

# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

30

October 1985

## DEALING WITH TERRORISM



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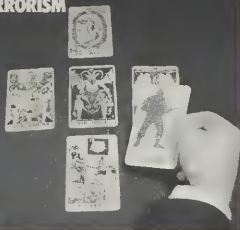
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Once again, our television and newspapers have been dominated by Americans held hostage. This time, however, they were the passengers of TWA Flight 847, not members of the Foreign Service. And, although these victims were captive for a thankfully much shorter time than our colleagues in Tehran, the incident demonstrated the difficulty of determining an effective and responsible course of action. Starting on page 26 of this issue, Curtis Jones and Howard Simpson each present their views on new rules for dealing with terrorism.

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*Life and ? in the Foreign Service*



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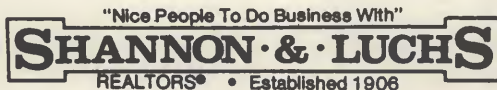
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# LETTERS

## Foreign Service Nationals

Having read Ernest Ruehle's response ["Improvements Are Being Made in FSN Administration," June] to my article, "Members with a Difference" [May], I rejoice with him at the various positive changes he says have been made over the past five years by the Office of Foreign Service National Personnel. My article sought to depict the present predicament of many FSNs and to illustrate their desperate need for institutionalized protection against arbitrary treatment. Mr. Ruehle dealt with some of the specifics of that argument, to which I would offer the following comments.

First, he notes that current practice now permits FSN salary reviews more frequently than once a year. He also states that regulations now being published authorize FSN compensation in excess of locally prevailing rates during economic crises. These are welcome adjustments, but this plan should be complemented with a COLA trigger similar to that provided American members of the Foreign Service. At the generally lower wages that prevail among Foreign Service Nationals, the need for prompt cost-of-living adjustments is greater than among U.S. citizen members of the Service.

Second, Mr. Ruehle contends that examples in my article only confirm the need for a universally accepted, centrally controlled, single-standard system of FSN job classification. I would agree—provided such a system included acceptance by those most immediately affected. FSNs deserve a representative voice in affairs that touch on their welfare.

Third, Mr. Ruehle says that I acknowledged that recognition of FSN unions is not required by U.S. law. Not quite. While it is clear that Chapters 10 and 11 of the Foreign Service Act do not apply to FSNs, it is my contention that Section 101(b)(4) does express the intent that these same rights be extended to FSNs in their quality as "members of the Foreign Service." This was clearly to have been done by regulation, but thus far has not been.

Finally, Mr. Ruehle laments that, despite repeated "instructions" to the field to establish post grievance systems for FSNs,

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too many posts have not complied. One should be clear on precisely what kinds of communications on the subject have been sent. 3 FAM 929 exhorts, rather than requires, posts to establish FSN grievance procedures, the operative word being "should" rather than "shall." In addition, the final decision on FSN grievances is left to the head of mission—the "boss." This is not the best way to assure swift, impartial, and reprisal-proof resolution of FSN grievances.

The State Department is far more dependent on the loyalty and devotion of FSNs than is generally admitted. If simple decency and the obvious intent of the Foreign Service Act were not motive enough, a modicum of prudence suggests that, in these perilous times, the moment has come to abolish second-class membership in the Foreign Service and to require that FSNs be provided a voice in their conditions of employment.

JOHN O. GRIMES  
Foreign Service Officer, retired  
Washington, D.C.

## Defining Public Diplomacy

Hans Tuch is right on target [DIPLOMACY, July/August] in calling attention to the current confusion about the meaning and purposes of public diplomacy. One of the paradoxical aspects of the present scene is that, with enthusiasm for public diplomacy at an all-time high, and with the executive branch and Congress showing greater willingness to allocate resources to it, there is a good deal less understanding about what it is. Although there is no single explanation for this conceptual confusion, one obvious factor is the increase in the number of public diplomacy players, each bringing to the game his own understanding of what it is all about. In addition to the long-time professional core—USIA (including VOA) and Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe—active participants now include, among others, the National Security Council, the Departments of State and Defense, and AID. NSDD-77, the government document to which Mr. Tuch refers, was an effort to impose some degree of coherence and coordination upon this potentially untidy conglomerate, and it has been partially successful in doing so. However, it did nothing to clarify the meaning of public diplomacy.

The State Department, which is now much more interested than it once was in public aspects of foreign affairs, has begun to play an energetic role in various activities described as public diplomacy without, however, having made up its own

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mind about what that role should be. It is partly because the department has not taken the trouble to think the matter through that we have witnessed the phenomenon of three senior officials (not counting the assistant secretary for public affairs) pursuing their own separate versions of public diplomacy. These have included trying to persuade the U.S. public of the rightness of our policies, promoting techniques of public relations (e.g., advising ambassadors on how to appear effectively on television), and attending to a loose and varied assortment of programs which, for lack of a better name, are now termed "international political activities." In addition, the department takes an interest in and often works closely with USIA on programs traditionally handled by the latter. Each of these department efforts is no doubt in its own way worthwhile, but lumping them all together in a general category labeled "public diplomacy" greatly confuses matters and makes it difficult to approach the subject in a rational, carefully considered way.

Driven by the constantly accelerating communications revolution and the challenges of an increasingly interactive world, public diplomacy—or some better term, if we can find one—is certain to become an even more important instrument of foreign policy as time goes on. Inevitably State will be involved even more than it is now. The question is what form this involvement should take, how the department can make the most effective contribution, and what its role should be vis-a-vis USIA and the other members of the foreign affairs community. Thus far the department has not seriously addressed this question. It is time it did. In doing so it can make an important contribution not only to its own operations, but to the effective conduct of the nation's public diplomacy in general.

