticize Iranian government action in condoning the students' seizure of diplomats as hostages, but, more often, acting to exploit the crisis for its own purposes in Iran.

In addition to the record cited by Professor Pacy in his article, there were also the blatantly anti-American broadcasts to Iran from clandestine Soviet transmitters in Baku, broadcasts designed to exploit popular Iranian sentiment critical of the United States and supportive of the hostage seizure. Nor were determined efforts on the part of many in the diplomatic corps in Teheran in the early weeks of the crisis, seeking collectively to warn the Iranian government of the corrosive effect on international diplomatic norms of their action and to plead for humanitarian gestures (visits, mail, etc.) toward the hostages, facilitated by the fact that the dean of the corps in Teheran at that time happened to be the ambassador of Czechoslovakia.

L. BRUCE LAINGEN
Former Charge d'Affaires, Teheran
Washington, DC

Bird Watching

Kai Bird ["Inside the Manila Embassy," September] represented himself as having come to Manila with a grant to do research on how various elements of an embassy interact with one another. During some of the discussions he had with a number of us, presumably including whoever in the department sent a facilitative telegram on his behalf to the mission, we talked with

him as a student/researcher, not as a newsman. That was a mistake, because the quotations, sourced and unsourced, in and out of context, give the report a spurious authority, as if Bird knew what we were talking about or understood what he was hearing and observing. JOURNAL readers who have worked in embassies will know this particular "inside" report is pretty thin gruel; those who haven't can imagine how an "Inside the JOURNAL" report might read.

More puzzling than Bird's account is why the JOURNAL would print such material. Are you warning your readers to be Bird-watchers? Are you competing with those publications sold at supermarket checkout stands? Perhaps you should run transcripts of tapes made at TGIF or "wheels-up" parties. There's serious sociology at such gatherings, as well as some humor, and better insights than Bird was able to gather during his extended discussions.

Not being a regular reader of your magazine, I'm not sure what your editorial policy is, but you may want to review the process.

ALLAN B. CROGHAN
Information Officer
Manila, Philippines

Author Kai Bird replies:

If Allan Croghan thought I was a "student" why did he sign a letter on my behalf requesting the Philippine government to accredit me as a visiting journalist? Croghan and all the other officers interviewed in the Manila embassy were told the truth: I had been awarded a *journalism* fellowship to study the Foreign Service, and the articles I wrote would appear in the *Alicia Patterson Reporter* and be offered for publication elsewhere.

Now it is my turn to be puzzled. I thought my reporting showed these particular Foreign Service officers, including Mr. Croghan, in a rather favorable light. One cannot tell from his letter, but I suspect Mr. Croghan's real complaint is the divulging of the fact that most of our diplomats in Manila are actually critical of the Marcos regime. Maybe such facts make the press officer's job a little harder, but would Croghan really have the JOURNAL fill its pages with press handouts?

Heart Warming

Congratulations to Charles S. Whitehouse and the JOURNAL for giving us his firsthand report and commentary on the work of Foreign Service officers who took part in the reconstructive aspects of the struggle

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in Vietnam ["Of Hearts and Minds," October]. His on-the-scenes account is authoritative and impressive.

Somewhat earlier than the period of which he writes, in the summer of 1966, I was one of four members of the Foreign Service Inspection Corps given the somewhat hectic but interesting job of inspecting the Saigon embassy. This included observing and preparing the inevitable "efficiency reports" on officers, mostly young, then assigned, as I recall it, to AID in various provinces as part of what may have been the beginning of the "pacification" program. We interviewed the officers in Saigon and each of us made two or three trips to the scenes of their activities. Reading and listening to the accounts of their efforts and often harrowing experiences, as well as the opportunity to be with them in the environments in which they worked, were most impressive and often came to mind later, when in the '70s I found myself in the atmosphere of a university campus.

The extraordinary experiences and contributions of these young FSOs have long needed to be told and it is good to see Ambassador Whitehouse's excellent contribution to the story.

EDWARD A. JAMISON
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Judgment Call

The discussion over the endorsement of Senator Jesse Helms's candidacy for reelection by 22 non-career ambassadors has ignored the fact that 37 other current non-career ambassadors did not sign the pro-Helms statement. These include both highly qualified non-career ambassadors as economist Arthur Burns (Federal Republic of Germany), political scientist Robert Strauss-Hupe, and industrialist Charles Price (United Kingdom), as well as a number of obviously unqualified ambassadors such as car dealer Robert Nesen (Australia), optician S.L. Abbott (Lesotho), and ex-GSA Administrator Gerald Carmen (European Office of the United Nations). It seems that good judgment may not be necessarily related to other ambassadorial qualifications.

Conversely, the lack of good judgment may not be related to other qualifications. The most experienced and qualified of the 22 partisans of Senator Helms's record is probably David Abshire, who already served in the department under Nixon. He now serves as ambassador to NATO, which has enjoyed bipartisan support since its inception in 1949. At a time when segments of public opinion view NATO as the preserve

of conservative politicians, it is particularly important to maintain bipartisan support of this organization which defends all of us and is the bedrock of U.S.-European relations. Thus, Abshire's signature was particularly ill-advised, as it might politicize not only the Foreign Service but also U.S. participation in the Atlantic alliance.

CHARLES R. FOSTER
Washington, D.C.

Great Decisions

The recent campaign rhetoric and debates illustrate the need for the public to be better informed on international issues. Members of the foreign affairs community, active and retired, at home and abroad, have a special opportunity to help in this effort by fostering and participating in the Great Decisions program.

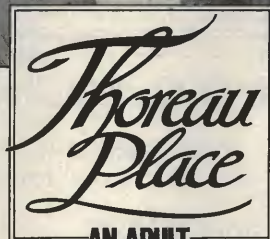
The Great Decisions program sponsors grass roots discussion groups who review at least eight international issues annually (usually January-March), collect ballots on the issues from the participants (over 150,000 in 1984), and provides a summary of the ballot results to the secretary of state, the White House, and the chairmen of the foreign relations committees of the Congress. The non-partisan Foreign Policy Association administers the Great Decisions program through volunteer state and community coordinators throughout the country and publishes a 96-page booklet for the use of participants in the program that gives the pros and cons of each of the eight issues.

The Great Decisions topics for 1985 (the 31st year of the program) are:

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2. Soviet Leadership in Transition, What Impact on Superpower Relations?
3. Iran-Iraq War, What Role for the U.S. in Persian Gulf?
4. Budget Deficit, Trade, and the Dollar, The Economics of Foreign Policy.
5. The Philippines, What Future for Democracy?
6. Population Growth, Critical North-South Issue?
7. Future of the Atlantic Alliance, Unity in Diversity?
8. Intelligence Operations, How Undercover Diplomacy Works.

Professor Gary Weaver of the School of International Service at American University is the coordinator for the greater D.C. area. Area community coordinators are: Gene Solon (D.C.), 484-1184; John Erskine (Maryland), 530-8152; and myself, James Roush (Virginia), 528-4553. I am an AID retiree and have offered to be a

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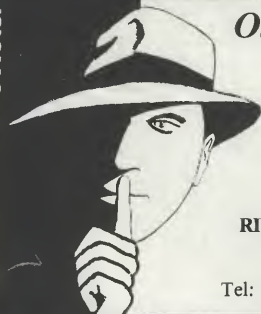
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contact for retirees or Foreign Service personnel abroad who might wish to start a discussion group or inform their friends and relatives in the United States of the name and address of the Great Decisions coordinator in their area. I can be contacted at the Foundation for PEACE, P.O. Box 244, Arlington, Virginia 22210, (703) 528-4553.

Information can also be obtained directly from the director of community programs of the Foreign Policy Association, 205 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016, (212) 481-4850.

JAMES ROUSH
Arlington, Virginia

Professional Ethics

I am pleased to note the current interest of AFSA, the Open Forum, and the State Department in issues of professional ethics. In the case of AFSA, it is renewed attention, as I recall an AFSA effort several years ago to form an "Ethics Committee." Unfortunately, it was still-born for lack of response. Indeed, it returned the only paper it received—mine.

The current focus is on issues of political identification, dissent, and resignation. I suggest we should not be too quick to identify new heroes. There are various ways to exploit any circumstance. One would be for an officer to decide on retirement or resignation sufficiently far in advance to salt the cable traffic so it will adequately document unappreciated foresight, courage, and conviction. Those qualities will, in turn, hopefully lead to sufficient controversy to elicit talk show interviews, Op-Ed bylines, appearances at congressional hearings, and—perish the thought—financial income. In a somewhat similar fashion, we are increasingly treated to former patriarchs of public service, including several former secretaries of state, who are legally registered as paid agents of a foreign government. It makes one weep for Sergeant Alvin York, a Congressional Medal of Honor winner in World War I who was offered a fee to advise on the 1930s movie *Sergeant York* starring Gary Cooper. York, who later died in penury, refused the financial offer but gave his technical advice free saying, "This uniform ain't for sale."

So should it be with the U.S. Foreign Service.

ROBERT E. FRITTS
Ambassador
Accra, Ghana

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL welcomes letters to the editor.

BOOKS

Caribbean Crisis

By JOHN J. CROWLEY

Caribbean Basin Security. By Thomas H. Moorer and George A. Fauriol. *The Washington Papers* #104, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Praeger Publishers, 1984. \$6.95. *The International Crisis in the Caribbean.* By Anthony Payne. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. \$18.50. *The New Cuban Presence in the Caribbean.* Edited by Barry Levine. Westview Press, 1983. \$26. *Rift and Revolution: The Central American Imbraglio.* Edited by Howard J. Wiarda. American Enterprise Institute, 1984. \$10.95. *Violent Neighbors.* By Tom Buckley, Times Books, 1984. \$17.95. *Weakness and Deceit.* By Raymond Bonner. Times Books, 1984. \$16.95.

The late Eric Williams, long-time prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, disagreed that neighboring Venezuela had any right to proclaim itself a Caribbean country. In a 1975 speech, he scoffed, "I expect next to hear that Tierra del Fuego is!" Frictions with Venezuela undoubtedly colored his opinion, but Williams was also expressing the traditional view of the Caribbean as the archipelago running from Cuba through the Antilles down to the Guyanas on the coast of South America. Throughout most of the region, African ethnic origins predominate, and many of the economies are still evolving from an earlier period marked by slavery and sugar plantations. Students of contemporary geopolitics are more apt to use the term "Caribbean Basin" and to define it broadly as including not only the archipelago, but also Mexico, Central America and Panama, Colombia and Venezuela—all the nations and dependent territories bordering on the Caribbean Sea (and one, El Salvador, washed only by the Pacific). The basin thus contains 41 political units with about 160 million inhabitants. By far the largest country is Mexico, with approximately 70 million people.

John J. Crowley is a former ambassador to Suriname now serving with the U.S. mission to the Organization of American States in Washington.

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Besides geographic proximity, these countries have few common bonds. In fact, the feature they all share is diversity. Political systems range from totalitarian to liberal democratic, economies from free enterprise to state controlled, human rights policies from official protection to official abuse. The region is also divided among those who see "imperialism" as the greatest external threat and others who ascribe this role to communism. Inevitably the United States and the Soviet Union (and its surrogate Cuba) are used to exemplify the two factions. In countries with democratic elections, these tendencies may change as conservatives replace radicals or vice versa. In Cuba, of course, there are no such shifts in political philosophy, only in the tactics to be followed to attack "imperialism" and promote the Cuban version of Marxist-Leninism both inside and outside that country. Other divisions within the region may occasionally come to the fore, as in 1982, when Caribbean reactions to the Falklands/Malvinas war created a serious rift between "Anglos" and "Latinos," and for a time obscured the more fundamental debate between right and left. Given these wide differences, the countries of the Caribbean Basin are not likely to acquire a common identity or widespread feeling of solidarity anytime in the near future.

For the United States, this may be both good and bad. The diversity almost ensures that the region as a whole will not become communist, at least not of its own accord. On the other hand, the same diversity makes it difficult for Washington to develop and implement policies to achieve the broad economic, social, political, and security goals it seeks for the area. The recently enacted Caribbean Basin Initiative is designed to increase the access of exports to the United States and encourage American investment in export-related business in 27 Caribbean countries. In most cases, however, bilateral channels still outweigh in importance regional approaches.

Anthony Payne gives these economic factors great importance by attributing the present regional crisis primarily to the general lack of economic growth. According to Payne, the Caribbean economy began to fall apart in the 1970s and, after the sharp increase in oil prices in 1973, its state became critical. Further increases in oil prices during 1979-80 can also be considered damaging blows. It is hard to fault his findings that as long as interest rates remain high and commodity prices low and weak, Third World economies will lag behind the economic recovery in the industrialized countries, and Caribbean coun-

tries will continue to face great economic difficulties.

Payne argues for more generous assistance programs by the United States, and for programs that do not insist on ideological conformity on the part of the recipient. His prescriptions for U.S. policy are, in fact, very similar to those proposed by a number of American scholars, diplomats, politicians, and business leaders and their foreign counterparts in the 1983 report entitled *The Americas at a Crossroads*, which he cites. Like Payne, they concluded that the basic roots of insecurity in the Americas are primarily economic, social, and political, not military, and that the sources of insecurity are mainly internal to each nation.

Payne ends his book with a one-sided account of the U.S. intervention in Grenada. Besides rejecting President Reagan's public justification, his partisan version of events ignores or belittles the concerns of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and their support for the intervention. Payne is by no means the authority to consult for a balanced presentation of the Grenada question.

In Editor Barry Levine's *The New Cuban Presence*, Cuban foreign policy is examined from just about every significant angle by 14 U.S. and foreign scholars. Almost all of the essays are rewarding. For example, Henry W. Gill examines Cuban-Mexican relations and provides a cogent analysis of why Mexico has often gone to great lengths to maintain warm relations with Castro. Mexican presidents, especially in the 1970s, needed Castro's blessing to satisfy their ambitions to be accepted as Third World leaders. To further this end, in 1975 Mexico proposed a review of OAS diplomatic and commercial sanctions against Cuba, which led to a resolution allowing OAS members to renew ties with Havana. That same year, Castro was welcomed into the SELA (Latin American Economic System), which was first proposed by Mexican President Echevarria the previous year, with strong Venezuelan support. Moreover, SELA included Cuba but excluded the United States. In 1979, Castro was given a warm reception by President Lopez Portillo when visiting Mexico for the first time since coming to power. The communique signed at the end of the visit supported Cuban demands against Washington by calling for lifting the economic embargo, closing Guantanamo, and ceasing U.S. intelligence overflights. In return, Cuba bolstered Mexico's image as a Third World leader and refrained from intervening in Mexican internal affairs, according to Gill. Other essays examine Cuban relations with Panama, Nicaragua,

Venezuela, Africa, the Third World as a whole, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Three final essays consider the "exportability" of the Cuban model and the limits of Cuban influence and recommend a new U.S. position, which should, according to the author, show concern for the general welfare of the inhabitants of the region, not just those with "friendly governments."

Another collection of scholarly articles is *Rift and Revolution*, which deals with Central America and was assembled under the auspices of the American Enterprise Institute. Its contributors are generally moderate to conservative in their opinions. In contrast to the increasing flow of works on Central America by instant experts, this volume contains a detailed description and analysis of the problems of Central America and how they developed. In the words of the editor, it is short on prescription because it was felt necessary first to provide a solid background and analysis and only later to offer recommendations. Especially interesting are articles on European socialism and its involvement in the Caribbean crisis and on U.S. and Soviet perceptions and strategies. Jeane Kirkpatrick's well-known article "U.S. Security and Latin America" is the only piece that was not expressly written for this volume, which is, on the whole, an excellent example of careful and insightful scholarship that is also concise and readable.

Authors Bonner and Buckley were reporters who worked as correspondents in Central America for the *New York Times*. Although both are highly critical of U.S. policy in Central America, the difference between their two books is marked. In *Violent Neighbors*, Buckley generally identifies his sources, although he provides no footnotes. Bonner, in *Weakness and Deceit*, provides footnotes to each chapter, but his sources tend to be mainly those that are critical of U.S. policy. For example, he relies heavily on the Roman Catholic Church's Legal Protection Office in San Salvador to document alleged atrocities by the Salvadorans' security forces. The accuracy of its reporting has frequently been challenged by the U.S. embassy. In August 1984, the office admitted that it had erred in estimating the number of civilian victims in a 1983 army operation. Instead of 250 civilian deaths, only 16 could be documented. This mistake, according to an article by Robert McCartney of the *Washington Post*, appeared likely to blemish the office's reputation for reliability. There are several specific errors in Bonner's book. He wrongly identifies William Clark as "deputy assistant secretary of state" and says that William Bowdler was

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Viron P. Vaky's "deputy." Moreover, his frequent use of leaked classified documents displays his disregard for the negative effect the leaks could have on the frankness of reporting officers, on the willingness of sensitive sources to provide information, and on U.S. foreign relations in general. His argument that the documents were classified only to keep U.S. "weakness and deceit" from becoming public knowledge is self-serving. He also fails to respect the traditional ground rules for press briefings by quoting Thomas Pickering, U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, in "an off-the-record comment."

After 367 pages of what reads like a prosecutor's brief against the policies of the Carter and Reagan administrations, Bonner concludes with a two-page discussion of what U.S. policy should be. His basic premise is that Washington should try to strengthen the "democrats" among the rebels. If successful, this effort would presumably ensure that a leftist government in El Salvador would not necessarily be anti-American or pro-Soviet. Skeptical readers may detect here one more example of hope triumphing over experience.

Buckley too advocates a negotiated settlement in El Salvador. Both writers are

haunted by the specter of Vietnam and think that victory by the government of El Salvador against the guerrilla forces is unlikely. Buckley acknowledges that "the history of communist movements the world over, including that in Vietnam, suggests that the Salvadoran guerrilla leaders would deal in the same way with their noncommunist auxiliaries." Still, Buckley, like Bonner, is willing to take the chance that the victorious communists would not necessarily follow Soviet or Chinese blueprints.

However, it is not necessary to share Buckley's views to profit from his book, which is much more even-handed than Bonner's and does not raise ethical questions about the author's sources. Incidentally, Buckley is mistaken about one important fact when he says flatly that former dictator Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic was "assassinated by the CIA." A select committee of the U.S. Senate concluded after lengthy deliberations in 1975 that this allegation was not proven.

In *Caribbean Basin Security*, the two authors (one of whom, Moor, was chief of U.S. Naval Operations and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) analyze what the Caribbean Basin signifies for U.S. national security. They view the region as of great geopolitical importance. U.S. interests are threatened by decaying political and social institutions and by a major ideological threat posed by Cuba and the Soviet bloc. U.S. security objectives should be designed primarily to preclude the establishment of hostile military bases in the region, to maintain access to regional natural resources, particularly petroleum, to assure the security of the Panama Canal, to prevent hostilities between states in the region, and to defend the United States from hostile attack. The advent of Marxist states such as Cuba, Nicaragua, and (until 1983) Grenada has changed the strategic landscape. Thus, the United States must address the region's problems if its security concerns are to be satisfied. The authors recommend increasing economic assistance, developing a strong security shield for the region, promoting democratic institutions, and working toward the creation of an environment that would be conducive to productive negotiations. The book is concise, well-reasoned, and up-to-date. In an otherwise enthusiastic introduction, however, former Secretary of the Navy Edward Hildago questions the authors' apprehensions about the future of political stability in Mexico and its probable adverse consequences for the United States. In this, as in many of the other questions hanging over the turbulent Caribbean Basin, reasonable persons may dis-



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Reviews

Security in East Asia. Edited by Robert O'Neill. *International Institute for Strategic Studies, St. Martin's Press, 1984.*

Robert O'Neill, director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, has compiled a collection of articles on the broad and increasingly complex subject of security in East Asia. In his introduction, O'Neill identifies four levels on which the subject can be examined: the superpower level, the level of the major regional powers (China and Japan), the level of other regional states, and the internal political level, which is concerned with stability in individual countries.

The book, unfortunately, does not cover all these areas, and several notable gaps exist. There is no analysis of U.S. military capabilities and the U.S.-Soviet military balance in the Pacific to correspond with Paul Dibb's piece on Soviet military capabilities and strategies. The absence of a chapter on the Korean problem is a glaring omission. Problems of internal security receive minimal treatment, which is especially surprising in the case of the Philippines. That emerging crisis gets no more than a couple of paragraphs.

This book should not be read in the hope of gaining a comprehensive picture of security issues in East Asia. Rather, a reader should focus on those individual articles that suit specific informational needs—and there are several good ones. Robert Scalapino provides an interesting analysis of the conflicting views within the United States on U.S. policy. Yukio Satoh gives a good overview of Japanese defense policy. Michael Leifer's article on southeast Asia and William Tow's piece on ANZUS are useful overviews.

Nevertheless, most of the articles are somewhat dated. Satoh, for example, does not discuss the policies of Prime Minister Nakasone. This may reflect the time lag in publication, but it also may stem from the fact that some of the articles were apparently published individually earlier.

—LARRY A. NIKSCH

Antipolitics: An Essay. By George Konrad, translated by Richard E. Allen. *Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984. \$12.95.*

This is actually a series of essays on such subjects as East-West relations since 1945, the culture and history of Hungary (especially since 1944), and definitions of

"antipolitics" and "antipoliticians." The latter are at one point defined as those who want "to put the state on a strict diet" and don't mind "being called antistate because of it." Although sometimes rather disjointed, the essays are always thought-provoking and will be of particular interest to those concerned about the fate and future of the brave peoples of Eastern Europe. Konrad, who lives in Budapest and describes himself as "neither a communist nor an anticommunist, neither a capitalist nor an anticapitalist," writes from the vantage point of a Hungarian sociologist and novelist who has witnessed many dramatic

events in Eastern Europe since World War II.

Konrad is remarkably forthright in his criticism of Soviet behavior, including the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. He balances this with equally rigorous criticism of the United States. Having thus called down a plague on both Soviet and U.S. houses, he urges Europeans to "detach ourselves from them militarily by mutual agreement, and then go on to draw the two parts of a divided Europe together again."

An American observer can certainly sympathize with these goals, but can also



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question the validity of some of the arguments underlying Konrad's formula for a peaceful and happier Europe. His portrait of Yalta—"It was there that a helpless Europe was divided...[as] the allies who were defending mankind from fascist inhumanity hastened...to strike an imperialist bargain, a pact between Anglo-Saxon and Soviet imperialism"—is simply inaccurate. One wonders whether Konrad has read any of the voluminous western documentation on Yalta, including the memoirs of Charles E. Bohlen, who was President Roosevelt's interpreter at Yalta, and of George F. Kennan, then the minister-counselor of the U.S. embassy in Moscow.

Nor does Konrad deal sufficiently with some of the specific and far-reaching implications of his basic proposal for a neutralized Europe, especially its impact on the division of Germany and the likelihood that without the U.S. umbrella, the Germans would sooner or later seek to acquire nuclear weapons. One wonders too if Konrad appreciates sufficiently the important advantages of NATO for both its European and American members. All this, of course, is rather academic, as it is clear that the current collective leadership in the Kremlin is not prepared even to consider a proposal that might destabilize the status

quo in Eastern Europe and open the door to a reunited and nuclear-armed Germany.

This reviewer is not blind to the situation in Eastern Europe that Konrad would like to change. Indeed, his book contains a perception I am inclined to share. Put in the form of a question to the next generation of Soviet leaders, this is simply: Wouldn't your country really be better off in the long run if the Eastern European members of the Warsaw Pact enjoyed the present position of Austria, Finland, or Yugoslavia? Perhaps a new generation of Soviet leaders might be disposed to explore such a question seriously. We can all join Konrad in hoping they will do so.

—CHARLES G. STEFAN

The American Style of Foreign Policy: Cultural Politics and Foreign Affairs. By Robert Dallek. Alfred A. Knopf, 1983. \$16.95

This book is an attempt to explore the hidden societal impulses that ultimately shape U.S. actions toward the outside world. These drives arise out of a conflict between the demands of reality and the shape of the American character, forged in a pioneer past. Dallek argues that if indi-

viduals and societies are to advance in today's world, a large degree of collective behavior must be adopted. This collectivity, however, goes against an ingrained American individualism and so causes psychological and societal tensions. The tension between what reality makes us and what we would like to be is too great to be repressed. Yet, containing these urges within our national boundaries would threaten the domestic harmony that has been achieved. Therefore, those tensions must overflow into the United States' international behavior.

Dallek writes in a tradition too often ignored by those who focus on foreign policy. While the foreign policy analyst ignores "reality" at the nation's peril, should not one delve more deeply into events to understand more about international behavior? Are there not states whose actions can sometimes be better understood after reading Freud or Harold Lasswell than the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs*? Drawing from psychology can only aid the analysis of international events and behavior.

The American Style of Foreign Policy is an attempt to meld psychology and political science. Any work attempting such a task would have problems, which Dallek mod-

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estly acknowledges at the outset. One glaring analytical problem, for example, is that Dallek's theory seems to have no predictive value, since seemingly contradictory events are "explained" by invoking the same psychic cause. Also, the author often stretches historical interpretation to make the past fall in line with his theory. These criticisms, though, are not meant to discourage anyone from reading the book. Its value lies in reminding us that some overlooked avenues of foreign policy explanation deserve more attention.

—LEONARD A. KUSNITZ

The Bomb and European Security. By Guido Vigevano. Indiana University Press, 1983. \$12.95(cloth); \$6.95(paper).

NATO's decision in December 1979 to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe led to renewed debate over the future of the western nuclear deterrent. Although these missiles were deployed in response to European requests, alliance peoples now reject both the political and military rationales upon which that deployment is based. This criticism has not been assuaged by NATO's parallel decision to pursue arms control negotiations with the So-

viet Union, which if successful would have halted deployment. However, even though the Geneva talks on intermediate nuclear forces to date have failed, public support for the deployment has eroded in the five NATO member countries where the missiles are to be based—West Germany, Britain, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands—to the point where governments may be unable to complete the deployment.

The INF debate has stimulated much writing on nuclear weapons and European security. In *The Bomb and European Security*, Vigevano has endeavored to explore the concept of nuclear deterrence as applied to the defense of Europe but, unfortunately, has only assembled a simplistic handbook, lacking serious analysis. The pages are replete with lengthy quotes from official documents and marginally useful tables and charts comparing East-West nuclear and conventional forces, all of which can be found in more authoritative sources. The key issues of western defense—the erosion of public consensus and political cohesion within the alliance—are totally ignored. The book is little more than a call to arms, and a disappointing one at that.

The chapters on western and Soviet strategy present a threadbare history that

consistently ignores the effect of political exigency on military strategy. Most disturbing, however, is the author's effort to grapple with the theoretical foundation of deterrence policy. His discussion of "pure deterrence" vs. "deterrence through defense" confuses theoretical arguments with practical applications, although he correctly concludes that recent attempts by U.S. planners to refine nuclear targeting doctrine have raised fears in Europe of "a protracted nuclear war limited to Europe."

While my sympathies lie with the author's concern over the dangerous erosion of the western nuclear deterrent, he provides neither a sound analysis supporting that view, nor does he suggest how NATO could rebuild the vanishing European political consensus for a revitalized western deterrent.

—JED C. SNYDER

The New Diplomacy: International Affairs in the Modern Age. By Abba Eban. Random House, 1983. \$19.95.

Shortly after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Secretary Rusk and this reviewer sat in his office watching the U.N. Security Council debate on the issues raised by the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was agreed most vigor-

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CUBA AS A MODEL AND A CHALLENGE

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ously that Abba Eban, representing Israel, was one of the greatest advocates in the world. He was effective, articulate, persuasive, and pled the Israeli position brilliantly. In his new book he takes on the entire world, playing the part of a balanced historian and experienced diplomat. He deals with all recent history, including such subjects as the superpowers and the world, international organizations, war and peace in the nuclear age, and diplomacy old and new. With all of these complex matters he is effective and balanced. In particular, he does a good job of comparing the foreign policies of Presidents Reagan and Carter.

In his chapter on the unending conflict in the Mideast, he once again becomes an advocate. He makes an effort at assuming a balanced posture with respect to the Arabs and Israelis, but it is beyond his capacity, tradition, and training. For example, he sees the Camp David accords as being much more favorable to the Palestinians and Arabs than would most other informed observers. And he blames the Arabs alone for the failure to get on with negotiations, downplaying the impact of Israel's settlements policy on the West Bank. He gives Israel credit for putting the United States in what he views as a splendid position after the 1967 war, saying that "the United States had done little to deserve any good fortune arising from the war, but it was nonetheless a major beneficiary of Israel's victory." This is a gross oversimplification of where the United States found itself following that conflict. In fact, U.S. influence suffered serious losses in the Mideast as a result of the war. Overall, however, Eban's position on the Mideast is not balanced, but neither is it outrageous.

The book is highly readable, scholarly, and beautifully summarial in covering recent history. The prose is magnificent, although here and there it gets a little out of hand—the meaning of the term "lavish sovereignty" as distinct from normal sovereignty is unclear, for example. There are other similarly colorful but rather too elegant phrases. Nevertheless, I would rather have too much than none at all, and Abba Eban as a writer and scholar sets a pattern and posture that diplomats (particularly those who must serve an adversarial country or policy) can emulate to great advantage.

—LUCIUS D. BATTLE

Revolution in the Philippines: The United States in a Hall of Cracked Mirrors. By Fred Poole and Max Vanz. McGraw-Hill, 1984. \$18.95.

Both authors of this timely book have lived

intermittently in the Philippine archipelago since the mid-1960s. Vanz, for one, was United Press International's southeast Asia editor before and after the 1972 coup that made Ferdinand Marcos a dictator. But if the authors bring considerable experience to their account of the Philippines under Marcos, they also bring a hefty dose of passion and outrage. In short, this is a coherent, but unreserved, attack upon both the Marcos regime and the policies Washington has used to accommodate that dictatorship.

The book begins with a firsthand account of the assassination of opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr. upon his return to the Philippines. Vanz was on the plane with Aquino and was the last journalist to speak privately with the former senator. The authors say that even before Aquino's fateful return, they had spent "days and nights talking with him" alone in his Massachusetts retreat. They, like Aquino, became obsessed with Marcos. And in their indictment of the president, they marshal the ultimate tool of good investigative reporting—the leaked document.

Secret Senate reports and Defense Intelligence Agency documents are used to show that Washington acquiesced to Marcos's spies operating in this country and harassing opponents of the regime, many of whom held U.S. passports. CIA memos report that, "Mrs. Marcos is ruthless and ambitious...a presidential understudy... she has a thirst for wealth, power, and public acclaim, and her boundless ego makes her easy prey for flatterers." (Poole and Vanz estimate the Marcos family's worth today at some \$3 billion.)

But perhaps their best research went into the chapters on the crude repression needed to keep Marcos in power. Many will be shocked by the similarities to Central America—the "salvaging" of innocents by government death squads, the water tortures, and the pervasive corruption. State violence has in turn spurred the growth of a revolutionary militia, the New Peoples Army. The authors make an impressive case that the NPA has much more support and potential than anyone might have expected only two years ago. The guerrillas, who are spread throughout the islands, depend on indigenous supplies and arms and to date have not alienated the villagers on whom they depend for support and protection. During a recent visit to Manila, I heard more than one businessman refer to the NPA as "nice boys" who are only doing what they must. Thus, in the city of Davao, 10 percent of the police force of 400 have been killed in the last year by the NPA's assassination units.

Poole and Vanzi do not, however, write very well about the making of U.S. policy. It is easy to ridicule Vice President George Bush publicly telling Marcos, "We love your adherence to democratic principles and to the democratic processes." But one cannot assume, as the authors do, that everyone handling Philippine affairs in the State Department is equally cold-blooded and cynical. Indeed, they might find some pretty good sources inside the Foreign Service willing to substantiate much of their criticism of the Marcos regime.

—KAI BIRD

In Brief

International Studies and Academic Enterprise: A Chapter in the Enclosure of American Learning. By Robert A. McCaughey. Columbia University Press, 1984. \$28.

McCaughy has compiled a rather dull history of international studies in the United States. The price of the book is worth paying if one is interested in knowing how Russian studies began at Harvard in 1900, or what areas of international studies were popular in 1951 and in 1966. As to the perennial question of whether international studies constitutes a separate discipline, the author, as a historian, clearly takes the traditional view that international studies is merely one aspect of the several social science disciplines. —CHARLES R. FOSTER

From the Think Tanks

Jordan: The Impact of Social Change on the Role of the Tribes. By Paul A. Jureidini and R.D. McLaurin. Washington Paper #108, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1984. 89pp. \$7.95. In the past, the stability of Jordan and the Hashemite monarchy has rested on tribal loyalty. As modernization has reduced the role of the tribes, a nascent sense of national identity has emerged, although it is still uncertain whether stability can be retained through this transition.

Guatemala: A Complex Scenario. By Louis S. Segevary. Significant Issues Series, Volume 6, #3, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1984. 40pp. Written by a career FSO, this brief monograph argues that although growing unrest in Guatemala could be of ominous significance, it has not attracted serious attention. Guatemalan efforts to address the traditional nemesis of corruption and social insensitivity are facing an environment of unparalleled and dangerous Marxist challenge.

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CLIPPINGS

Insecurity

"After a three-year pattern of random attacks, [Paris] embassy personnel are edgy. The elegant embassy building on the Place de la Concorde has become a fortress reminiscent of U.S. embassies in Saigon or Beirut...."

"Diplomats interviewed confessed that a feeling of anxiety has seriously diluted the heady pleasure they once felt over their assignment in the French capital.... Assassins may lurk under the chestnut trees."

Jack Anderson, September 27

"The Islamic Jihad, which took credit for all three bombings of U.S. installations in Lebanon including that against the U.S. embassy [on September 20], received training and support from the Soviet Union's secret police, the KGB, intelligence experts believe."