GIFFORD D. MALONE  
Foreign Service Officer, retired  
McLean, Virginia

## Correction

In the July/August issue, Larry Knutson [CONGRESS] wrote: "A measure sponsored by Senator Richard Pryor (D.-Missouri) was adopted, authorizing the appointment of an under secretary of state of agricultural affairs." This is incorrect. The measure was sponsored by Senator David Pryor, Democrat of Arkansas.

HOYT PRICE  
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## Reviews

*In Another Dimension: A Guide for Women Who Live Overseas.* By Nancy J. Piet-Pelon and Barbara Hornby. Intercultural Press, 1985. \$9.50.

*Living Overseas.* By Ted Ward. The Free Press, 1984.

These books were written to better prepare people for the realities of living abroad. *Living Overseas* is designed to shake off ethnocentricity and develop a sensitized awareness of the host country culture. Its intent is to provide the information, attitudes, and techniques to achieve successful entry and communication in the new setting. *In Another Dimension* is geared to the woman contemplating living abroad for the first time. It offers useful suggestions on preparing for the move and sensible perspectives on settling in as homemaker and mother.

Ward's approach would seem of limited relevance to Foreign Service personnel who go abroad with an existing framework of family and job and with access to a wide variety of materials to orient the family to the new culture. And, although the Foreign Service person wants to understand and participate in the host country's culture, retaining an American orientation is central to representing the United States abroad. Nonetheless, many Foreign Service people would benefit from greater interchange with the host country. Ward points out that "American middle class" translates into "wealthy" in many foreign contexts. In addition, "official American" often translates into "privileged"—a status often taken for granted by Foreign Service personnel overseas. Those who unduly narrow their contact with the host community will lose in a personal sense.

Piet-Pelon and Hornby place more emphasis on the woman who moves abroad as a spouse. Culture shock and other adjustments are handled deftly and in an entertaining manner. However, the authors say very little about the re-entry process and the trauma it can produce.

The book is most lively when discussing the factors behind the decision to move abroad. The authors, who are seasoned vet-

erans of living abroad, point out that the first move overseas may well be easier than subsequent ones. With later moves, a woman has a clearer picture of what lies in store for her and finds herself with a greater need to put down roots. Family needs have also become more complex. When career concerns are added to the picture, the authors conclude flatly that "the woman who has a serious professional career and is unwilling to give it up or modify her goals significantly should stay at home." While pointing to the many frustrations of building a patchwork career, they stress that opportunities abroad are more promising for a woman who has flexible career goals.

The authors conclude that most women who have lived and worked overseas consider it an experience they would not have forgone, for it produces personal growth of a kind they would not be likely to achieve otherwise. Young women considering their first overseas move will find sage advice in this comprehensive guide. Older ones will share vicariously in the authors' frustrations and heartily underscore their conclusions.

—SUSAN LOW

*Bridges to Knowledge: Foreign Students in Comparative Perspective.* Edited by Elinor G. Barber, Philip G. Altbach, and Robert G. Myers. The University of Chicago Press, 1984. \$25 (cloth), \$12.95 (paper).

Foreign Service officers concerned with educational exchanges will find this book fascinating. For nearly 40 years many in this field believed all we had to do was select the right foreign students, ship them to the United States for study, and the benefits to their home countries and institutions would naturally follow after their return home.

It is not that simple, say the authors of the 15 articles in this book, most of them originally published in *Comparative Education Review* in May 1984. There have been both successes and failures. Of special interest are case studies of educational exchanges between the United States and the People's Republic of China, Thailand, Zaire, Australia, Peru, and sub-Saharan Africa. The experiences of the Ford and

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Regrettably, there is no analysis of study by Third World students in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Such analyses could surely be conducted in the students' home countries, and hopefully would be useful to find out just how effective Moscow has been in its international educational exchanges. —YALE RICHMOND

*Counsels of War.* By Gregg Herken. Alfred A. Knopf, 1985. \$18.95.

Gregg Herken, a Yale professor, reviews the debate that has gone on in the United States since World War II about nuclear weapons and military strategy. It is a story about civilian, not military, experts: scientists, think-tank theorists, and academics. The names are familiar: Robert Oppenheimer, William Kaufman, Bernard Brodie, Albert Wohlstetter, Richard Garwin, Sidney Drell, Thomas Schelling, Herman Kahn, Robert McNamara, Paul Nitze, and others. These are the experts who have explored the key nuclear issues. Can nuclear weapons be used in warfare? What is needed for deterrence? Is defense possible against nuclear missiles? Can nuclear war be limited? How much is enough for counterforce or countervalue?

Toward the beginning of *Counsels of War*, Herken quotes Brodie's wise words after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "Thus far the purpose of our military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them. It can have almost no other purpose." At the end, the author cites Clausewitz, who cautioned that before building a new weapon we should ask, "What is it all about? What is it for?" The question of the utility of nuclear weapons has never received an adequate answer, nor does this book provide one.

Nitze, one of the first Americans to stand in the rubble of Hiroshima, is as good a representative of the hawks as anyone when he questions the "common popular view" that the atomic bomb "was an

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absolute weapon and that this changed everything." Nitze and others were driven by another consideration: "the cold war is in fact a real war, in which the survival of the free world is at stake." These Americans believe policy toward the atomic bomb must be defined within the context of the threat from the Soviet Union.

Oppenheimer voiced a different view, one more common among the anti-hawks (not quite the same bird as the now-maligned dove). After witnessing Trinity, the first atomic explosion, he commented, "some wept. A few cheered. Most stood silent." A few years after Hiroshima, Strategic Air Command war plans were capable of making the Soviet Union a smoking, radiating ruin within hours. President Kennedy said only fools could believe in the possibility of victory in a nuclear war; we had entered a new and dangerous age. The stakes were survival of the planet.