"The commandos have received training in terrorist camps in Uzbekistan in the Central Asian region of the Soviet Union."

Free Press International News Service,
October 1

"What is clear is that when it came to security, we blundered miserably. Never again should any American embassy be so exposed and so vulnerable. Never again should we ignore credible warnings that a terrorist attack is imminent.... Never again should we send... diplomats to a war zone and then fail them."

USA Today, October 22

"Government agencies have been receiving about 100 threats a week against American embassies and other installations abroad since the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Lebanon, administration officials said today."

"The volume is staggering," a State Department official said."

Bernard Gwertzman in the New York Times,
October 24

"Police dismantled a homemade double-barreled grenade launcher in a vacant lot near the U.S. embassy [in Lisbon] following the first terrorist threat against the new \$15 million facility.... [The] device, armed with two bazooka grenades and

hooked up to a battery, failed to go off because of a loose copper plate."

Washington Times, October 31

"A Senate Foreign Relations Committee minority staff report completed today criticized State Department officials in Washington for 'deficiencies that may have contributed' to the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Lebanon in September."

"The report points out that the person immediately responsible for security at the new embassy building in East Beirut was a junior-level security officer whose previous work had been as an investigator and bodyguard. The man 'was sent to Beirut without taking the department's 10-week training course' for security officers."

Joel Brinkley in the New York Times,
November 3

"A tragically simple mistake.' After weeks of discussion about possible failures of intelligence and other lapses leading up to the September bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, that was the conclusion of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week. Had a steel gate or some other barrier been installed to protect the approach to the building, the terrorist attack would probably not have been successful."

Time magazine, November 5

The Helms Endorsement

"Most every career Foreign Service officer must have cringed with disgust upon discovering that 21 ambassadors formally endorsed Senator Jesse Helms, darling of the right wing of the Republican party, for re-election.... The Hatch Act does not apply to political appointees, so there is nothing officially illegal about what the 21 ambassadors did."

"It still stinks to high heaven...."

"The American Foreign Service Association has it right: 'An active duty ambassador who engages in partisan politics diminishes the office and undermines his or her ability to serve the United States abroad.'"

"We suggest that the 21 ambassadors involved, who apparently see nothing wrong in their effort to help Jesse Helms

win in North Carolina, have by the very fact of their endorsement proven why they should not be representing the United States abroad."

Federal Times, November 12

Little Knowledge

"Ronald Reagan would sometimes consult with Henry Kissinger....On a number of these occasions, Kissinger noticed something unsettling about the president: Reagan seemed strangely uninterested in international relations as such. He displayed little knowledge or even curiosity about the interaction of states and forces in the world arena. Even more disturbing, he seemed remarkably blasé about U.S. foreign policy. It was as though long-term strategy was something other people were paid to worry about."

Strobe Talbot in Deadly Gambits, 1984

Counting Stripes

"What counts in the business of diplomacy is not the stripes on one's pants (or skirt) but the skill of one's advocacy. Career diplomats are far more than bureaucrats with passports. They have vital knowledge to contribute. They provide both continuity and a perspective not possessed by the newcomer. Political appointees, on the other hand, can legitimately claim both ready access to the White House and a proven commitment to carrying out the philosophical themes of an administration's foreign policy...."

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10-25-50

Foreign Service Journal, December 1974: "Given the acknowledged complexity of the communication process and the current availability of information through the world, an examination of the means by which USIS is to fulfill its mission is in order. The experience of USIA confirms the inadequacy of the cause-and-effect model of communication. The agency has rejected the Dale Carnegie approach to winning friends and the Madison Avenue approach to selling soap, but in the absence of the explicit affirmation of an alternative has been tempted and frequently seduced by the appeal of winning friends and influencing people....To give meaning to the concept of dialogue, USIA will have to reject its role as a public relations agency." *Alan Carter and Barry Fulton*

Foreign Service Journal, December 1959: "There was a time during the First World War when I worked on the other side of the street. I was engaged in what would now be called, I suppose, policy planning. My boss was Colonel House, who filled a role which no one fills today. He was the president's chief adviser, and he was the president's principal diplomatic agent. Yet he was not the secretary of state. As a matter of fact, he did not even live in Washington. Thus, it was not necessary for him to become involved in daily staff meetings and interdepartmental conferences. I suppose you can see the advantages of that...."

"At that time, you will have noted, the State Department had no active part in the big business of policy planning."

Walter Lippmann

Foreign Service Journal, December 1934: "The year which is drawing to a close has seen the restoration to the Foreign Service of a number of justly merited benefits. I like to think of the return of these benefits as the well deserved reward for unflinching loyalty and efficient performance of duty during trying times."

Secretary of State Cordell Hull

10-25-50 records *JOURNAL* excerpts from previous issues with an eye toward how much things have changed for the Foreign Service, or how they have remained the same.

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THE THIRD OPTION

Covert operations against the Nicaraguan regime are not proving to be an effective alternative to either diplomacy or the Marines

HARRY ROSITZKE

IN CENTRAL AMERICA today, the United States is engaged in a campaign of subversion. The target is the Sandinista government of Nicaragua, and the method is covert support for the contras, who are fighting to overthrow that regime. The United States has used covert operations to achieve its goals in the region before. This time, however, that instrument has been revealed for what it is: immoral, illegal, and most important, politically short-sighted and self-defeating.

U.S. actions against the Sandinistas—which are covert in name only—have not only damaged the United States' international standing, they have made it even more unlikely that we will achieve our objective: a stable, non-communist Nicaragua. The administration now faces a dilemma of its own making, a dilemma that allows no solution compatible with our national interest. This experience must raise significant questions about the wisdom of continuing to pursue our present policy in that region, and, more generally, about the merits of using covert operations—at least of this scale—at all.

For thirty years, Washington's anti-communist crusade in Latin America has been based on assistance to established regimes. The United States has used both open and covert means to bolster the ability of these governments to overcome threats to their domestic security. These efforts have been intended to counter the influence of leftist political parties and trade unions, as well as Soviet- and communist-controlled media. They have also been aimed at quelling active insurgencies, mostly in rural areas. Standard U.S. aid has been supplemented by covert CIA programs ranging from political and propaganda operations to training the local security forces.

When the regime in power was unsympathetic to the U.S. crusade against communism, however, measures were sometimes taken to bring that government into line. In four cases, the United States has launched covert attempts to overthrow the recalcitrant regime: Guatemala (1954), Cuba (1961), Chile (1970-73), and now Nicaragua. Whether a "success," as in Guatemala and Chile, or a failure, as in

Cuba, these earlier actions raised moral, legal, and pragmatic questions that have now come to a head in Washington's support of the contras in Nicaragua.

The operation against Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala was a push-over. He had created strong internal opposition to his government by instituting land reform and by legalizing the Communist Party and giving some of its members cabinet positions. He also alienated the military by creating an armed worker-peasant militia.

When Washington began to look for a way to pressure Arbenz, a small but organized military force under Colonel Castillo Armas was conveniently at hand in neighboring Honduras. In preparation for his invasion, the CIA launched a concerted program of psychological warfare aimed at splitting the Guatemalan armed forces from Arbenz. A drumbeat of radio broadcasts, rumors of an impending invasion, and a few airplane flights over Guatemala City demoralized the government and scared Arbenz into seeking political asylum. The invasion was almost an anticlimax.

The Guatemalan success apparently encouraged those planning the Cuban operation seven years later, even though the situation on the ground was radically different. Castro was clearly in command of his regime—including the military—and enjoyed a large degree of popular support (contrary to the assumptions of those Washington analysts who predicted a popular uprising). No organized invasion force was available; instead the CIA had to recruit Cuban emigres, mostly from Florida, transport them to training camps in Central America, and then launch them on a difficult amphibious operation that ended in the Bay of Pigs disaster. It proved impossible to keep the long and extensive preparations secret, either from Castro or the U.S. press.

The anti-Sandinista covert action in Nicaragua has parallels with both the Guatemalan and Cuban operations. Like Castro, the Sandinistas are firmly entrenched. They are in command of a large and increasingly well-trained and well-equipped army. The regime has developed, with Soviet and Cuban assistance, an efficient security service capable of rooting out organized dissent in the cities and towns. It controls the media and the educational system. The regime's own history as an insurgent movement makes it able to anticipate and counter the contra tactics. Even without further Soviet or Cuban help, the Sandinistas can handle a paramilitary threat.

Harry Rositzke is a former CIA operations officer who retired in 1970 after 25 years of service in Washington, Munich, and New Delhi. He has since written extensively, including three books: The CIA's Secret Operations, The KGB: The Eyes of Russia, and, most recently, Managing Moscow: Guns or Goods?

Eden Pastora, leader of one of the contra groups, talks to reporters at a rebel camp inside Nicaragua. Moments later a bomb exploded, killing several people and wounding many others, including Pastora.



Nevertheless, the prospects for overthrowing the regime are not as dim as they were in the Cuban imbroglio. Anti-regime forces already exist on secure terrain just outside the Nicaraguan border and are easily available to the CIA for recruitment, training, and supply. Cross-border operations into rural areas can be carried out with relative ease, even though the establishment of fixed bases inside Nicaragua has so far proved unsuccessful.

A PART FROM SUCH PRACTICAL considerations, the moral implications of covert operations were first seriously questioned in the aftermath of Salvador Allende's downfall in Chile. In that country, three U.S. presidents authorized the use of covert means over a period of 15 years to prevent the election of a radical left government. For a time, the objective of the CIA's political action program was essentially affirmative: to bring a democratic party of the moderate left to power. Once Allende assumed the presidency, Washington dedicated itself to making his regime fail. Open fiscal and economic measures were employed to "make the economy scream," as a White House official described it. The CIA focused its operations on keeping the opposition alive and supporting a free press. The exact use of the agency's funds during the tense months preceding the September 1973 military coup is not entirely clear, but there is no evidence that either the CIA, the U.S. embassy, or the U.S. military attache played any direct role in the coup that ousted Allende and led to his death.

Whatever the role of the United States, both our open and covert intervention in Chile raised a moral objection in its clearest form: is it moral to attempt the overthrow of a democratically elected government, however distasteful its politics or policies? A variant of this question is now being asked again. Although the Sandinista government was not established by democratic means, it did enjoy widespread popular support when it came to power. Under what conditions should the United States consider overthrowing an established regime? Should such a policy option be permitted at all? A convincing case can be made that such an action is unacceptable unless a

regime presents a clear security threat. Merely disagreeing with a government's policies or ideology is not sufficient reason for attempting its destruction. If, however, a regime does represent a genuine security threat, the most suitable response is clearly not covert action, but a direct and open military operation.

There is another moral query arising from U.S. involvement in Nicaragua's civil struggle: what is our responsibility for the actions of the rebels we sponsor? This is not a new question; it has been raised over the years by our support and training of "friendly" security services, and particularly regarding U.S. support for the Greek junta and for those involved in the killing of Che Guevara. The contras, like most insurgency groups, seek to disrupt Sandinista control of Nicaragua through economic sabotage, but this inevitably causes some distress for the civilian population. If Washington accepts responsibility for the contras' mining of harbors and bombing of communication and oil installations, is it also then responsible for the acts of their most fanatical members? There have been reports that some of the contras have engaged in the torture of civilians, murder of prisoners, and indiscriminate round-ups of suspected communists. Indeed, the recent exposure of a CIA training manual that provides instructions on insurgent warfare techniques has raised this issue in a most concrete fashion. Its advice on selective "neutralization" of regime officials and the making of involuntary "martyrs" for propaganda purposes makes Washington directly responsible for the violation of both moral standards and specific U.S. laws. If, as has been recently reported, the manual was intended to *restrain* contra activities, the situation is much worse than previously thought.

The Reagan administration has recently attacked "state-supported terrorism." We may conveniently forget the officially sponsored raids and acts of sabotage against Cuba after the Bay of Pigs, and the attempts, now illegal, to assassinate Castro. We cannot so easily disregard the terrorist acts of the contras. In the face of these facts, we can no longer maintain a holier-than-thou attitude toward Moscow, Havana, or Teheran. Many years ago we decided to fight the Soviets with their own weapons, and we still do so today. Yet the moral controversies and questions per-

sist, and one cannot avoid concluding that there is—and properly so—a double standard by which both Americans and Europeans measure the actions of a communist dictatorship and a democratic regime. That democracies are held to stricter standards can be seen by the administration's failure to convince congressional and public opinion of the rightness of its policy.

NOT EVERYONE, HOWEVER, will be convinced by these moral arguments. If, as the administration alleges, the Sandinista regime is a threat to the region and perhaps even the United States, then the moral implications of U.S. support for the contras might well seem less relevant. More convincing to some is the argument that U.S. policy toward Nicaragua is illegal, both in terms of international law and U.S. law.

Covert actions against an established regime are, almost by definition, illegal. The U-2 overflights of Soviet terrain, the support of Sumatran rebels against the Indonesian regime, the invasions of Guatemala and Cuba, the secret funding of political parties in Chile, all violate the accepted canons of international behavior. These operations are, after all, carried out covertly so that the sponsor can maintain some degree of "plausible denial" and feel absolved of official responsibility. The same illegality applies, of course, to Soviet support of so-called "wars of national liberation" in the Third World or to Moscow's secret funding of Communist parties throughout the world.

In terms of international law, these "secret" actions violate prohibitions included in the charters of both the United Nations and the Organization of American States against intervention in the affairs of other countries. "Intervention," of course, is at best an elastic concept. There are "benign" interventions, as in Lebanon and the Dominican Republic, and "subversive" interventions, as in Guatemala and Cuba. The line between them, however, is usually drawn by political rather than legal considerations. In Nicaragua, the U.S. intervention is not only subversive, but also violates specific U.S. laws, such as the 1982 Boland amendment, which prohibits the use of funds to furnish military equipment or advice to any irregular army for the purpose of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government; President Ford's executive order prohibiting direct or indirect involvement in assassinations abroad; and the neutrality statutes, which prohibit U.S. citizens from providing money or participating in military operations intended to attack a government with which the United States is at peace. Perhaps more important, covert operations can also provide the White House with an instrument for evading the application of the War Powers Act.

The mining of the Nicaraguan harbors was a more concrete violation of international law. Whatever the legality of contra actions on Nicaraguan soil, the harbor mining was flagrantly illegal under maritime law. It succeeded in damaging a number of merchant ships, causing a number of our European allies to protest strongly. Although the State Department issued a shaky legal opinion on the U.S. right to mine

those waters, it soon announced that it had unilaterally decided not to accept the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice over Central America for the next two years. This simply reinforced the image of a great power rejecting any regard for commonly accepted principles of international law. It is also a dangerous precedent—given its own behavior, how could Washington object on principle if another country were to follow its example and lay mines in the Suez Canal or the Strait of Hormuz?

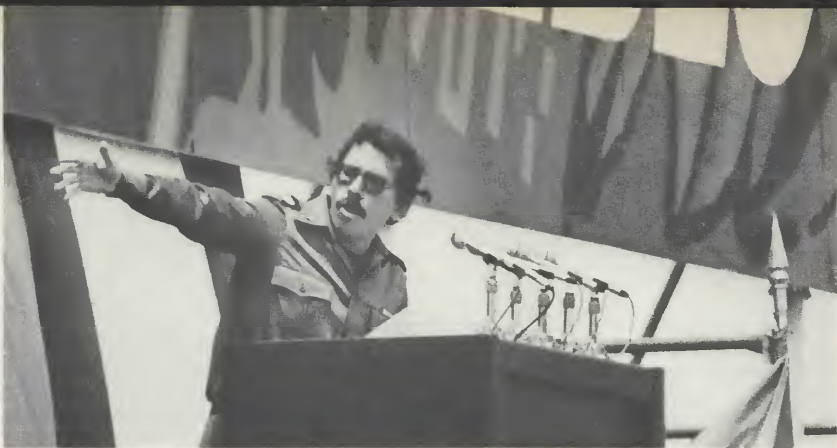
Even more convincing than the legal arguments, however, are the practical ones. Simply put, the Sandinistas are well situated to resist any internal or external opposition. It is unlikely that the contras will succeed in overthrowing the regime, even with U.S. support. Even if they should manage to gain control over Nicaragua, there is nothing to guarantee that their victory would serve U.S. interests. Not only is American support for the contras' efforts to overthrow the Sandinista government immoral and illegal, but, when judged by the amoral standards of realpolitik, it is also ill-designed and short-sighted.

It is almost an unwritten rule of politics that, at least in the short term, the threat or act of invasion strengthens the target regime. Just as the Bay of Pigs consolidated Castro's position, so the contras' operations strengthen the Sandinistas. Public opinion is easily mobilized against an outside threat, and a military build-up and tightening of security controls are plainly justified. When, as in both Cuba and Nicaragua, the threat is described as one of Yankee imperialism, patriotic fervor becomes even stronger. And, of course, the regime is forced to rely even more heavily on the diplomatic and materiel support of its friends, whether communist or socialist. The steady build-up of Nicaraguan armed forces would have been impossible without substantial Soviet and Cuban materiel assistance. Though the embattled regime has lost much of its diplomatic and economic support from Western European socialists, it still has the support of the Contadora group, which is struggling to come up with a diplomatic formula that will avoid military action and ensure the continuance of the Sandinista regime in power.

Even in those cases where covert action is commonly believed to have succeeded—Guatemala and Chile—our success has been very ambiguous. Just as in our failures, there has certainly been a long-term political price exacted in our successes. By attempting to topple "Marxist" governments, the United States has contributed to these countries' inability to resolve domestic conflicts through non-violent, political means. The history of Guatemala since the installation of a military regime in 1954 has been one of successive coups and military dictatorships, of repression and civilian murders, of the rooting out of "enemies" in the cities and "rebels" in the countryside. Only when concern for human rights became part of U.S. policy did Washington at last refrain from increasing the Guatemalan government's capacity to repress its citizens. In Chile, the regime of General Augusto Pinochet has now survived for 11 years and, in the process, has destroyed the opposition parties, labor unions, and free media that were once the underpinning of a thriving democracy. The recent im-

Internationally, covert actions against an established regime are illegal. And, they can provide the White House with an instrument for evading the War Powers Act

*Daniel Ortega,
leader of the
Nicaraguan regime,
speaks at a rally
celebrating the
anniversary of the
Sandinistas' coming
to power after the
fall of Somoza.*



position of a state of siege has only served to demonstrate the regime's instability.

Today both regimes are inherently unstable. While such countries as Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador have thrown out their military governments in the past few years, the political evolution of Chile and Guatemala has been arrested, at high human cost, on a primitive and shaky plateau. In these and other cases, U.S. reliance on military regimes to create and maintain stability has proved an unfortunate and ill-fared choice.

IN THE CASE OF NICARAGUA, the political fallout may be even greater. These earlier operations had a tangible and specific goal: to oust Arbenz, to oust Castro, to oust Allende. Yet no one in Washington seems to know what the goal of the contra operation is. Officially, we are using them to stop the flow of arms from Nicaragua to the rebels in El Salvador, but it does not appear that the contras have had any success to date in this task. Other officials have described our support of the contras as a means of pressuring the Sandinista regime. But what is this pressure intended to achieve in the long run? Will this force them to become "democratic"? If the experience of the recent elections is any answer, the harassment by the contras compels the Sandinistas to be less tolerant of any opposition. Perhaps the pressure is intended to force them into negotiations and encourage them to throw out their Soviet and Cuban advisers and stop importing arms. Yet they have appeared ready to talk for some months. Washington's negative reaction to Managua's decision to sign the Contadora agreement indicates that the Reagan administration is not seriously interested in talking with the Sandinistas. It may well be that we are using the Nicaraguan situation to send a message to Havana and Moscow. If that is the case, the message sent by our naval forces off both coasts and the military exercises in Honduras appear loud enough. How is that message strengthened by aiding a squabbling bunch of sometimes-brutal counter-revolutionaries?

The only legitimate reason for supporting the contras is if the United States hopes they will ultimately be successful in subverting the Sandinista regime.

But replacing Daniel Ortega with the contras is unlikely to serve U.S. interests. The contras are an unreliable instrument for whatever political purposes Washington has in mind.

Furthermore, it is unrealistic to suppose that we can control them. Past U.S. experience with emigre groups fighting against the government of their homeland underlines two important lessons. First, divisions within an emigre community—whether Ukrainian, Albanian, Cuban, or Nicaraguan—cannot be repaired by an outside power. Political differences concerning, for example, the composition of a provisional government, or personal conflicts among the leadership, cannot be overcome simply by promising material support. Eden Pastora cannot be persuaded or forced to collaborate with his fellow-emigres if he wants to fight on his own.

Second, and more important, emigre groups have their own goals that need not coincide with the goal of their sponsors. There can be little doubt that the contras are devoted to seizing power from the Sandinista regime or, at a minimum, sharing that power. To assume that they are fighting and dying merely to cut off the flow of arms to El Salvador or to harass the regime for U.S. diplomatic purposes is simply ludicrous. What will happen if the contras actually achieve their goal? Will they be the next democratic government of Nicaragua? If they take over in Managua, how will Washington handle the bloody repression that will inevitably follow? If we help them achieve some power-sharing arrangement, how will we respond to the political and economic turmoil that might ensue?

It is, however, probably more likely that the contras will fail to achieve their goal. Their military effort may simply bog down, or Congress may decide to cut off their support once and for all. The implications of such a failure for the United States and its foreign policy are not very pleasant. Even if the contras fail to gain power, they are unlikely to give up the fight. They may well follow the example of the Cuban emigres and continue their raids from neighboring terrain with or without the permission of those governments or help from third parties. If they do abandon their efforts, to what degree is the United States responsible for their future well-being? Can Wash-

ington force them to accept an amnesty? Do we assist their resettlement or perhaps even their emigration to the United States? The dilemma is a nasty one and is of our own making. We faced similar problems with the Cuban emigres, but in this case we are dealing with more than 10,000 armed fighting men.

Our dilemma will not be quite so wrenching if we begin now to phase out gradually the contras' paramilitary actions within Nicaragua. Some still defend U.S. persistence in this armed subversion in tones reminiscent of the Vietnam era: if we abandon our friends, we will lose our "credibility." We must not "betray our allies." "Retreat" will have a "poisonous impact" on the rest of Latin America. For some, the price of withdrawing our support from the contras will be catastrophic: our alliances will crumble, and both friend and foe will recast their image of U.S. power. This is nonsense. We withdrew our support from our friends in both Cuba and Vietnam, and neither action rendered us impotent.

Yet, the argument continues, this is different, for Central America is our "backyard." The United States can, as a powerful country, take whatever action it desires in an area under our unchallengeable military dominance, just as the Soviets can in Eastern Europe. This argument, of course, puts us in the questionable position of supporting U.S. spheres of influence while decrying Soviet dominance of its satellites. Being unable—or unwilling—to control every political and social development in our own hemisphere will not cause us to lose our credibility—itsself a rubbery concept. Does the existence of any "Marxist" government in Latin America testify to our impotence? Are Marxist regimes in Guyana and Suriname evidence of our lack of capacity to root them out?

IF CONTINUING OUR SUPPORT for the contras is counterproductive—morally, legally, and politically—then we should re-evaluate our interest in the Nicaraguan situation and reshape our policy accordingly. It may be that the administration is right, and our national security requirements dictate that we be involved. Any means should be employed to protect the physical security of the United States. However modest the present Nicaraguan threat, domino thinking can bring communist forces to the Rio Grande—though Mexico seems less perturbed than Washington. It is more likely, however, that Nicaragua will become a base for offensive weapons that pose a direct threat to U.S. terrain. In that case, our reaction is bound to be as public, immediate, and effective as our reaction to the placement of Soviet missiles in Cuba. If the Sandinista regime does pose a real threat, we should not be playing around with a chancy covert operation. We made the same mistake in our attempts to liberate Cuba: if Castro was a genuine threat to U.S. security, we should have used the Marines as we did in Grenada.

There are subtle diplomatic and legal reasons, of course, that made covert operations seem more attractive in 1961, but they are now irrelevant. The fact is that Washington no longer has a covert instrument at its disposal. Covert action was once a bureaucratically convenient mechanism that allowed the White House

to take actions for which it could disclaim any responsibility—and one that bypassed congressional review. Today "covert" has become a meaningless term, "plausible denial" a hollow phrase. Covert aid to the Angolan rebels in 1975 was debated in Congress. Covert aid to the freedom fighters in Afghanistan is openly endorsed by the White House and in congressional resolutions. The support of the contras is as official and public as the invasion of Grenada. The so-called third option between diplomacy and the Marines is no longer there.

Since, however, neither the Pentagon nor the American people will support a conventional military effort against Nicaragua, the only real alternative is diplomacy. Up until recently, Washington had ruled out serious negotiations with the Sandinista regime. Whether the present disposition of the administration is to talk rather than fight is uncertain. However, its unwillingness to support the Contadora initiative is clear. The negotiating proposals made by Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela provide a tangible level-headed approach to the Nicaraguan "problem" that can rescue Washington from the impasse it has created for itself. With the U.S. election over, will President Reagan stand back a step or two, tone down both our military and paramilitary actions in the area, and accept a regional solution? Will he be willing, in effect, to accept the continuance of a Marxist regime of whatever hue in Central America?

U.S. policy toward Nicaragua is really part of a broader question involving the future stability of Latin America. Will the United States be better off in the long run if it accommodates the indigenous forces of social and economic change rather than fight them? The natural political evolution of Central American societies cannot take place while their regimes are dominated by an outside power. In most cases, only those governments willing to upset the status quo will be able to lay the foundation for long-term stability. Since there is no real political center in these countries, even in El Salvador, and the right has fought change for generations, only a leftist regime can play the reformist role—whether Marxist, socialist, or, as in El Salvador, Christian Democratic. Honoring the practice of self-determination may involve accepting politically distasteful regimes and policies, but, upsetting as this may be for some Americans, U.S. interests will not be furthered nor U.S. aid be effective until that long-term stabilization is within reach.

Whatever the outcome of the Nicaraguan situation, it promises the end of covert action against established regimes in Latin America. "Subversion" is not a term that appeals to American sentiment; it has been applied so long to Soviet and communist actions that it has developed a distinctly un-American ring. Nor should it appeal to our pragmatic instincts: if we judge a policy by its achievements, covert action has been a miserable failure. Flexing our military muscle in Grenada or Central America may make some Americans "stand tall." For others the price paid—in lives lost, mines laid, and mores violated—is too high. It may be more American to stand straight and acknowledge the failings of our covert operations in Nicaragua and elsewhere. □

There were subtle diplomatic and legal reasons that made covert operations attractive in 1961. But Washington no longer has a covert instrument at its disposal

TIME TO PARE THE TOP OF THE PERSONNEL PEAR

RUSSELL O. PRICKETT

IT'S BEEN ALMOST 15 years since William Macomber, then deputy under secretary for management, likened the Foreign Service personnel profile, with its bulge at the top, to an inverted pear. Now the State Department, in a recent management-issues cable (State 244243), points to the same problem. With too many people in the upper ranks, says State, promotions into the Senior Foreign Service will have to be virtually stopped, and promotions in the lower ranks will be backed up all along the line. The notion of the career Foreign Service as an up-or-out, fast-flowing stream probably never was altogether accurate, but now we are brutally confronted with the reality—stagnation—once again.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 did nothing to change this basic flaw in our system, and present policies to delay retirements are only making it worse. The only resolution in sight is to wait until things get better and the bulge at the top is gradually worked off. This could be years. In the meantime, what will happen is a repetition of the past. Too many of our best officers at all levels will leave the Service, and outstanding young people seeking a career where they can expect to move into positions of challenge and responsibility relatively early in life will look elsewhere.

The crux of the matter is that the interests of the Service as an institution and the interests of its individual officers are at cross purposes. The former needs to thin out in the upper ranks, retaining fewer and fewer of its very best people to staff a lean, efficient, non-duplicative top management structure. The latter, on the other hand, needs to get the kids through college and pay off the mortgage. The individual officer will hang on hard at precisely that career level where the Service needs to slim down. The way out of this dilemma is to give the average individual officer an incentive to do what the Service needs to have done, i.e., leave after 20 years instead of 30. The incentive will have to be a carrot, not a stick. Forcing people out would make the promise of a rewarding career a lie for all but a few; it would also tend to attract (and often retain) the wrong people.

It is time to trot out Prickett's personnel panacea. The core of the idea, retirement after 20 years regardless of age, has been around for a long time. I propose a couple of refinements that would enhance its attractiveness to officers and therefore its usefulness for the

Service. The first is to offer retirement after 20 years at half pay (instead of 20 percent). This fraction would not increase for the next five years. The second is to compute retirement pay on the basis of 50 percent of the highest one year's salary (instead of high three) for those who retire within one year after completing 20 years' service, or the average of the highest two years' salary for those who retire within two years after 20.

These would give each officer an incentive to leave the Service without crippling his or her own family's financial prospects. Facing five years during which the terms of retirement are not going to improve, while the officer gets ever older for the start of a second career, would prompt a serious, realistic assessment of future promotion prospects. It would offer the right incentives to the right people to stay in the Service or to get out, respectively.

I know this proposal goes against the grain. Years ago Mary Olmsted, then director of personnel, told me in a meeting that variants of "retirement after 20" had been tried out on Office of Management and Budget but had been rejected unless the officers themselves were willing to pay the higher costs of such a system through increased contributions to the retirement program. "And you wouldn't want to pay for my retirement, would you?" she asked. "Sure I would," I replied, "if it would get you out of my way." In all seriousness, I am convinced that the best officers would welcome the opportunity to pay for a system that offers a better, quicker chance to get to the top and better, fairer alternatives for those who won't go that far.

But the main idea is not to take care of FSOs because we are such good people. It is to create a personnel system that will attract, develop, and use the best people most effectively for the national interest. There has to be an alternative to a system which either selects out excellent officers just short of retirement (sometimes with tragic results) on the one hand, or has senior officers walking the halls or counting buttons on the other. A stagnant, top-heavy personnel system is not a good instrument for doing the nation's business. Paying someone half pay to retire early is much less expensive than paying full salary when the officer hasn't got a job to do.

Finally, the Foreign Service need not be in perfect symmetry with the Civil Service. Not only are we smaller by a factor of hundreds, but we are different in essential ways. It is harder by far to get into the Foreign Service, for instance, and our rank-in-person system makes it impossible for us to park at a career level where we are comfortable. Time-in-class requirements enforce the up-or-out principle (eventually) and make delayed retirement meaningless. And let anyone who would deny that worldwide service imposes special difficulties and hardships ponder the honor roll in the Diplomatic Lobby.

The problem of a stagnant, top-heavy Service is a real one. I think it is the most serious problem we have, underlying many others. The department has never really tried to make a case for a workable remedy for this problem, either within the executive branch or with Congress. Yet the benefits would be great—for the country most of all, but also for the department and the Service. Isn't it worth a try? □

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WITH ALL THE HAND-WRING about the "bulge" at the top of the Foreign Service, one could easily conclude that senior officers now constitute an historically high proportion of the total corps. But according to data supplied by the Bureau of Personnel, there are now fewer senior officers than there were 20 years ago. In fact, the percentage of seniors as part of the total corps has been lower in only three years of the last 20. Moreover, during those years the seniors' share of the Service has averaged almost 21 percent, as opposed to the 19 percent we now constitute.

This concern about the excess size of the senior corps has beset the Foreign Service for over fifteen years. It arises in part from inappropriate comparisons of our officer structure with those of the military and the Civil Service. The Foreign Service is much more selective in choosing new entrants, makes them survive a trial period before being fully accepted, and then selects out substandard performers each year.

The Foreign Service also differs in that it has no need for large numbers of low-ranking officers to provide direction to an army of enlisted men or to staff large offices providing more or less routine services to the public. The Service requires instead that a large proportion of its officers possess sufficient rank, stature, knowledge, and ability to deal effectively with the upper levels of foreign governments and U.S. agencies. Consequently, having one-fifth of the Foreign Service composed of senior officers, as has usually been the case, does not seem excessive.

Concern about the bulge at the top of the Service has been fueled by consistent mismatching of the rank of available officers and the classification of available positions. This is a relatively new concern for the Service, which for years avoided such problems by maintaining a system of rank-in-officer. Under that system, any officer could be assigned to any position, regardless of its grade, as long as he or she was up to the job. Most officers didn't even know the grade level of the jobs they held. This changed, however, when the Service began to place more emphasis on management in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was decided then that if Central Personnel were to have more control over the process, the grade-level on the job had to match the grade-level on the officer. Unless the system required those numbers to match, Central Personnel would have to know the individual officer and job as well as did the regional and functional bureaus; otherwise the bureaus would continue to control the assignments process. The attempt to wrest control over assignments away from the bureaus has not succeeded very well, but the rank-in-officer system was dealt a near-death blow.

Since the grade level of the officer had to correspond to that of the job (except during stretch assignments), any downgrading of positions could have a significant effect. During the rank-in-officer days, when it made no difference how the jobs were classified, an inflation of job classifications easily occurred, even given the 23-24 percent of the Service that seniors comprised during the late 1960s and early '70s. When jobs were downgraded in the early 1970s, the number of senior positions was reduced to below the number of corresponding officers. Senior promotions were slowed and

No, It's ALWAYS BEEN THERE — AND SHOULD BE

GERALD P. LAMBERTY

retirements encouraged, and by 1975 the seniors' share of the Service had dropped to 18.8 percent.