Yet, as the book makes clear, the views of hawk and anti-hawk each seem to have their inconsistencies. For example, Brodie, who first questioned the value of nuclear weapons, became a strong advocate of limited nuclear war. Nitze, known for his cold war views, became a strong advocate in 1984 for an agreement limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, an outgrowth of his "walk in the woods" with his Soviet counterpart.

Herken's work is a mixture of history and analysis. It presents thorough coverage of the debate of the 1960s over antiballistic missiles which concluded that ABMs are pointless—this section should be read by advocates of the president's Strategic Defense Initiative. However, there are several notable omissions in the book. There is no reference to the Soviet proposal to the United States during the SALT I talks for joint action against China. Although Kennedy's speech at American University in June 1963 is mentioned, there is no reference to what made it important—his announcement of a moratorium on nuclear tests as long as the Soviets observed the same restraint.

Herken makes no value judgments on the issues he recounts and, as a result, draws no real conclusions. The end of the book leaves us more or less where we were at the beginning. Do nuclear weapons serve any purpose except to prevent their use? The question remains unanswered.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

*The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan.* By Dorothy Robins-Mowry. Westview Press, 1983. \$32.50 (cloth); \$13.95 (paper).

Dorothy Robins-Mowry, formerly a For-

eign Service officer in USA, offers a comprehensive report on a vital, but often overlooked, element of Japan's post-war success. The Japanese woman is not, as many Americans suppose, a demure, kimono-clad doll in a glass case. Because her style differs from that of western women, even "Japan hands" often ignore her role. Robins-Mowry shows that women are not only the controllers of Japanese family economics and the guardians of the society's traditions, but also the harbingers of change and reform.

Women played a principal part in the legendary and historical foundations of Japan. *The Hidden Sun* analyzes their role in Japan's surge to industrial modernization—they were, after all, the employees in the early textile mills—and recounts their struggle for emancipation. The author describes the evolution of the almost segregated male and female societies that exist today and reveals the power women have exercised—usually behind the scenes—in the spheres of economic enterprise, politics, and international relations. She predicts a future in which "the hidden sun" of woman-power will reach the full equality promised in Japan's post-war constitution. Japan will benefit from women's sensitivity toward the beauties of tradition and their awareness of the dangers posed by the male tendency to overemphasize the importance of careers. But women, the author says, must build bridges across the polarized lives of Japanese men and women.

Robins-Mowry's message is important to those concerned with Japan policy. Despite women's impact on trade and defense issues (the latter through pacifist movements), our embassy has paid little specific attention to Japanese women since the author of this book left that post in 1971 as USIS's women's activities officer.

—MARJORIE SMITH

## From the Think Tanks

*Toward European Economic Recovery in the 1980s.* By Michel Albert and James Ball. *Washington Papers* #109, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1984. 158pp. \$7.95. In this report to the European Parliament, the authors point out that although the European Community was founded at a time of economic growth among member states, the dominant unifying factor now is sluggish—and in some cases, nonexistent—growth. This stagnation is likely to be permanent unless the Europeans undertake some joint efforts to initiate a recovery and so can exploit the multiplier effect of community action.

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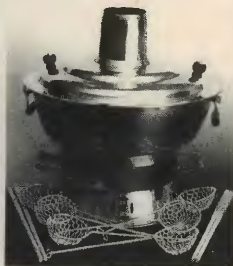
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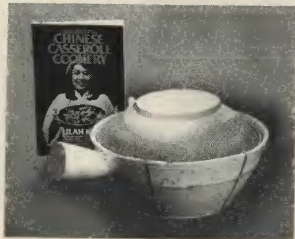
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# DIPLOMACY

## Bullfighting

By MAX W. KRAUS

Acting as spokesperson for the State Department, for a major bureau, for an embassy, or for a delegation is the Foreign Service equivalent to bullfighting. It requires nerve, nimble footwork, and a taste for dangerous living. Sometimes the press aide gets gored and is carried bleeding from the arena. But the comparison ends there. There is no crowd to shout *olé* when the bull is killed—frequently the spokesperson must remain anonymous and virtually invisible to the public. And possibly the greatest reward is retaining the friendship and respect both of the person he or she represents and of the press.

Just as in bullfighting, there are rules to the game of being a spokesperson. The first thing to keep in mind is that a press aide must satisfy two clients with opposing interests: the boss, who always seeks a favorable story, and the journalist, who frequently seems to act on Edward R. Murrow's famous dictum that "good news is no news."

To do an effective job, a spokesperson must enjoy the complete confidence of the official whom he or she represents. A press aide must be privy to even the most highly classified details or risk looking foolish. During the U.S. intervention in Grenada, for instance, Larry Speakes misinformed the press because he was kept in the dark about the military plans. As Robert McCloskey, at the time the *Washington Post's* ombudsman and formerly one of the most effective State Department spokesmen, wrote about this incident: "It ought to be an iron law that government spokesmen be there, as it once was said, at the takeoff as well as the landing. Regrettably it isn't, and too often those preparing the takeoffs stubbornly ignore the extent to which the government's credibility rides on how the guy out front responds to press inquiries.... The need-to-know should include the spokesman, and if the issue demands that his response be 'I won't discuss that,' let it be. It may cause momentary discom-

*Max W. Kraus is a former Foreign Service officer with USIA who is now a free-lance writer.*

fort, but it does a lot for credibility."

Thus, the first task of the spokesperson is to gain total access to the "client." George Vest, one of the most skilled officers in dealing with the press I have ever encountered, asked for a change in assignment after only six months as department spokesman because he never had the complete access to Henry Kissinger that McCloskey had. Gaining access is not always easy.