Over the next five years, the seniors' share fluctuated, reaching a low of 17.1 percent in 1980. It rose to 19.7 percent in 1981 as promotions were increased, retirements fell off, and large numbers of Foreign Service Reserve and Reserve Unlimited officers were incorporated into the senior ranks under the new Foreign Service Act. These factors increased the share to 20.6 and 20.8 percent in 1982 and 1983 respectively, but the impact of denying limited career extensions brought the figure down to 19 percent in 1984. Some observers believe that, even though the percentage has been reduced, the number of unassigned senior officers "walking the halls" is evidence of a surplus. A comparison of senior officers and senior positions, however, indicates that there is no such surplus, even allowing for a large number of political appointees. That there is currently an effort underway to undercut this argument by further downgrading senior positions does nothing to reduce its present validity.

Job classification is an arcane art, one unfamiliar to most FSOs, especially substantive officers. Moreover, the principles involved in classification place more emphasis on objective criteria, such as the number of people supervised and the share of the budget managed, than on intangible factors such as the importance of a function to the foreign policy objectives of an embassy or departmental office. To compound the disadvantage to substantive officers, many analytical sections overseas were sharply reduced in size by the BALPA and OPRED exercises of the '60s and '70s, which sought to reduce the size and dollar cost of our embassies. Consequently, in many embassies the administrative counselor's position is ranked higher than those of the political and economic counselors.

In sum, there is no bulge at the top of the Service unless one wants to argue that the Service has been top heavy for the past twenty years. The exaggerated concern about the bulge is forcing a further "Civil Servication" of the Foreign Service; a transformation that is making our personnel system much more rigid without providing any operational advantages. Finally, concern about the bulge can only be justified if one accepts that the Foreign Service rank structure should be similar to those of domestic agencies or the military, despite the differences in our personnel systems and missions. □

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LARGER THAN LIFE

*Peripatetic Ambassador-at-Large Vernon Walters
—The Country's Premier Portable Diplomat—
Brings New Meaning to an Old Title*

GEORGE GEDDA

AMBASSADORS-AT-LARGE have been around for some time, but Vernon Walters has added a new dimension to that title, traveling an average of 10,000 miles a week as the Reagan administration's chief diplomatic troubleshooter. He spends three out of four days on the road, shuttling from close allies to unrelenting adversaries. His messages are often secret and his visits unannounced. Walters likes it that way. In an age when many public figures cannot resist the lure of the camera, Walters believes his impact is directly proportional to his invisibility.

At a time when political ambassadors sometimes bring minimal skills to their diplomatic duties, Walters is the model of what a non-career appointee can be. He has extensive experience in intelligence, speaks eight languages, has been in four wars, and knows personally more than a hundred heads of government. While in the Army he rose to the rank of three-star general. In a way, he is diplomacy's answer to E.F. Hutton: when he walks into the office of a president or prime minister, people listen.

After all, he has been associated with many of the most influential leaders of the past several generations. DeGaulle, Eisenhower, Truman, Churchill, McArthur, Harriman, Kissinger, Nixon, Castro. He has translated for four presidents. He had a role in World War II, Korea, Vietnam, even the Greek civil war. He played a key part in the secret diplomacy that ended American involvement in the Vietnam war, as well as the negotiations that led to the opening to China. He was the number-two man at the CIA under presidents Nixon and Ford.

Walters has served administrations of both parties, but his conservative views seem more in harmony with Republican presidents. He sat out the Carter years at his home in Palm Beach, Florida, until he was recalled to duty by President Reagan early in 1981. He has frequently been in the focus of power for four decades, but his current assignment seems as challenging as any.

In a rare interview in his sixth-floor office in the State Department, Walters gestured toward a thicket of flags on display in a corner. With an all-in-a-day's-work tone, he noted that there was one flag for each country he has visited since his appointment—95 in all. During the first seven months of this year, he

logged more than 300,000 miles in the air. In one busy period, he ping-ponged from Washington to South America to Africa to Europe to Los Angeles back to Europe and eventually returned to Washington, all in eight days.

He is often the bearer of bad news. "Sometimes I carry a message of reproof, or I carry a message of request, or I carry a message of encouragement," he says. "But more often I tell them [foreign leaders] that they've lost X percent of their aid or that we don't like what they are doing in one way or another." On one unpleasant assignment in early 1983, a period of many budget cutbacks, he visited country after country with the message that they had lost a large portion of their aid. "When I got through with that circuit," he recalls, "I got a call to go back to country B and tell them they had lost even more." When the United States decided to support Britain in the Falklands conflict in 1982, it was Walters who explained the reasons to the Argentine authorities. Given all the territorial disputes in South America, he told the Argentines, "we would have something pretty close to anarchy" if the United States were to be perceived as sanctioning the use of military force to solve them. The Argentines were unimpressed.

Obviously, there is not much glamour in his job. As Walters describes it, aside from the tedium of being airborne much of the time and adjusting his 67-year-old body to constantly changing time zones, many of his missions offer little hope for success. "I am not sent on meetings if success is likely. All the local authorities take care of the easy problems. One of my chief tasks is administering extreme unction, just before the patient dies." That may be somewhat of an exaggeration, but missions impossible do seem to be part of the routine. As an example, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig sent him to Cuba in March 1982 to see if there was any hope for an accommodation with Fidel Castro. There wasn't.

Secretaries of state fly a lot too, but not nearly as much as Walters. And secretaries get royal treatment—private chambers, on-board beds, meals made to order. Secretaries get to sign agreements on the nightly news. Walters gets to deliver "extreme unction" in private. So what reward is there in being the United States', perhaps the world's, premier portable diplomat when hardly anybody notices? The answer is that Walters remains, as he always has been, a selfless patriot for whom service to his nation is an emotional imperative. Not for him an idle life in Palm Beach.

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He may not say so today, but Walters believes that the skills and contacts he has acquired over the years enable him to make the kind of contribution no one else can, particularly in those countries run by military strongmen. "The hard facts are that no one can talk to a soldier like another soldier," he wrote three years before taking on his current assignment. "We must recognize this fact and use it where it can be of service to our nation."

ONE OF WALTERS'S ADMIRERS in the Africa bureau puts it another way. "He is stunning for establishing a chemistry for relating to another person, another leader, people as varied as the very sophisticated leadership of Senegal, on the one hand, or the armed thugs who run a place like Ethiopia. If he didn't exist, you'd have to invent him. He has an aura of presence. When people talk to him, they know they are dealing with a major figure." His ability to relate to people, rather than his military past, is his most valuable asset, says this admirer. "That's what diplomacy is all about."

For all his travels and his languages, Walters has remained an uncomplicated man. Other Americans who have traveled widely eventually lose some of their attachment to their homeland. But for Walters, who has spent most of his life abroad, including his school years, the experience seems to have reinforced his belief in the goodness of America and its people and its system. He has little patience for those who denigrate the country. His America offers a welcome and striking contrast to the two-thirds of the world where despotism and wrenching poverty are the rule. He has seen how bad things can get for humankind.

Walters's view of the world has also been shaped to an extraordinary degree by the key roles he has played in the United States' struggle to contain the Soviets, in cold war and in hot. To many Americans, communism is an abstraction, but not to him. He has seen the bloodier aspects of the struggle during his service in wartime Korea and Vietnam and the more subtle manifestations of it in his assignments as deputy CIA director and as military attache in France and Brazil. From these adventures has been distilled a mentality that is transparent and unambiguous on the question of which side wears the white hat. In Walters's pantheon of villains, none is more contemptible than the "pious dupes of the left" who slander America. "These are manna from heaven," he has written, "for those who wish to replace our way of life with a harsh tyranny masquerading as a progressive ideal. There is no corresponding denigration of the values of Marxism within the communist world. Only one side suffers: ours."

For Walters, the seductive appeal of public service had its origins during World War II. Ever after, it has been a perfect match. He seems to need national service for fulfillment and, fortuitously, the nation has needed him. His devotion to duty has been undiluted by the usual distractions. He has never married, for instance. He does not smoke and almost never drinks. He is a devout Catholic (one of his few publicly announced foreign visits was a meeting several months ago with Pope John Paul II in the Vatican). A

Cuban diplomat who has read Walters's memoirs, *Secret Missions*, two separate times, avers that Walters is married to his homeland. He has the attributes of the legendary straight-arrow, a possessor of the true diplomatic right stuff.

He does, however, have two acknowledged weaknesses: candy and milk. After landing in Miami one day in 1945 following a three-year absence from the United States, he immediately headed for a local eatery and guzzled down two quarts of milk. The most memorable aspect of that day for Walters was not his bout with the milk bottle, however. It was the emotions that were generated by his return to American soil. It was a day he would long remember and, just to be sure, he took notes while still airborne.

"In a short while, we will be in Miami and in the United States....I can hardly believe that I am going home....Now, suddenly, the Florida coast lies ahead like a dark shadow in the water. I can feel my heart beat faster as I see it. The sight of Miami moves me as I have not been moved in a long time. It is the dear land that for so long seemed so far....Now the wheels have touched...the door opens and the warm smell of the American summer fills the plane....Oh, how good it feels. I lie back in the seat and breathe it in."

Recalling those pithy sentiments three decades later, Walters wrote, "They are the thoughts of my youth." There were other Americans, of course, who shared the same reverential feelings as Walters during those days. But his exuberance seemed to have gone beyond the norm, perhaps reflecting just how well he himself had fared during those traumatic years. Not only had the country won the war against brutal aggressors, Walters himself had proved his worth. He was, after all, a high school dropout who joined the Army in 1941 as a private and spent Christmas day that year scrubbing pots and pans. Within a year, he was a second lieutenant, within three, a major. By age 33, less than a decade later, he was a lieutenant colonel.

His service during World War II, although filled with deprivation and hardship, was a satisfying experience, a nourishment for his ego. His only regret was that he was not there from the beginning. As he was about to disembark in French West Africa, then under the control of Vichy France, in October 1942 after a clandestine troop ship crossing of the Atlantic, Walters wrote: "Now I know that I am glad to go despite bombs, torpedoes, or anything else. I have felt ashamed not to have gone before....The only way I can account for my lack of fear is that that year and a half in the Army has made me a soldier. God, I am proud of it." Walters was to remain in the Army for 34 years. The most painful period clearly was the late 1960s to mid-1970s, the era of war protestors and flag burners. Some Americans even seemed to welcome a U.S. defeat in Vietnam. Particularly upsetting were the investigations into CIA activities by the Senate and House intelligence committees. As CIA deputy director at the time, Walters was distressed at the "circus-like atmosphere" of the investigations and by the way "certain politicians" sought to use them to advance their "political ambitions." The chairmen of the committees, Senator Frank Church and Representative Otis Pike, were in Walters's view left-wing



At home in the Oval Office, Vernon Walters confers with President Reagan and Secretary Shultz before one of his visits to more than 95 countries since 1981.

counterparts to Senator Joseph McCarthy. With the domestic left in retreat and disarray and a leader whom he admires as president, Walters feels better about his country these days. It is no accident that one of Reagan's earliest acts was to call him out of retirement.

WALTERS'S REPUTATION as a hardliner is both an asset and a liability. It enhances his credibility with rightist dictators, but some critics wonder whether his anti-communism obscures his ability to see their shortcomings in other areas, particularly human rights. For his part, Walters says he has "twisted more arms on the right than on the left" concerning rights questions. During his first year as ambassador-at-large, for instance, Walters made three trips to Guatemala and complained to then President Romeo Lucas Garcia, a stalwart rightist, about rampant political repression. "I would say I was not very effective," he admits, but he adds that one reason may have been that the United States had not had a military-aid relationship with Guatemala since 1977 and therefore had no leverage.

His 1982 mission to Cuba also produced skimpy results. The visit was part of an attempt by Haig to mollify Mexico, which, over the preceding month, had been pushing the administration to ease tensions with the Havana regime. In a show of American willingness to open a dialogue, Haig secretly dispatched Walters. It was a period when the strains between Washington and Havana were unusually severe. The United States had been accusing Cuba of fomenting revolution in Central America, and Cuba was worried about the possibility of U.S. military action against the island. Some thought Walters was a curious choice for such a mission: he had spent four years at the CIA, the same agency Castro had said was responsible for 25 assassination attempts on his life, albeit before Walters joined it. As it turned out, there was surprisingly little acrimony during the meeting. "It was very cordial. There was no sense of hostility," Walters says. There were even some light moments. He quotes Castro as saying, "We have one thing in common. We are both students of Jesuits," Walters, among whose eight languages is Spanish, was quick to reply. "*Si, pero yo me quede fidel.*" Yes, but I remained faithful. Walters recalls that Castro smiled at the unstated observation that Walters was more *fidel* than Fidel himself.

When the six-hour conversation turned to the business at hand, Walters says, Castro held firm to his convictions. "He made it plain that he was an intellectually convinced communist, that he had been one since he was 17 years of age." Did the meeting produce any progress in relations? Says Walters: "Not at all."

Wayne Smith, who headed the American diplomatic mission in Havana at the time and has since become a critic of U.S. policy to Cuba, calls the Walters mission a "cynical ploy" by the administration. Walters's instructions called for him to demand concessions that the administration knew would be rejected, Smith says. It would have been more realis-

tic if Walters had instead tried to determine whether there was a basis for future discussions. Smith thinks the administration's purpose was not to open a dialogue but to placate critics in Mexico and Western Europe who claimed that the United States was responsible for tensions in the Caribbean by refusing to talk with the Havana regime. Though he has no quarrel with the concept of using special envoys on sensitive missions, says Smith, it would have been more appropriate to have chosen someone without CIA links and with more understated anti-communist views.

Most foreign leaders do seem to take to Walters, and for a variety of reasons. Unlike some diplomats, he has a reputation for straight talk and not engaging in intellectual gamesmanship. He has a smiling countenance that rises benignly above his jugged jaw, a tell-it-like-it-is face. The following adjectives have been used to describe Walters: infallible, precise, imaginative, discreet, indefatigable, masterful, and flamboyant. The giver of such high praise? None other than Henry Kissinger, one of the most demanding taskmasters ever to hold high office.

Like Kissinger, Nixon was an ardent admirer of Walters and tried to make use of his ability to keep secrets and to reconstruct lengthy conversations from memory. In 1970, for instance, he invited Walters to attend all of the president's meetings and become, in a sense, the historian of the administration. Walters rejected the offer. Today, he believes that it was not long afterward that the president installed a tape recorder in the Oval Office to ensure a historical record. Though credited with an exceptional memory, Walters does have some trouble with dates. During the interview he referred to the "four-year" presidency of Gerald Ford and a 1961 visit to the United States by Castro that never happened. In his memoirs, he erroneously refers to a foreign trip by President Kennedy in 1960, before he was elected, and calls Nixon's 1974 trip to Paris the last of his presidency, though Nixon visited the Mideast two months later. Perhaps among the welter of events over four decades, such lapses can be forgiven.

Another of Walters's assets is his skill at languages, developed during his schooling in Europe, mostly in France. In addition to Spanish and of course English, he speaks French, Portuguese, German, Italian, Dutch, and Russian. Once, when Nixon delivered a 10-minute toast to the West German chancellor and the interpreter became incapacitated, Walters came to the rescue with an impromptu translation that the Germans said was flawless. "I've had several unfair advantages," Walters says. "I was an interpreter for very senior people, the greats of the world: DeGaulle, Eisenhower, de Gaspari, Churchill, and people like that. So, very young, I got a chance to see how they dealt with one another, how they handled crises, how they handled confrontations, and sometimes how they made mistakes, which were a lesson to me. As you grow older, you know so many people from previous incarnations. Sometimes in dealing with those people I wouldn't be in on the ultimate lunch, I'd be in with the aides. But today those aides are running their countries. And I have personal access to them."

Walters knew that when Reagan asked him to be-

come his ambassador-at-large some at State might view him as an empire builder, intent on encroaching on others' territory. He has dealt with that problem by keeping a staff too small to permit him to have an independent policymaking role. He is at pains not to upstage the local ambassador during his travels. He makes it clear that he is a mere "bird of passage" who is there simply to underscore the message that the ambassador himself has been delivering to the host government. His strategy seems to have worked. He has won over the department's bureaucracy. Though suggestions for foreign travel at first came only from Haig's office, today they are sometimes initiated by the regional bureaus. So accepted is he that the transition to Secretary Shultz had no appreciable impact on his role.

ONE ISSUE HE AVOIDS is the Mideast. "I don't see any solution to the Mideast and I don't like frustration," he says. "We've got some very capable people handling" that region. Not that the department hasn't tried to get him involved. In response to one of several efforts to bring his energies to bear on that trouble spot, he says, he cabled Washington: "Do you really think all the resources of the department should be applied to the same area at the same time?" Today he says with triumph: "That got me out."

Elsewhere, Walters sometimes plays the fireman. Last spring, for instance, the U.S. embassy in El Salvador received word of a rightist plot on the life of Ambassador Thomas Pickering. State believed that rightist leader Roberto d'Aubuisson was in a position to call off the purported plot, and it quickly dispatched Walters to San Salvador. It is not clear whether his intervention proved decisive, but there has been no known attempt on the ambassador's life. Interestingly, Walters now avoids Central America as well—though he was a frequent visitor in the early days of the administration—because a special regional envoy has been assigned there.

One area where he is still quite active is northern Africa. He has made frequent visits to the Sudan, a key ally plagued by factional strife and by threats from Libya. Another common stop is Morocco, which the United States for years has held up as a model of Arab moderation. When Rabat announced a treaty federation with Libya, Walters flew in to ask King Hassan II what was going on. He was in a good position to find out: he has known the monarch since he was a 13-year-old crown prince. Walters's ties with Morocco began when he landed there as a young soldier in 1942 and have continued almost without interruption ever since. After his CIA service, he became a consultant for a company interested in selling arms to Morocco, Environmental Energy Systems, which has also relied on his contacts for sales proposals to Spain, South Korea, and Brazil. He gave up this highly lucrative work when he accepted Reagan's call to service in 1981, pulling in \$300,000 in termination fees alone.

Most of Walters's trips are unannounced. He is, however, known to have visited a number of sub-Saharan countries besides Sudan, such as Ethiopia,

Zambia, Malawi, Madagascar, Tanzania, Angola, Nigeria, Zaire, and Senegal. Eyebrows would be raised if some of his other destinations were disclosed, he says. According to one estimate, only one trip in four is known outside the department. Keeping a low profile is not new to him. Some of his most sensitive assignments occurred during his service as defense attache in Paris in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Among other duties, he arranged secret negotiating sessions there between Kissinger and North Vietnamese diplomats. As Kissinger recalls in his memoirs, "If there was anything he [Walters] enjoyed more than imitating the men for whom he was interpreting, it was arranging clandestine meetings."

One of Walters's main duties was to smuggle the secretary in and out of France. Once, when Kissinger's plane was unable to land in France and was forced to fly on to a West German airport, Walters was asked to devise a way to ensure that Kissinger left the airport undetected. Walters showed both clout and resourcefulness by persuading French President Georges Pompidou to lend him his presidential plane, along with the entire crew. Once safely—and anonymously—on the ground in Paris, a grateful secretary told the attache, "Nobody does for me the things that you do."

Walters also was the principal liaison at the U.S. embassy for contacts with Chinese diplomats in Paris in the early 1970s. Over a two-year period in which Washington and Peking pursued the possibility of a diplomatic opening after two decades of hostility, Walters met secretly with Chinese envoys on 46 occasions. Although the glare of publicity is uncharacteristic to him, he manages to be praised even in the harsh light of critical review. The one time he was in the public eye occurred during the Senate Watergate hearings when he was questioned about the alleged CIA role in that episode. As he describes it, he resisted appeals from White House Counsel John Dean to involve the agency in the coverup and to use CIA funds to bail out the burglars. He later received the Distinguished Intelligence Medal for not succumbing to Oval Office pressures. He has been awarded that medal three times since.

There have been many turning points in Walters's life. He was exposed to the potential impotence of the world's greatest power when he visited Venezuela with Nixon in May 1958. It was he who sat with the vice president in the back seat during that confrontation with the hostile, stone-throwing mob. "There was a feeling of extraordinary helplessness," he recalls. "At least during the war, I was armed and could do something. To just sit unarmed in his [Nixon's] car and have people smashing all the windows to get at you was very disagreeable." An even more important turning point occurred earlier, when he joined the Army. As he was about to set out for the battle front in 1942, he felt "a sort of quiet comprehension that I had found the path I was seeking. I knew now what I wanted to do with my life. Why and how I came to this realization under these difficult circumstances I cannot explain. I only know that on the eve of setting forth on a dangerous and long journey to an uncertain fate at an unknown place, I realized I had found my place in life." □



At home on the road, Walters meets with Algerian President Bendjedid in Algiers shortly after the Reagan administration took office.

A Christmas

*Like Another Family
Long Ago, We Were
Looking for Refuge*

BETTE J. CRUIT

CHRISTMASES ACCUMULATE in our memories like golden charms on a bracelet. Some, however, stand out more vividly, their recollection cherished, because of something special. Such was one Christmas, when I was living with my husband, Mike, a Foreign Service officer, and our daughter Cindy in Islamabad, Pakistan.

In 1971, differences between that country and its imposing neighbor, India, erupted into the second Indo-Pakistani war within eight years. The battles began far to the south and for a while we felt no danger. It was not easy to take such a war seriously. Each side proclaimed victory after every battle. Each shot down more enemy planes than could be counted in their combined air forces. The exaggerations of both created a kind of war-games atmosphere among the foreign community in Islamabad. If neither side could manage to admit the loss of a single soldier or aircraft, well, why interrupt the Christmas cocktail circuit and festive diplomatic dinners? Any family that felt uncomfortable was permitted to leave for a safe haven and some did go, but the rest of us considered them opportunists and felt brave and condescendingly courageous as we waved farewell.

One morning, a week before Christmas, I awoke with the words of our dinner companion of the night before still ringing in my ears: "The war can't continue much longer. It's a matter of

days—maybe hours—and they'll come to their senses." Glancing at the clock, I slipped on my robe and hurried to Cindy's room to wake her for school, but her ruffled bed was empty. I went downstairs expecting to see her at breakfast. But there was no Cindy, no sign of breakfast, and no Khalil, who was always on duty in the kitchen long before that hour. I hurried out to the garden and began to call their names—louder and louder—hearing the fear in my voice, yet not at all sure why it was there. Mike had gone to his office early and I considered calling him—perhaps Cindy had gone with him for some reason. But then I heard simultaneously an awesome roar and my daughter's voice calling, "Mom—Mom—we're up on the roof. They're dropping bombs on Rawalpindi. What a show!" It was indeed a show, and since Rawalpindi was a mere 12 miles away, we were not surprised when that afternoon we got the order to evacuate immediately.

It was bad enough to be uprooted—to leave home, school, jobs, friends, and Khalil, still very young and naive and in many ways more a family member than a servant—but to have to leave so close to Christmas was still worse. Mike would not venture even a good guess as to when or if we would return, and if there would be anything to return to. "If they have to have a war, couldn't they have waited until after Christmas? It's only three days away," moaned Cindy, who had a very special date for the junior high holiday dance. "After all, we *are* guests in their country." But the war didn't wait for Christmas and neither did we.

Teheran was a popular safe haven at the time, but Mike chose to drive overland to Afghanistan, which had been our previous post. Early the next morning, we packed our Volkswagen with warm clothing and blankets, snacks, Cindy's Carol King albums, and our two Siamese cats. Khalil stubbornly insisted on remaining in the house to guard our possessions—with his life. We said goodbye with tears rolling down our faces and headed for the Khyber Pass and the border. There was no time to lose, for the area is treacherous enough in the day-

time, but one dares not venture there after dark.

Even if you had never read Rudyard Kipling's or John Masters's stories of the Khyber Pass, you would still approach this region with both respect and trepidation. When a village boy is old enough to walk he is also old enough to carry a rifle. The inhabitants' remembrances of the British Raj guarantee that, although foreigners may travel through, they dare not leave the road. "This land is ours!" the people seem to say with watchful eyes and sweeping gestures. "Take heed, infidels."

IT HAD ALWAYS BEEN an interesting drive, and we tried to treat this trip as we had those in the past, when Cindy and her older sister, now in college, competed to be first to spot the cliffside plaques honoring the fallen British soldiers and their regiments; the hillside fort still bearing the proud name in large white letters, KHYBER RIFLES; and the tiny train off in the distance seeming to straddle precariously the jagged cliffs and deep ravines while puffing clouds of smoke. "The Brookes had a hairy ride last time they drove through here," Cindy said. "When Megan's father got out of the car to take a picture of the train trestle, people came out of the hills and threw stones. Some even pointed rifles at him."

"In fairness," Mike said, "there's a sign prohibiting picture taking at the entrance to the pass. He took his chances all right."

Despite the obvious hostility in the region, Cindy seemed relaxed, remembering many pleasant journeys of the past, as we crept slowly upward through the mountains. Often we had to move dangerously close to the edge of the cliffs when a large truck bulging with animals and humans—inside, topside, and outside—would come barreling toward us at a reckless, brakeless, speed. "Allah takes care of the faithful," Mike would say, laughing. "At least, most of the time."

When we reached more level ground we were able to pass the thermos and the cheese and crackers.

Bette J. Cruik is the author of a history and geography of Afghanistan that was published by the Education Press, Kabul, in 1968. All readers may submit articles on diplomatic history or first-person stories relating to Foreign Service experiences to THE JOURNAL section.

Journey



Margit French

"Where will we go when we get to Kabul?" asked Cindy.

"The embassy wired our friends, the Brants, that we were coming," Mike answered. "If they have room we'll stay there. The hotels are already bulging at the seams."

"We're like the Holy Family in a way," Cindy said. "No room for us at the inns. But, gee, the Brants are Jewish and probably don't celebrate Christmas. It won't be the same this year at all."

"No, it won't be the same, Cindy," I said, "but the spirit of Christmas is peace, remember, and people of all religions—Jews, Hindus, Moslems, Christians—are praying for peace right now. That makes this a more meaningful Christmas season for all of us."

Mike was silently driving. He had only one prayer at the moment: to get through the Khyber Pass and across the border before dark. If only it were daylight savings time, I thought, as the sun disappeared behind cliffs and then sent long golden rays out, giving us hope that light would win out. What would happen if we were still in the pass after sundown, I wondered, feeling the ten-

sion building in Mike, who was leaning forward, his eyes on the road, his mouth closed tightly—perhaps to keep his apprehensions silent. If we didn't reach the border in time, would these people rejoice and consider us ripe for robbery, or rape, or maybe murder? I could not believe that such things would really happen. They were people, not animals. Yet I remembered the words of a Kipling poem about the dead British soldiers, their scattered bodies not yet cold, when the tribal women came and stripped them of all that covered their blood-stained limbs and then left them to the vultures.

The sounds of two different and distinct meows broke the silence and jolted me back to reality. Our cats, Tikka and Safi, had been sleeping so soundly—tranquilized for the journey—that we almost forgot they were with us. Now we would be busy, searching for the box of dry cat food, their dishes, litter pan, and the water jug. Tending to their needs helped us put our fears aside for the moment.

"I wonder if the Brant's cats will make friends with ours," Cindy said. "Hope

they won't be disappointed that ours are fixed—poor things." Cindy attached leads to their harnesses so she could keep them from jumping on Mike's shoulder or manning the steering wheel, as they had attempted on other outings.

I SMELL GASOLINE," I said, after allowing several minutes to pass just to be sure. "Maybe the extra can we brought is leaking. It's on the floor in back. Check it please, Cindy."

The can was not leaking. "It must be a leak in the tank, perhaps a slow one, since the gauge shows we're on reserve, but not empty," Mike said. "I'll pull over and check it as soon as we're on firmer ground." We continued on for more than a mile before finding a safe place to stop. Mike got out and looked underneath the car. "Yeah, it's a leak alright. We'll get it patched in Kabul, but we better fill it up with our spare can now, while it's still light, and hope the leak stays slow," he added. We started out again, the smell of the leaking gasoline making us even more aware of the fading daylight. Since we had no map,

we could only guess how far it was to the border.

"We're getting close," Cindy said. "I remember that spot over there. On our last trip, there was a whole bunch of goats standing on their hind legs and munching leaves at the top of those trees. They looked like bearded old men with no teeth, remember?"

"Oh yes," I said, not at all sure that I did, but hoping she was right about being close to the border. My God, it's dusk, I thought. We'll never make it. Did we remember the big flashlight? We've finished the snacks, what will we do for food? At least the cats are fed—wonder what their food tastes like? How would we protect ourselves if we had to? We don't have a gun or any sort of weapon. And Cindy, so young and pretty. Dear God, dear God, I prayed, my heart beating faster.

"There it is!" Mike said. "It's got to be the border, see the lights ahead? See them?" He smiled for the first time in several hours.

"Hurray!" yelled Cindy. "You made it, Dad, you made it."

We were treated like soldiers returning victoriously from the front. The Afghan officials processed our passports

promptly, offering us numerous cups of tea as we waited, which we eagerly accepted. U.S. Marines were on hand, sent down from the embassy in Kabul, to escort us to a special refugee tent equipped with cots and blankets, hot coffee, soup and sandwiches, and best of all, news—news of the war and its progress and of friends and colleagues who had preceded us through the pass.

The next day's drive was no less dangerous—with even more hairpin turns and narrow passages through a gorge that would cause even a seasoned mountain climber to draw in his breath and weigh his or her motivations. But, unlike the Khyber Pass, it was friendly—too much so. We found that if we stopped to picnic, or even to make a brief pit stop, our car would be surrounded by faces—children's mainly—smiling and chattering, wanting to touch us, to taste our food, to have us fill their little hands with *baksheesh*, their word for money and small gifts. We would oblige and often took their pictures with our Polaroid.

Mike had gotten the car's gas line repaired early that morning before we left the frontier. The weather was crisp and cold with a clear blue sky. The cats were

again in a deep, tranquil sleep. It was our day, and we felt it and made good time. Just six hours later, we reported to the U.S. embassy in Kabul. Finding our names on the list of evacuees, they confirmed our request for accommodations. We were to go immediately to the home of the Brant family. And there was a message from the Brants: "Be sure and bring your cats, we've had ours fixed." We burst out laughing. What good friends they were!

We were greeted by all five Brants and their felines. Upon entering their home, we found, standing in a corner of the living room, decked out in bright red holly berries and tiny golden lights, a magnificent 10-foot-high Christmas tree. A creche was arranged at its base, and Christmas music filled the room.

Close by, on a windowsill, stood a menorah, symbol of the Jewish festival of Hanukkah. It seemed to reach out and join the spirit of Christmas, and the prayers of Hindus and Moslems too, calling for love, peace, and an end to war in every part of the world. We looked at our friends, and at one another, through tears of joy and gratitude. "Imagine," said Cindy, "thinking we could possibly be cheated out of Christmas." □

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PEOPLE

1984 Merit Award Prize Essay

As one of the many requirements in the competition to receive AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Scholarships—the 1984 winners of which were announced in the September JOURNAL—candidates are required to write a personal essay. Along with the rest of their applications, the essays are reviewed by volunteer panels composed of representatives of all the foreign affairs agencies. In a process patterned on the Foreign Service selection boards', Merit Award winners are chosen and the panel chairmen recommend a group of essays for dissemination. We take pride in presenting one of the best below.

QUESTIONS: Reykjavik? What's that? Are you an Eskimo?

ANSWERS: Iceland's capital. Where I was born. No, Iceland has no Eskimos.

What questions a Foreign Service child has to answer! But then, there are so many others, perhaps just as sensitive, that the same child has to ask when going abroad: Why must I leave home? How will I make friends? How will I talk to anyone?

These questions probably ran through my mind at age eight when we left the United States for a five-year stay in Italy, but I just can't remember. The questions no longer exist. The answers are gloriously incorporated in my being. Living in Rome ceased to be just an experience, for it is now part of me. Italy is rather like a second home, for I grew physically, matured emotionally, and was nourished mentally from age 8–13, a very formative and impressionable period.

June 1975. My TWA flight touched down at Leonardo Da Vinci International Airport, Rome. With no language training, no American friends to play with, no siblings to fight with or be entertained by, I was almost totally and immediately immersed in the Italian culture. With great alacrity, I learned the language that summer. Being exposed to an entirely new culture, climate, people, language, food, and art all at once was challenging, exciting, and a bit frightening. However, the fear did not last long. Inhibition is not an Italian trait, and I became Italian instantly.

September brought new faces and friends. Schooling in the Foreign Service is an important ingredient for a child's feeling of success and self-worth. Classmates at Marymount International School hailed from Argentina, Syria, Japan, Haiti, Korea, England, Iran, Ireland, and Spain, as well as Italy. This cosmopolitan group (I didn't realize it at age eight!) certainly made an indelible imprint on my life. I think that being exposed to so many different people and their cultures while at school and at home taught me a tolerance and open-mindedness that has broadened my outlook on life. At home my father's diplomatic colleagues and their children introduced me to their countries and customs. But engulfing all of us was this country, this Italy, that eventually won half my heart.



MARY A. "ALEXIS" SARROS, author of the 1984 Merit Award Prize essay presented on this page, is the daughter of P. Peter and Mary P. Sarros, State. Alexis has lived in Italy and Iceland. She is the winner of a National Merit Scholarship and entered Princeton University this fall.

One of the advantages of being a Foreign Service child is having the opportunity to live abroad. Yet, within this all-encompassing experience are many smaller events that are integral parts of the whole. The impact of each of these is great, for in the end, they determine the significance of the entire experience. As in a puzzle, if a piece is missing, the picture is not complete. So it was with my days in Italy. Even if one of these small events had not occurred, my sojourn would have been much different. Here are a few of the individual experiences, which formed the larger image of my entire stay in Rome:

The Via Appia along which one sees remains of Roman aqueducts, inspired my sixth grade science project on the art of

aqueduct building. Visits to southern Italy included stopping at Pompeii. Walking through these age-old ruins gave me a thrilling sensation I shall never forget.