In February 1973, a telegram from Washington informed me that I had been designated press spokesman for the U.S. delegation to the second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. I first met U. Alexis Johnson, who had been appointed by President Nixon to succeed Gerard Smith as chief negotiator, a few days after he arrived in Geneva. "Mr. Ambassador," I asked, "why did you choose me, a complete ignoramus on strategic arms, as your press officer?"

There was an almost mischievous glint in Johnson's eyes as he answered: "There will be leaks out of Washington, but I am determined that there will be no leaks on SALT II under a Geneva dateline. Your predecessor Nedville Nordness was a full-fledged member of the delegation," Johnson continued, "He sat in the negotiating sessions. He was privy to all cable traffic, even the back-channel ones. When dealing with the press Ned was always on the horns of a dilemma: either he had to lie, which he did badly, since he is an honest man, or he risked giving out information he should not have."

The information I was thus authorized to divulge to the press was at first meager: "The U.S. and Soviet delegations today met for two hours and 15 minutes at the U.S. mission and agreed to meet again Thursday at the Soviet mission." Generally there were follow-up questions, especially when a meeting had lasted longer or shorter than usual. In fencing them off I did my best to pretend that I knew the answers but that my lips were sealed.

Actually, I was beginning to lose my innocence about nuclear arms. Johnson started to educate me about weapons systems and the host of other problems that faced the negotiators. Eventually, though I never sat in negotiating sessions, I became what might be called a half-fledged member of the delegation. I got the real proof that I had won Johnson's confidence when he agreed to background briefings for the press in my apartment. By the end of Johnson's tenure at SALT II, I felt that I was in on the takeoffs. And there were no leaks under a Geneva dateline while he headed the delegation.

Since the spokesperson is always in the

middle, it is just as important to establish a good relationship with the press. To do this I have found some do's and don'ts helpful:

Try to learn as much as possible about the media's problems—like deadlines. Learn their jargon, just as they have to master yours. Socialize with them to the maximum degree they will let you.

Since a press aide is really just a secondary source, try to persuade your client to be available to the press as often as possible for background briefings. Henry Kissinger never needed any urging along these lines, but many other officials are reluctant to meet directly with the press. It is part of a press aide's job to break down this reluctance. Inevitably, though, there will be occasions when a spokesperson cannot be as forthcoming as the media would like. In that case, one can compensate by supplying unclassified "inside" details to add color.

A press aide must be thoroughly familiar with the subject matter to establish expertise in the media's eyes. Sometimes, when you are the spokesperson for a delegation that deals with a highly complex matter, this may require a bit of bluffing. Jack Stuart, a highly experienced USIS officer, once told me that "to establish your authority with the press, throw a particularly arcane phrase at them to impress them. I'll make you a present of a disarmament phrase. One of the sticking points in arms talks is our insistence on on-site inspection of underground nuclear explosions. When the press asks why we insist on this condition, tell them this: 'The science of teleseismology has not reached the point where we can tell from the parameters of seismic decay whether a given event was man-made or stemmed from natural causes.' By the time the journalists figure out that this is just a fancy way of saying that we can't be sure whether we are dealing with an underground test or an earthquake, they will have accepted you as an expert."

The most important rule of being a spokesperson is that being caught lying or misleading the media will destroy your effectiveness. There is, however, an exception to this rule, as I found out when I had to protect a secret rescue mission of diplomats who were being held hostage by rebels in the Congo in 1964 [JOURNAL, June]: You can get away with taking liberties with the truth as long as the press knows you are doing so, knows why you are doing it, and accepts the validity of the reason. With human life at stake, the press respected my plea for confidentiality. When only a desire that the news be favorable is at issue, it doesn't work that way. □



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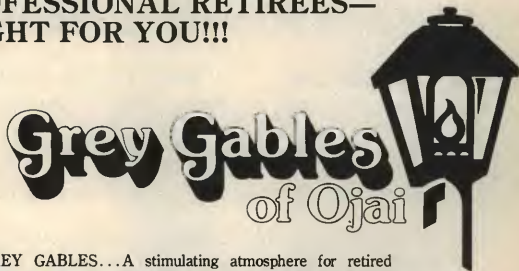
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### Funding Foreign Policy

By LARRY KNUTSON

President Reagan signed the first foreign aid authorization bill passed by Congress in four years with obvious mixed feelings. On the one hand he claimed to be pleased that Congress had used the measure—which authorizes \$25 billion in foreign aid spending over the next two fiscal years—to renew direct aid to anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua. But on the other hand, he expressed disappointment at "substantial reductions" ordered by Congress in military assistance to a long list of countries. White House spokesman Larry Speakes said earlier that the bill provided insufficient aid levels for El Salvador, Honduras, Thailand, and Morocco.

But Richard Lugar (D.-Indiana), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Dante Fascell (D.-Florida), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, expressed satisfaction that the controversies that in recent years had blocked passage of a foreign aid bill by both houses had been sufficiently defused. Lugar called the bill an important step in forging a new bipartisan consensus on foreign policy, saying, "It protects America's vital security interests in the world, and those of our allies and friends, and it promotes economic growth and the forces of freedom and democracy in the world."

Fascell, who said the authorization bill provides the House with its most important vehicle to shape foreign policy, commented that he was convinced the administration had not really wanted one at all. "They think it's simpler just to negotiate with the appropriations committees and come out with a continuing resolution."

The bill devotes the bulk of aid funds to Israel and Egypt, but also provides money to combat terrorism and bolster airport security. And it takes steps that have been widely hailed by congressional conservatives and that Lugar claims amount to a major shift in U.S. foreign policy. These include repeal of the so-called Clark amendment that barred U.S. aid to anti-communist guerrillas in Angola; provid-

*Larry Knutson covers Capitol Hill for the Associated Press.*

ing \$27 million in non-lethal logistical assistance to the contra guerrillas in Nicaragua; and authorizing \$15 million for rebels fighting the Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan and \$5 million for anti-communist fighters in Cambodia.

The president also signed legislation providing spending authority of \$7.5 billion over the next two fiscal years for the operation of the State Department, USIA, the Board for International Broadcasting, ACDA, and other activities, including the U.S. Scholarship Program for Developing Countries. The measure provides \$311 million for improving the security of U.S. facilities and personnel overseas.

In reconciling the many differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill, the conference committee eliminated a provision pressed by Senator Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina) that would have excluded members of the Senior Foreign Service from the employee bargaining unit. Helms's amendment would also have permitted the appointment of a director general from outside the Foreign Service; assigned an independent inspector general to the department; and provided that neither the chairperson nor members of the Board of the Foreign Service need be members of the Senior Foreign Service. What emerged from all of this was a substitute amendment providing that the chairperson of the Board of the Foreign Service shall be appointed by the president, and allowing State to retain its inspector to review programs while bringing the department under the Inspector General Act of 1978.

The conference eliminated entirely an amendment that would have sweetened performance pay provisions by, among other things, ending the present 50 percent limit on the number of Senior Foreign Service members eligible for such pay.

The State authorization bill also:

- expresses the sense of the Senate that the secretary of state should conduct a pilot project designed to increase the employment of spouses of U.S. personnel at U.S. missions, and that he report to Congress by February 1986 on how he intends to proceed. The conference added a requirement that the secretary take into account the effects of a pilot program on full-time career positions in the Foreign Service and on overseas positions held by Foreign Service nationals. The managers of the bill said they were concerned that neither a pilot nor a permanent program should be used to fill career positions or to displace Foreign Service nationals;

- adopts another Senate amendment that makes the State Department the primary insurer of Foreign Service employees overseas and the Foreign Service Benefit

Plan the secondary insurer. The objective is to allow the benefit plan "to offer a low-priced, low-option health insurance plan to supplement the benefits provided by the Foreign Service Act";

- grants official authority for State Department security agents to carry firearms and make arrests;

- directs the secretary of state to conduct a study on the feasibility of lateral entry into the Foreign Service by U.S. business executives and farmers;

- permits the appointment of two new assistant secretaries of state for intelligence and research and politico-military affairs. And, in response to a Senate measure

aimed at getting the department to take the international concerns of farmers into account, the under secretary for economic affairs gets a longer title: under secretary for economic and agricultural affairs;

- leaves the door ajar for accepting a permanent residence for the secretary of state by replacing a virtual prohibition by the House with a requirement for notification of the Congress and a cost-benefit study prior to accepting any gift; and

- directs agency heads to initiate affirmative action plans aimed at increasing the number of women and minorities in the Foreign Service, especially in the mid-levels. □

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# CLIPPINGS

## Attacking State

"To Senator Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina), it was a battle against socialist-leaning 'termites' in the State Department.

"To others, it was 'blackmail' that hampered U.S. foreign policy and threatened to intimidate diplomats just as the activities of Senator Joseph McCarthy did a generation ago.

"Whatever it was, Helms's recently concluded month-long holdup of 29 State Department nominations was part of a continuing guerrilla war he has waged against the State Department since he came to the Senate in 1973....

"Malcolm Toon, a former U.S. ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union under Presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter, said Helms's attack on [Richard Burt, Rozanne Ridgway, and Edwin Corr] damaged them personally and professionally.

"To rip them apart publicly as he did is not only unfair to them," he said, "it's damaging to their personal prestige as top diplomatic officers...."

"The problem, said Helms's chief foreign relations aide, Jim Lucier, 'is that the State Department is now in the hands of a tight professional clique known as the Foreign Service corps.' This corps, Lucier and Helms believe, has liberal or even socialist leanings and responds only to itself, not to the administration...."

"The State Department had no response to Helms's delay of its nominees, and department officials concede they don't want to publicly challenge Helms."

*Bill Arthur in the Charlotte Observer, July 20*

"Newt Gingrich (R.-Georgia), whose partisan pronouncements against House Democrats have made him a comic-strip celebrity, has shifted his sights to the State Department. He said he hopes to focus political and press discussion on the Reagan administration's failure to address such issues as terrorism, 'pro-freedom guerrilla fighters,' and trade. 'Elite institutions such as the Foreign Service develop mechanisms to protect themselves from outside influence,' he said."

*National Journal, July 27*

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"After four years of preaching the gospel of Reagan's America in Socialist-governed France, Evan G. Galbraith wound up a controversial tour as U.S. ambassador here today with a call for major reforms in the Foreign Service, including nomination of political appointees to all major U.S. Embassies and senior positions in the State Department.

"Such a step was necessary, he said, to correct what he depicted as the Foreign Service's built-in 'liberal Democrat' bias.

"Insisting that foreign policy should be formulated by the president and not the State Department, Galbraith, in his last interview before leaving Paris, said it was particularly difficult for a conservative president such as Reagan to find ambassadors who shared his convictions from the ranks of the professional Foreign Service.

"The facts are that most of the people in the Foreign Service vote Democrat [*sic*]. I can't verify it. It's just a feeling I have. The conservative Ronald Reagan took that office without a great deal of support or enthusiasm from the Foreign Service,' he said."