Piazzas! Piazzas, equivalent to our squares, are omnipresent in Italy. Having first probably been an architectural invention, piazzas are really the focal point of the life of an Italian village, town, or even quarter. As a result of the tremendous amount of traveling my family did while living in Italy, I was exposed to a milieu of architectural forms from many historical periods. This has given me a unique appreciation of architecture and how it reflects the thoughts and ideas of its respective times. I have been able to carry this knowledge with me wherever I go.

There was Piazza San Pietro, where I can remember attending many papal ceremonies, since I accompanied my father, who was the American chargé to the Vatican. Because of my father's job, and again, our various travels, I gained knowledge of the history of Christianity—the historic Great Schism of Avignon, Martin Luther's 95 theses, and much about the Catholic Church, even though I am not a Catholic. When I came back to the United States, I realized how much more opportunity of learning and of exposure at an early age I had had than many of my peers.

From the piazza in front of our building the fragrance of freshly baked bread rose to our apartment to Piazza Navona, where I went every Christmas to see the festive stalls built around the famous Bernini fountain; sights and smells abound. Saturday mornings brought the open air markets, such as the one in Piazza dei Fiori, where fresh fruit and vegetables, as well as flowers, could be bought and sold. The glamorous Via Veneto, feeding into Piazza Barberini, was the center of Rome's nightlife with its sights and throngs of people. Piazza del Popolo was just that, the terminal for many bus lines, with people scattering everywhere. Often on the bus I passed Piazza Venezia, where Palazzo Venezia (the Venetian Palace, formerly the Embassy of Venice to the Papal States) is located, with its famous balcony used by Mussolini to preach Fascism to the Italians.

In addition to gaining familiarity with the historic areas within Rome, my family traveled extensively throughout Italy and Western Europe. While traveling, I learned an extraordinary amount of the history of the different provinces, cities, and villages. I came to have an excellent knowledge of the history of Italy and not a small amount of knowledge about the history of the European countries we had visited. Historical figures both real and legendary were brought to life as I walked,

talked, thought, and listened where these people had lived and dreamed. History became extremely personal and exciting to me.

As one can see, my cultural experience in Italy was a feast of the senses. The light, the sounds, and the colors of people and places are firmly imprinted in my memory. Whenever my mind conjures up images of Italy, these swift but long-lasting vignettes reappear and continue to shape my outlook. Italy, the peninsula, Italy, the home of the mighty, ancient Romans—Italy will never be just a country named in the geography and history textbooks to me.

The astounding opportunities I had during my five years in Italy have shaped me so much and in so many diverse ways that it is difficult to fully articulate them. However, I have made an attempt to explain a little of this phenomenal influence in this essay. Foreign Service children sometimes face an identity crisis. I think that I have probably undergone a few of these crises—in terms of my place in the cosmos and how I fit in the eternal scheme of things, my relations with others, my role in the future world—at certain points in my life and come through with a sense of purpose.

Roma aeterna (eternal Rome) is also *Roma mater* (maternal Rome) for me. It nourished me. It encouraged my curiosity. It smiled at my impatience. It dismissed my grammatical errors. Even though at times—after I had mastered Italian, and in Pisa or Padua they would assume by my accent that I was *Romana*—I felt Italian, I never forgot that *first* I was an American.

AFSA Scholarship Applications Available

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

The following letter was published in this section last December. Because it gives sound advice to students and parents regarding the Merit Awards, we are publishing it again to assist applicants in 1985.

DEAR PARENTS:

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

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

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

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When? IMMEDIATELY. All applications must be completed and materials returned before February 15, 1985.

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

The first five categories will already have been established at the time of application. The final determinant—the essay—has not. A good essay is in itself a delight. The best capture and communicate with special freshness an experience or view of life unique to the writer. It is a crucial element in the scoring and can make the difference between a winner and just another applicant. We arrange for publication of the best of these essays (perhaps you have already enjoyed some of the selections) regardless of the final standing of the applicants. In recent years, however, we have noted a rather casual approach taken toward the essay that frequently affects final placement of candidates. Many submissions are characterized by poor organization, elementary errors in spelling and punctuation, and hackneyed phraseology or comment. This is *not* to suggest

heavy-handed "parental guidance." (Adult authorship is fairly easy to identify.) Discussion with your student beforehand, however, could be rewarding to both of you in recalling shared Foreign Service experiences or gaining a fresh perspective of your child's reaction to changing school experiences. Urge your student to review carefully his or her submission for spelling and grammar to present its best face to a judging panel. We hope the experience will be as interesting for your family in its creation as it will be for us to review.

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

Good luck to all your students.

DAVID T. JONES
State Member

AFSA Committee on Education

Appointment

THOMAS D. BOYATT, former ambassador to Colombia and former president of AFSA, was elected in June to a four year-term as an alumni trustee of Princeton University. The term commenced in October.

Deaths

PAUL M. BERGMAN, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer September 14 at his home in Washington. He was 62.

Mr. Bergman was graduated from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. He served with Army intelligence during World War II and then with occupation forces in West Germany.

After joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Bergman served as political and labor officer in Paris, Kinshasa, Addis Ababa, Vienna, and Ottawa. He was an adviser to the U.S. General Assembly delegation at the United Nations in the 1960s. He also studied at the National War College, served as a labor adviser in the bureau of Near East and South Asian Affairs, and directed labor affairs in AID. He was a 1981 recipient of State's meritorious honor award.

After his retirement, he acted as a consultant to the Middle East Institute and AFSA, taught German at area language schools, and was an executive producer for his wife, Arlene Stern, who is an actress.

In addition to his wife, survivors include two sons, Mark S., of New York City, and Philip G., of Washington; a daughter, Anne, of Washington; and a brother, Walter, of Florida.

LEONARD J. CROMIE, a former Foreign Service officer, died in May at Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico.

Mr. Cromie was graduated from Yale University and undertook two years of graduate work in Paris and one year at the National War College in Washington. In addition to the Foreign Service, he held positions with the League of Nations, the International Chamber of Commerce, and in the travel industry. He lived in many areas of the world, including Europe, Canada, Africa, and the Mideast.

RUTH R. GRABIEL, a retired Foreign Service officer, died June 9 at a nursing home in San Antonio, Texas.

Ms. Grabiell attended the Ohio State University and was graduated from the University of Arkansas. Upon graduation she worked as a grade school teacher in Hawaii, later joining the Foreign Service. She served at several posts abroad, including Madrid. She retired from the Service in 1963.

Survivors include a niece, Mary Ellis, of San Antonio.

JULIAN F. HARRINGTON, a retired Foreign Service officer and former AFSA executive director, died May 5. He was 83.

Mr. Harrington was graduated from Columbia University and entered the Foreign Service in 1921. He served as a consular officer in Malaga, Antwerp, Dublin, Ottawa, and Mexico City. From 1940-42 he was chief of the visa division. He became first secretary and consular officer in Madrid and Lisbon, as well as counselor in Brussels. Other assignments included Manila as minister and Hong Kong as minister-counselor. He retired in 1961 as special assistant to the deputy under secretary for administration.

He leaves no immediate survivors.

RUTH GREENUP, author, newspaper and magazine photographer and writer, and wife of Leonard Greenup, a USIA press officer, died June 9 in Capitol Hill Hospital following a cardiac arrest. She was 71.

Mrs. Greenup was graduated from the University of Oklahoma, where she majored in journalism. She worked for the *Oklahoma News* and the *Ponca City News*

until 1940, when she joined the staff of *The News*, the only English-language daily in Brazil. In 1941 she began work for the *Buenos Aires Herald*. She worked from 1943-45 for the Reuters news agency.

Mrs. Greenup accompanied her husband on assignments to London, Guatemala City, and Greece. They were co-authors of the book, *Before Breakfast: Argentina 1941-1946*. She was involved in many civic activities, including the Capitol Hill Restoration Society. She was also a member of the Photographic Society of America, the Artists Equity Association, and the Photographic Roundtable.

She is survived by her husband.

EDMUND JOHN DORSZ, a retired Foreign Service officer, died June 26 at his vacation home in Salisbury, Maryland, of a heart ailment. He was 78.

Mr. Dorsz joined the Foreign Service in 1929. He served at posts including Canada, Poland, Japan, Germany, Iraq, Kenya, and the Belgian Congo. After his retirement in 1962, Mr. Dorsz worked in Germany as a representative for the Shera-

FOREIGN

INVESTMENTS

INVESTMENTS, FINANCIAL PLANNING, Long Distance Management when necessary. Margaret M. Winkler, Legg Mason Wood Walker, Inc., 1747 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20006. (202)452-4033.

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

IRA PLANS, TAX-FREE INCOME, stock, etc. Ruth G. Adler, Certified Financial Planner, A.G. Edwards & Sons, Inc., Members New York Stock Exchange, 4801 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20016. (202)364-1626.

COLOR SLIDES

COLOR SLIDES. Major Japanese publisher seeks color slides, movies taken in Japan during American occupation, 1945-50, for commemorative publication. Contact: R.L. Steele, 1505 44th St., NW, Washington, DC 20007. Call collect (202)337-5836.

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GRIEVANCES

GRIEVANCE COUNSELING: Retired Senior Foreign Service officer attorney who served on Grievance Board staff will assist grievance presentation. Richard Greene, 161 Laurel Rd., Princeton, NJ 08540. (609)921-1422.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

PEAKE PROPERTIES LTD.: Muriel Peake, Broker, specializing in residential property management in McLean, Vienna, N. Arlington, etc. Caring, personal service. The Ashby, Suite 220B, 1350 Beverly Road, McLean, VA 22101. (703)448-0212.

WASHINGTON MANAGEMENT SERVICES: Use our TELEX service to inquire about professional services for the FS community serving overseas. Immediate response to your property management needs. Residential property management is our only business. Call, write, or TELEX Mary Beth Otto, Washington Management Services, 2015 Q St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202)483-3830, TELEX 350136.

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ton Corporation, as executive secretary of the Japan-America Society, and in the brokerage business.

Survivors include his wife, Corilla, of Washington; two sons, Thomas Edmund, of Rapid City, South Dakota, and Air Force Captain John Edmund, of Fort Bragg, North Carolina; a daughter, Air Force Lieutenant Corilla Dorsz Collins, of Loring Air Force Base, Maine; and four grandchildren.

DOROTHY JEAN DAY, wife of retired Foreign Service Officer Robert W. Day, died of cancer August 16 at the Tallahassee Memorial Regional Medical Center.

Mrs. Day attended Hood College in Fredrick, Maryland. She worked as a secretary and in other administrative capacities for Pan American Airways, Boeing Aircraft Company, Communications Satellite Corporation, and the Florida Senate. During World War II, she was one of the first women to fly with Boeing in the flight testing of their heavy aircraft.

After her marriage in 1957, Mrs. Day accompanied her husband on assignments

in Iran, Germany, and Ghana. She was active in the Red Cross and was an accomplished poet.

In addition to her husband, she is survived by two daughters, Betsey and Shaula, and one grandson.

Awards

The Edward R. Murrow Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy has been given by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University to HANS N. TUCH, a Foreign Service officer in USIA. The award was presented by Hewson A. Ryan, director of the Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy at the Fletcher School.

Mr. Tuch has served as cultural attache in Moscow, counselor and charge d'affaires in Sofia, and minister-counselor in Brasilia. He is currently minister-counselor for public affairs in Bonn. As a career USIA information officer of 35 years, he was cited for exemplifying "integrity, dedication, and professionalism" in international communication.

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EXCHANGE

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AMENDED TAX RETURNS. Amended returns for 1981-3 required to take advantage of revised IRS revenue ruling 84-86 permitting those required to allow 5% of income for household expenses. One federal & state \$75 ea. yr. or \$50 for one federal return for ea. yr.—Milton E. Carb, Enrolled Agent, 833 S. Washington #8, Alexandria, VA 22314, (703)684-1040.

TAX COUNSELING & GUIDANCE, any problem. Never any charge to AFSA members for telephone advice. R.N. "Bob" Dussell (ex-FS), enrolled to tax practice before U.S. Treasury Dept. At tax work since February 1, 1938 and now staying at counsel mainly for aid to Foreign Service and their families. Located across from Virginia Square metro, 3601 N. Fairfax Dr., Arlington, VA 22201. (703)841-0158.

EXCHANGE RATES

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

ASSOCIATION NEWS

Annual meeting focuses on challenges facing Service

At the AFSA annual meeting on October 30, President Dennis K. Hays called for increased support by the membership in meeting the serious challenges facing the Foreign Service today. "The mission of AFSA," he said, "is to do for ourselves what others will not and cannot do. If we forfeit our responsibilities, we will pay the price." The meeting, held in the State Department's East Auditorium, also featured reports by Executive Director Lynne Iglitzin on membership and other staff activities and by Robert Beers, congressional liaison, on retirement issues.

In his talk, Hays discussed several recent events that presented significant challenges to the professional integrity of the Foreign Service. Among these were the endorsement of Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) by 21 non-career ambassadors; the proposed inclusion of 1600 Senior Foreign Service and FS-1 positions in the so-called "Plum Book" of jobs available for political appointments; and the recent announcement by the State Department of limited promotion numbers. Hays claimed that an endorsement of anyone running for public office weakens the position of an ambassador. He said that AFSA intends to work on Capitol Hill for a clarification of the Hatch Act so that all ambassadors and Foreign Service personnel would be protected from political pressure.

On the Plum Book, Hays noted that there is a five-percent cap on the number of SFS jobs that could be awarded to political appointees, but no such limit on FS-1 positions. Having so many positions filled with political appointees would not only affect individuals, but the career Service itself and the department's capabilities. Similarly, the already high number of political appointees—up to 73 from a historic average of 41—has removed 32 promotion opportu-

nities not just at the senior ranks, but consequently at each and every rank. It now appears that 97 FS-1s will be forced out of the Service in 1986 because of limited promotion opportunities, he said.

On the labor-management side, Hays noted that implementation of the 1980 Foreign Service Act was still proving diffi-

cult, primarily because of the five-agency, two-union format. AFSA is now gearing up for the anticipated revision of the act during the next congressional session. Hays pointed out that AFSA is one of the most successful federal unions in achieving benefits and attributed this to AFSA's ability to justify its requests. This past year, Hays said, the Association has also made a deliberate effort to create more understanding of its message and so has expanded

its contacts with the media and on Capitol Hill.

In the executive director's report, Iglitzin focused on the record numbers of Association members and described several membership drives now underway in an effort to push the number even higher. She also reported on AFSA's entrance into the computer age, the increased number of awards given by the AFSA/AAFSW scholarship fund, and efforts to improve communication with members and with the press.

Beers, in his report on retirement issues, cautioned that a variety of plans were floating around the administration and in Congress, so it will be some time before the final one becomes apparent. However, he predicted that early retirement would no longer be a realistic option and that current employees would be urged to join any new plan. He also said that federal employees can expect a renewed attack on their benefits during the coming congressional session.



Congressional Liaison Robert Beers speaks on retirement issues.

AFSA's AID Standing Committee reorganizes and expands

Early in the fall, a group of interested AFSA members in AID met to re-establish the AID Standing Committee after its principal members were suddenly transferred to overseas posts. Charlotte Cromer was named committee chairperson and was nominated to succeed Douglas Broome in that post and as AFSA second vice president. Roy Harrell was nominated to succeed Richard Delaney as AID constituency representative. Both nominations were later approved by the Governing Board. The other AID representative is Juanita L. Nofflet.

These three board members, plus the following AFSA members in AID, now constitute the standing committee: Bill Ackerman, Ray Kirkland, Rufus Long,

Bernard Salvo, and Tom Wilson. The committee meets every Thursday at noon in the AFSA labor-management relations office in the State Department, Room 3644. All AFSA members in the agency are invited to attend these meetings and to assist the committee.

The committee is being kept busy in its role as AFSA's bargaining agent with AID management. Negotiating or information-sharing meetings have been held almost weekly on these key issues: reduction of the AID workforce and avoidance of a RIF procedure; the open-assignments system; employee evaluation report formats and systems; changes in training program and strategy; handbook revisions; possible changes

in the retirement system; position classifications; orientation of International Development Institute personnel; and household storage and shipment allowances.

The main item of interest which has come from management during these sessions is that a RIF will not be necessary, since required reductions can be completed through attrition and cutbacks in hiring. Also, the open-assignments system will continue to be implemented, and assignment boards will convene beginning January 1985. There will be a need for forced assignments to accommodate both the ceiling imposed by the Office of Management and Budget and persons on complement and in "D" and "E" positions. The committee is planning to issue a regular newsletter to provide the membership more information on these issues and other subjects.