*Michael Dobbs in the Washington Post, July 14*

## Securing Beirut

"From a cable stamped 'confidential' obtained by our associate Donald Goldberg, it appears that Beirut [before the embassy bombing] asked for the \$130,000 to hire guards and trailers for embassy property outside the fortified compound. A State Department budget officer was sent to look things over.

"While we realize your need for the requested funds,' the cable stated, 'we want to share with you our appreciation of the situation.'

"The cable whined about budget conditions in Washington: 'Funding is very tight....[Security] has expended its supplemental....[Other offices] are already down to emergency reserves in their regular budget.'

"The cable then adopts an admonitory tone: 'It appears that you have expended funds beyond those...allotted or available. In addition, we are concerned that funds allotted for security guards have been expended on other projects.'

"Having established that the embassy was undeserving of sympathy from the people in Washington who are really suffering hardships, the cable laid down 'certain steps' that should be taken 'to get control of the situation and before we can provide any increased funding.'

"First, prepare a 'state of your budget' report. 'Second, you should ensure that no

expenditures are made for which funds are not available or obligated....Before any obligations can be made an officer must certify that funds are available. This applies to regular post funds as well as special security...allotments.'

"Third, the cable said, 'you should review current plans as well as ongoing programs for expenditures of all types to ensure that they are absolutely required (include such items as overtime, lease of vehicles, etc.).'"

*Jack Anderson, June 3*

## Securing San Salvador

"Early every morning, Pat Butenis waits at


the peephole in her front door until a Chevrolet minivan pulls up. Behind the van comes a car, from which springs a man armed with an automatic weapon. While he covers the street, she hurries into the van, which then speeds off to pick up other passengers. The routine is repeated at several more stops until the van deposits its passengers at their destination: a heavily guarded, fortresslike four-story building incongruously set in a quiet commercial and residential neighborhood. Butenis, 31 and single, is a consular officer in the U.S. Foreign Service and the building is the American embassy in San Salvador, the capital of embattled El Salvador."

*Suzanne Seixas in Money, April*

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# 10-25-50

*Foreign Service Journal*, October 1975:  
"The president cannot be brought before the Congress on foreign policy matters, but the diplomat as the president's agent can. His first loyalty is to the chief executive, and this can, on occasion, in a directly personal sense, result in congressional antagonism which may subsequently encumber his career.

"This is a risk the diplomat can never eliminate altogether. He can limit it considerably, however, if he avoids ever being 'cure' in his dealings with Congress. Such dealings almost always stand revealed, and the consequences to the perpetrator can be disastrous and lasting. He must tell the truth. Discretion permits him not to tell all he knows, but...if something is withheld, it must be done in a way so as not to mislead."

*William Macomber*

*Foreign Service Journal*, October 1960:  
"Pedestrians [in Washington are], in fact, finding most streets more difficult to cross, with traffic officers happy to distribute fines. At the corner of 21st & Virginia the light now registers green for only 20 seconds, we're told, and at least three New Staters found their eagerness to get to work penalized by a fine of five dollars each. Perhaps a sprinters' class, it has been suggested, should meet in early morning session to train for Crosswalk Olympics."

*Washington Letter*

*Foreign Service Journal*, October 1935:  
"A prominent official of the department was awakened recently at 1:00 a.m. and received a telegram from one of his assistants to the effect that under such and such an act, the president had approved his 'resignation.' Not at all happy about this unexpected development, the official requested the telegraph company to check back. Toward dawn the operator telephoned him that the word was 'designa-tion.' While waiting for the correction, all the consolation he had was the cheerful comment of the telegrapher, 'Well, you shouldn't worry about that. Only a really big shot is fired by the president.'"

10-25-50 records *JOURNAL* excerpts from previous issues.

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# DESPATCH

## Belling the Diplomat

Added to the catalogue of hazards to diplomatic personnel last August was the chemical nitrophenylpentadienal, the so-called "spy dust" used to track American officials at posts in the Soviet Union. A team of investigators from several government agencies is already conducting a study on the extent of exposure to and possible dangers of the compound. Both the State Department and AFSA have denounced the use of the chemical, which is potentially carcinogenic.

Little else is known about NPPD. It is not listed in chemical registers, nor is it manufactured in the United States. It is not known how the KGB could detect its presence other than by a complex laboratory analysis. It is also not known whether it penetrates the skin, or whether it would be harmful if it did. No health incidents have been definitely attributed to it, and most concentrations found to date are measurable in billionths of a gram.

The use of the chemical by the KGB was known by the CIA since the 1970s, but it had been so sporadic and in such minute amounts that top officials, such as then CIA Director Stansfield Turner, were not informed. Use of NPPD lapsed for a few years, but in the spring of 1984 the agency submitted the compound to a test that showed it to be a mutagen. Mutagens alter genetic material in the cells they contact, and most—but not all—are carcinogenic. In addition, according to an unreleased CIA report based on animal studies cited by *Newsweek* magazine, the potential effects of inhalation of large doses of NPPD include nerve damage, respiratory failure, loss of bladder control, and impotence. Inhalation exposure is probably more worrisome for the KGB than for Americans, since the substance was said to be applied by aerosol cans but transmitted by touch. When a Soviet agent left too much of the yellow powder on a U.S. diplomat's steering wheel last spring, the CIA realized the U.S.S.R. had started using NPPD again, and the substance was found frequently throughout the spring and summer. According to *Science* magazine, increased use in the few weeks before the public announcement triggered the alarm.

Diplomats have expressed anger that they were not informed of the potential health risk, as well as the political danger to their contacts, as soon as widespread use of the substance was known. The reason is that the department itself was ignorant of the problem. State officials confirmed that they did not know about the chemical's use or its potential danger until a few days before its public announcement in late August. At a Washington briefing for personnel who had been stationed in Moscow, Undersecretary for Management Ronald I. Spiers said he found out about the tracking agent three days before the department announced its use; he also noted that he had not been told of it when he was head of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in 1980-81. Sources left open the possibility that some department personnel could have known of the practice and that the information was not passed up to policy levels, but another source emphatically denied that anyone in the department was informed. Representative Daniel Mica (D.-Florida), chairman of the House subcommittee on international operations, said he may ask his committee to investigate whether intelligence agencies and other government branches proceeded as quickly as possible in bringing use of the chemical to the attention of top officials.

The use of a substance to track diplomats would appear to be a violation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, whether or not it turns out to be harmful. The department did not make its public protest on legal grounds, but private protests were lodged based on the Vienna convention, a department official told the *JOURNAL*.

Moscow embassy personnel cabled the Association to seek help in debunking press reports "that we do not take this seriously—we are very concerned—or that this is merely a ploy to damage U.S.-Soviet relations." As one diplomat in Moscow told reporters: "When we go to Beirut we know we are facing terrorism. No one ever told us this was a problem here." According to the *Washington Post*, however, no embassy personnel have taken advantage of an invitation to leave post because of the potential hazard.

## Doster Update

When secretary Carole Doster was murdered by her son on the seventh floor of the department last June 21 [DESPATCH, July/August], State revealed that she had transmitted a request dated May 30 to the Office of Security that her son's building pass be revoked. Action apparently was not taken in time, and he was able to slip a

disassembled rifle past the guards by using his dependant's pass.

A special investigation by the Office of the Inspector General has revealed that the secretary waited "approximately two weeks after May 30" to take the letter to the security office's mail room on the second floor of the State Department. An official in the inspector's office told the *JOURNAL* that mail room personnel as well as a colleague of the murdered woman placed the date at approximately June 13 or 14. Under normal circumstances it would have arrived at the branch office that handles building passes, located in a Columbia Plaza annex, the next business day—no later than Monday, June 17. Action was not begun on the letter until June 19, however. The order revoking the pass was signed on June 21, the day of the murder.

## State's Secrets

The eight major cabinet departments fully honor an average of 91.9 percent of the freedom of information requests submitted to them by citizens, but the State Department came in dead last, according to statistics released by Congress and cited in the *New York Times*. State fulfilled 29.1 percent of its requests for documents, while the next-worst department, Commerce, fulfilled 72.4. Defense was near the top of the list, with 92.4 fully honored requests.

In this case, however, statistics don't necessarily tell the story. According to department sources, nearly half the documents State releases must be counted as only partially fulfilled because the name of an informant, for instance, has been deleted on one page of a voluminous document, or a few cables are eliminated from a request for all the traffic from a particular post. When these partial cases are added, State is honoring 56 percent of its requests. Measured by the document, rather than by the request, the department's record rises to 84 percent compliance.

The chairperson of the Committee on Access of the Organization of American Historians is still critical of the department's record. "We are very concerned that State continues to be very slow" in processing requests, said Anna K. Nelson. "We are also concerned with the great number of partially fulfilled requests, because they are of course partially denied." The department has admitted that many requests are backlogged but claims that if they were counted its fulfillment statistics would improve.

*DESPATCH is a compendium of news about the Service. It is written by the editor and does not necessarily represent the views of AFSA.*



# DEPENDENCY SYNDROME

*The roots of anti-Americanism in Latin America lie not in U.S. policy but in a sense of national inferiority*

JEFFREY BARRETT

THE PROBLEMS encountered by the Reagan administration over Central America have once again brought to public attention an old phenomenon—anti-Americanism in Latin America. As the media focus attention on the rest of our hemisphere, we debate among ourselves what we can do to reduce the hatred we frequently see in front-page pictures or on the evening newscasts. If only we were a better neighbor and less interventionist. If only we were more concerned about democracy and human rights and less with the spread of communism. If only we would stop supporting oppressive dictators, start supporting land reform, increase our aid, decrease our loan rates, drop our tariff barriers, raise our consciousness about the needs of our southern neighbors.

All of these introspective criticisms are based on the assumption that it is U.S. behavior that has caused anti-Americanism. Once we achieve the right mix of policies, we tell ourselves, we can eliminate this problem. It is true that a well-designed and well-executed foreign policy is important. Our deeds can indeed aggravate old feelings and trigger public displays of hatred. No change of U.S. policy can substantially reduce anti-Americanism, however, because that is not its principal cause. The fundamental reason many Latin Americans despise the United States is because they are burdened by a negative national identity. Unfortunately, this problem is substantially beyond the capacity of Americans to control.

The concept of negative national identity refers to the lack of genuine pride that Latin Americans feel toward themselves as a collective. North Americans, however, commonly assume that peoples everywhere have equal amounts of pride in their respective countries. This is not the case. Just as individuals vary widely in self-confidence, so do peoples vary in their national self-confidence. Relative to more prosperous and successful nations, Latin Americans do not enjoy an easy sense of pride. The Venezuelan social critic Carlos Rangel has written that Latin American history has largely been a story of repeated national failure, and he correctly maintains that at some level of consciousness the people can't help but acknowledge this.

*Jeffrey W. Barrett served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Latin America and later worked as a journalist for a magazine there. This article is based on material from his recent book, Impulse to Revolution in Latin America, published by Praeger.*

A history of failure often leads to a negative national identity.

The root of this low national self-confidence is Latin America's role as a secondary center of culture. The idea of such a secondary center was developed by the eminent Australian archeologist V. Gordon Childe in his studies on the history of human progress. Childe noted that there have always been vanguard societies that have been the founts of progress and new ideas, while the rest of the world has remained consumers of the vanguard's production. As Childe points out, primary and secondary centers are just as real today as in the past. Today, the primary centers are those societies that have created the scientific, industrial, and managerial innovations that characterize modern civilization. In that context, Latin America is a secondary center.