Letter from the President

Why We Need a Dues Increase

Dennis K. Hays, AFSA President

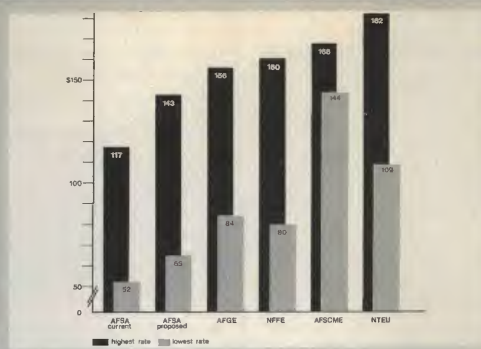
Ballots will be mailed out to members in January requesting approval of a new dues structure to replace the one that has been in effect since 1979 (please see the official notice of the referendum elsewhere in this section). If approved by the membership, the new dues would be moderately higher to help fund the expanded services inaugurated by AFSA over the past five years and to compensate for the cumulative effects of inflation. The revised structure would take approximately the same percentage of members' salaries as the previous one did at the time of its adoption. This new structure, a detailed explanation of which will go out with the ballots, is designed to be adequate into the next decade.

This request is not made lightly. It had been my intention and hope to complete my three years as president of AFSA without asking the membership for a

dues increase. However, for the reasons stated below, the time to act is now, and it would be imprudent to pass this responsibility on to the next Governing Board.

As AFSA matures as a labor-management organization and continues to develop as a professional association, we have expanded the depth and breadth of our services. This growth has been carefully planned and budgeted for, and it has taken place in response to increased demand for professional-level services.

The five years since the last dues increase have been witness to an ongoing attack on the entire system of Foreign Service benefits and allowances, including retirement, increasing pressures for political appointments, and the continuing negotiation of government-wide and agency-specific regulations. The Foreign Service has been changed by these events, as has AFSA



The Association's staff has been increased to meet these challenges, for we must be active in several arenas—the agencies, Congress, the media—simultaneously.

Our major resource has been our people, both members who volunteer their services to the many AFSA committees, and an expanding professional staff. In the past five years, we have found it necessary to augment our staff with the addition of a second grievance counselor, a law clerk, a legal assistant, an associate editor, an editorial as-

sistant, and a lobbyist for retirement concerns. In the near future, we foresee a need for a second full-time attorney.

We have been able to postpone the need for a dues increase for several years through a number of actions. We conducted an aggressive membership campaign that has increased our rolls by more than 30 percent since 1979. At the same time, Club revenues have more than doubled and Journal advertising is up by more than 50 percent. Further, we have worked to pare costs in all of our operations and have taken over several services in house to effect savings. We have now reached the point, however, where these measures can no longer offset increased expenses.

At present, we face a renewed assault on our retirement, our allowances, our career prospects, and even our personal safety. A cost-conscious Congress will be convening in January, and every report has it that close scrutiny will be paid to the entire system of Foreign Service benefits and allowances. We at AFSA are firmly convinced that the need remains for us to be vital and vigorous. As the chart above shows, even with the proposed increase, we will still be the *least expensive* of all comparable federal-employee organizations. Membership dues constitute over two-thirds of our revenues and are thus crucial to our ability to continue to grow and expand our services on behalf of the Foreign Service.

We ask for your favorable vote on the referendum.

Referendum on dues increase

In accordance with AFSA Bylaws, the Elections Committee wishes to give notice that it has received from the AFSA Governing Board a resolution proposing a dues increase. As provided for in Articles II.5, V and VII, the committee will submit this resolution, accompanied by statements, if any, from the proponents and opponents of the proposal, to the AFSA membership in a secret ballot referendum. A majority of valid votes received will determine the Association's policy on this resolution.

The text of the resolution approved by the board on November 13, together with a statement of explanation, is given below. The committee will circulate the resolution

and appropriate voting instructions in late January 1985 to all persons who are AFSA members as of December 31, 1984. The committee will include with the voting instructions statements from proponents or opponents of the resolution that are submitted in accordance with the instructions below and are received by January 15. Such statements can be submitted by mail addressed to the committee at 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037, or by AFSA Channel cable. All statements must be shorter than 500 words and be signed by at least five

current members. A member may not sign more than one statement. The committee reserves the right to shorten statements from the end if necessary to meet space limitations. Ballots must be returned to the Elections Committee by March 15, 1985, and ballots will be counted on March 18. Upon approval by a majority of the members voting, the new dues schedule will go into effect at the beginning of the first pay period after April 1, 1985.

Resolved: That the Governing Board is authorized to change the dues schedule as follows:

Active Duty:	per year	per pay period
FE-CA/CM/MC/OC	\$143	\$5 50
FS-1/2/3	117	4 50
FS-4/5/6	91	3 50
FS-7/8/9	65	2 50

Retired: \$30 for Foreign Service annuities under \$20,000, \$45 for Foreign Service annuities over \$20,000.

Life members: \$1500

Last call for AFSA award nominations

This is the final call for nominations for the AFSA awards honoring Foreign Service employees and family members. These awards, among the most prestigious in the Service, will be presented at a special ceremony in May. The deadline for receipt of nominations is January 15.

The *Herter, Rivkin, and Harriman Awards* are presented to Foreign Service employees nominated by their colleagues for outstanding intellectual originality, courage, forthrightness, and creative dissent. The Herter Award is for senior officers; the Rivkin Award is for officers in grades FS 1-2; and the Harriman Award is for officers in Grades 3-6. The stipends for the awards range from \$1000 to \$2500 each.

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 Boh-

len." The prize is \$2500.

The *Matilda Sinclair Language Awards*, given for excellence in the study of hard languages and associated cultures, will be presented for the first time this spring. These awards will recognize Foreign Service officers who have shown evidence of outstanding success in the study of a hard language (one normally requiring eight months or more of intensive study), such work to have been completed by August 1, 1984. The stipends for the Sinclair Awards have been set at \$1000 each, with an expected four to five awards in 1985. Criteria and nomination forms are available from the AFSA office or the School of Language Study at the Foreign Service Institute.

Nominations for any of the above awards may be submitted by anyone familiar with the individual's accomplishments and should be postmarked by January 15. Address nominations to:

AFSA Awards Committee
2101 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037

Please indicate clearly for which award the nomination is being submitted.

Marvin Kalb speaks on Soviets



NBC chief diplomatic correspondent Marvin Kalb addresses USIA employees on his perspective of the last 30 years of U.S.-Soviet relations in the second lecture in the series "Dialogs on Public Diplomacy," sponsored by AFSA's USIA Standing Committee. A report on the lecture, held November 5, will appear in a forthcoming issue.

Board confirms committee heads

Heads of several AFSA committees were confirmed by the Governing Board in October. The board approved the appointment of David Simcox as chairman of the Awards Committee, Morris Weisz as chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee, and Hugh Wolff as chairman of the

Insurance Board of Trustees.

Other actions taken by the board during the month included approval of a raise in associate member dues from \$25 to \$35 annually and an increase in the annual subscription rates for the JOURNAL to \$15 for domestic subscribers and \$18 for foreign subscribers. (This action does not affect members, who will continue to receive the JOURNAL automatically through their dues.)

AFSA position on endorsements wins favorable reviews, publicity

AFSA's statement protesting the action of 21 ambassadors in endorsing a political candidate received front-page coverage in the *Washington Post* and other papers last October, as well as air time on ABC's *World News Tonight* and a report in *Time* magazine's pre-election issue. "Such an endorsement demon-

strates a regrettable failure to grasp that to be effective, an ambassador must represent the entire nation, not just part of it," the Association said in a press release. "An active-duty ambassador who engages in partisan politics diminishes the office and undermines his or her own ability to serve the United States

abroad." The statement was released on the day press accounts revealed that several ambassadors, all political appointees, had endorsed the Senate candidacy of incumbent Jesse Helms of North Carolina.

The Senior Foreign Service Association also issued a statement decrying the endorsements, as did former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger, 36 former ambassadors representing both parties and the career service, several newspaper columnists, and the State Department.

The *New York Times*, in an editorial on October 27, referred to the incident as "inappropriate in the extreme, even for non-career political appointees" and stated "when the nation's ambassadors take sides in election campaigns, they send confusing messages to the whole world." Further, "ambassadors who ally themselves...hamper their ability to represent the na-

tion abroad."

The *Federal Times* said that, while there is nothing officially illegal about what the 21 ambassadors did, "It still stinks to high heaven. The American Foreign Service Association has it right."

AFSA is working with concerned committee members on the Hill to draft legislation which will prevent further abuses of the Hatch Act.



ABC-TV correspondent Dean Reynolds (right) interviews AFSA President Dennis K. Hays on the endorsement of Senator Jesse Helms by 21 non-career ambassadors.

Last chance for tax deductions

This month is your final opportunity to gain a deduction for the 1984 tax year. Why not contribute to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund? Your money will help us fight the renewed attack on federal pensions. Contributions should be sent to the LAF in care of AFSA.

Apply now for 1985-86 AFSA Scholarships

Applications should be requested immediately by students interested in AFSA scholarships for academic year 1985-86. Eligible are dependent students of Foreign Service personnel who have been or are currently serving abroad. Inquiries should be made directly to AFSA Scholarship Programs Administrator Dawn Cuthell, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Please

state agency affiliation (State, AID, USIA, FCS, FAS).

Merit Awards are for high school seniors graduating in May 1985 and are awarded on the basis of academic excellence.

Financial Aid Grants are for full-time undergraduate study in the United States and are based solely on need. Grants range from \$200 to \$2000 for individuals, with a \$3000 limit for families.

Apply immediately. All materials must be returned to the AFSA Scholarship Office by February 15.

AFSA charges State with dilatory bargaining on consumables

In late October, AFSA filed an unfair labor practice charge against the State Department, alleging that State had engaged in a pattern of dilatory bargaining concerning an Association proposal. The proposal provided for an additional consumables allowance for employees serving a second or extended tour at designated hardship posts. The allowance would be furnished when conditions at post make it difficult to obtain locally the consumables required by employees and their dependents.

AFSA made the proposal more than two years ago. Since

that time, we have formally sought negotiations more than 15 times. On nearly every occasion, the department promised to negotiate, but a counterproposal has never been forthcoming. Said AFSA General Counsel Susan Holik, "The department's deliberate refusal to bargain on this allowance is particularly flagrant, given the urgent need by employees serving extended duty in hardship posts."

The charge was filed with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board, which will make a decision whether to prosecute the case. We will report the results in a later issue.

New grievance counselor named to staff

The Association has hired Barbara "Brandy" Wilson as grievance and members' interest representative in the labor-management relations office. She joins Sabine Sisk, who has been AFSA's members' interest and grievance counselor since 1980. The grievance caseload and requests for assistance in tax matters and on "bread-and-butter" issues has been increasing rapidly in recent years.

Wilson comes to AFSA from the Communications Workers of America, where she worked in its Occupational Safety and



Health Program. She recently was graduated from the George Washington University Legal Assistant Program, having taken courses in law, civil procedure, evidence, and legal research and writing. She holds a bachelor's degree from the University of South Carolina in Columbia, where she was on the dean's list and made the president's honor roll.

AFSA opposes inclusion of Foreign Service positions in 'Plum Book'

AFSA has been informed by sources on Capitol Hill that there have been proposals to include in the next edition of the so-called "Plum Book," which lists government positions available for political appointments, all Foreign Service positions at the FS-1 level and above, both domestic and overseas.

The Plum Book is put out after each presidential election and in the past has been limited to those positions that require presidential appointment and are not solely identified as career positions. This year the Office of Personnel Management and certain Senate staffers hope to list all senior government jobs, including those normally reserved for career federal employees. As such, all Senior Executive Service and GS-14 and 15 level jobs in the Civil Service and all Senior Foreign Service and FS-1 level jobs in the Foreign Service would be included.

Under the Foreign Service Act of 1980, up to five percent of senior officer positions may be given to non-career individuals—a total of more than 40

slots in addition to those already occupied by political appointees, such as chiefs of mission, assistant secretaries, etc. Worse, there is no bar at all on FS-1 appointments. It is thus possible that any or all of the 700 FS-1 level jobs could be given to political appointees. "Our initial review of applicable law and regulation does not reveal any violation of the letter of the law in this matter, although the spirit would be punched full of holes," said AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. AFSA will be meeting with other federal employee organizations and congressional contacts to explore legal and legislative options.

AFSA action on the Plum Book resulted in a major story on this subject running in the *Washington Post* on October 31 in which the Association's position was quoted extensively. This publicity forced Congress and the administration to examine the ramifications of the proposal. "We have succeeded in stopping progress on the Plum Book until at least after the election, at which point we hope to resolve this matter once and for all."

Membership drive now underway

AFSA launched a direct-mail membership drive in November, mailing more than 13,000 letters to Foreign Service employees and retirees, as well as 700 letters to a carefully selected list of prospective associate members. We will report on the drive in a future issue.

The membership drive is intended only for non-members. Because names of employees and retirees provided by the agencies may not always match exactly the version on our membership roll, we occasionally may mail a letter to a member in good standing. If you have accidentally received one of these, we hope you understand and suggest you pass them along to a colleague.

AFSA acts to enforce weight agreement

AFSA has filed an institutional grievance with the Foreign Service Grievance Board charging the State Department with breach of a negotiated agreement. The agreement provided for increased weight allowances for shipment and storage of household effects.

The issue in dispute concerns the new weight limits on effects placed in storage prior to May 1. Since May, AFSA has received numerous complaints from employees who continue to be billed for storage which had been in excess of the old limits, but which is below the limits now in effect. The agreement specifies that under such circumstances employees are entitled to the new limits as of May 1.

Retirement outlook: Renewed attacks expected in January

Further changes in the federal retirement system—following those already in progress—appear inevitable. The principal questions are: What form will these changes take? and How will they affect the different categories of beneficiaries, from new employees to those now on the retirement rolls?

The process of major change really started with new employees, those beginning duty after January 1, 1984. They are excluded from coverage under the present Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System and are enrolled under Social Security. Presently, they are looking forward to the establishment of an entirely new retirement program intended to supplement their Social Security coverage. The target date is December 31, 1985.

While important details remain to be filled in, it seems probable that the new retirement package will consist of three tiers: Social Security; a defined contribution plan, under which the government will contribute a stated percentage of an employee's salary to his or her retirement account; and a voluntary thrift plan, under which an employee can contrib-

ute any amount he or she wishes, possibly matched by the government up to a predetermined limit. After five years, each employee would have his or her own retirement account which would be "portable," i.e., if the employee leaves the government the entire amount would remain available to him or her.

It also seems likely that inducements will be offered for pre-1984 Foreign Service employees to transfer over to the new system, but the advisability of doing so probably will depend primarily on the employee's length of service and future career plans. Renewed efforts to cut back on the level of benefits under the present Foreign Service retirement program also may be confidently anticipated. If past recommendations in this regard can be taken as any indication, the president's budget documents for fiscal years 1984 and 1985 proposed the following: raising the retirement age; increasing employees' retirement contributions; revising downward the formula used to compute retirement annuities; and placing a cap on cost-of-living adjustments for persons al-

ready retired.

AFSA, working in conjunction with other federal employee organizations, has so far been able to stave off implementation of these measures. With the presidential election in the past, however, and in view of the pressures arising out of the growing budget deficit, we will see a determined drive in the 99th Congress to reduce the cost to the government of the present retirement system. The reintroduction of these proposals is more than likely.

AFSA is again gearing up for an all-out effort to try to preserve the essential elements of the present Foreign Service retirement system; needless to say, the support of all Foreign Service personnel is crucial to this undertaking. —Robert Beers

AID open assignments exceptions

AFSA has recently protested a number of assignments made by AID outside the negotiated open assignments system. In one instance, an employee was even informed in writing that a bureau had a "preferred candidate" for the position—in advance of receiving bids under the negotiated procedures. AFSA intends to take action to get away from AID's "business as usual" approach to this problem. To that end, we would appreciate hearing from AID employees concerning any possible violation of the open assignments regulations.

Record set by Bookfair '84—again

Once again, receipts from this year's Bookfair, sponsored by the Association of American Foreign Service Women, set a record of \$70,000. Profits from the annual event benefit the AFSA Scholarship Fund and community projects.

Bookfair '84 Chairman Meryl

Steigman offered "special thanks" to the "unsung heroes" of the fair, "the set up and clean up crews with their backbreaking and unglamorous jobs." She stressed the year-round volunteer activity behind the fair. Volunteers are already needed to begin activities for Bookfair '85—the 25th anniversary of the event. Persons interested in helping should call Book Room Supervisor Joan McGinley at (202) 223-5796.

Life & Love in the Foreign Service



"Yes, Mr. Ambassador, I asked the GSO three times to fix the heating"
—William McKinney, Islamabad

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 #17
AFSA
2101 E Street NW
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Contest deadline is January 15

Competition #17



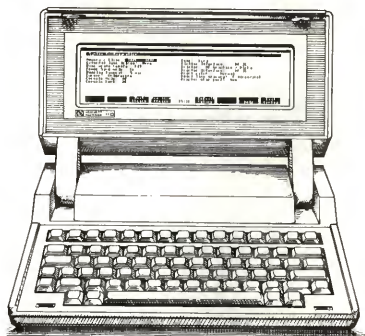
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