To anyone familiar with Latin America, the imbalance of cultural exchange between that society and the primary centers is obvious. Latin America imports massive amounts of culture—ideas in engineering, medicine, industry, management, both the hard and soft sciences, philosophy, and the arts. Visitors are often struck by the enormous impact of foreign cultures in Latin American life. At the same time, very little Latin American culture is exported. Observers there frequently admit this and berate their fellow citizens for their "imitative impulses" and "absence of creativity." The Peruvian writer Augusto Salazar Bondy, for example, describes his country as a "culture of dependence" and has voiced this complaint: "To the challenge of the twentieth century we respond by merely imitating, without originality, without vigor, without nerve, like children in the contemporary world." Possibly the best expression of the Latin American concern over this culture of dependence has been rendered by the famous Uruguayan intellectual Alberto Zum Felde, who challenged his country to face the reality of *dependencia* and to work to overcome it:

As in the domain of biology, there are in the domain of human history parasites of cultures. Our Latin American culture consists of one of these parasitical forms. We have lived and still continue to live absolutely at the expense of European production, like the plants and animals that cling to larger organisms, and from whose vitality they sustain themselves.... The parasitical type of culture complies with the form and the letter of the culture, not its living spirit; as such it is superficial and artificial, a false culture.... There is no doubt that what

Once we achieve the right mix of policies, we tell ourselves, we can eliminate anti-Americanism. Unfortunately, the problem is substantially beyond our capacity to control

Just like individuals, peoples vary widely in their national self-confidence. Relative to more prosperous and successful nations, Latin Americans do not enjoy an easy sense of pride

we call "our culture" today is an imported product....To even talk of "our culture" is strictly speaking not conceptually or linguistically possible, because what we can rightfully call *ours* is only that which is a product and expression of ourselves....Culture in most of our America exists in a state of falsity; it is the appearance of culture and not the reality, of seeming and not being; the culture here is on loan and has not really taken root.

Negative national identity is a critical feature of contemporary Latin American life that must be recognized and understood if one is to comprehend the differing types of nationalistic—and anti-nationalistic—behavior in that society. Once we uncover and examine the emotional roots of nationalistic behavior in Latin American culture, we can better understand surface political phenomena such as anti-Americanism.

ONE METHOD THAT some Latin Americans use to rid themselves of a negative national identity is to deny that they have any national identity at all. Instead, they attempt to assume what may be called a *cosmopolitan anti-nationalistic identity*. Latin Americans who adopt this alternative means of self-definition insist on being evaluated as individuals, not members of a collectivity. In their view, everyone should absorb the best features of world civilization. More important, individuals should be judged on how well they accomplish this, not on whether their societies have made significant contributions to that civilization. Latin American anti-nationalists probably argue in this fashion because they regard their cultures as inferior and do not wish to feel personal responsibility or shame. They wish to avoid having their sense of self-esteem depend on the value of the society in which they happen to be born.

Cosmopolitan anti-nationalists attempt to renounce their national identity by setting themselves apart from their own cultures. One means they use to accomplish this is to identify and denigrate their societies' faults. At times they are so blind to the positive aspects that they won't even admit that the spectacular scenery in the Andes can compare with the Swiss Alps. A second method they use to renounce their national identities is to study and emulate those cultures they do admire, namely those of the United States and Europe. Visitors are frequently surprised to see Latin Americans devoting long hours to the study of languages not their own, compiling record collections featuring North American and European rather than Latin music, and displaying considerable interest in the literature, cinema, celebrities, customs, fashions, and latest trends of the advanced countries. Another popular social pastime is to surround oneself with the latest consumer goods and gadgets from the advanced countries and to make sure everyone knows their foreign origin. In effect, by belittling their own culture and devoutly assimilating foreign influences, they seek to become the equals of North Americans and Europeans by becoming culturally indistinct from them.

Another response some Latin Americans may adopt toward a negative national identity instead of denying

that it exists, is to attempt to change its character to positive one. These *adoptive nationalists* believe that for their people to become equal to the citizens of the advanced countries and reap the reward of a positive national identity, they must assume many of the cultural characteristics of those countries. Adoptive nationalists often sound like cosmopolitan anti-nationalists since they too criticize those national values and customs they feel hold back modernization, while praising the economic virtues of the advanced countries. Though their words may sound the same, however, their intent is different. Unlike cosmopolitan anti-nationalists, these individuals are not escapist trying to avoid identification with their own people but modernization-minded nationalists absorbed in the ideal of service to their fellow citizens and bringing them the cultural and material benefits of the twentieth century.

Adoptive nationalism was the dominant form during the nineteenth century. However, it tended to sound as harsh as the disdainful ridicule of the anti-nationalists, and even seemed to confirm them in their point of view. Compounding this problem was the fact that Latin Americans were not adopting modern economic and civic virtues—and so not building strong economies and viable democracies—as successfully as the adoptive nationalists had hoped. This experience as unsuccessful apprentices led Latin Americans to replace adoptive nationalism with another form that seemed to claim for them a more respectable position than that of mere students of the advanced countries. While adoptive nationalism is still very common on the private level, in public it has been nearly supplanted by the nationalism that came about as a response to it—*reactive nationalism*.

The reactive nationalists are similar to the adoptive nationalists in that they wanted to devise a way in which Latin Americans might feel proud of their national identity. However, while the adoptive nationalists sought to create a positive identity by adopting selected values of the peoples they regarded as superior, the reactive nationalists seek to demonstrate how Latin Americans are already morally and spiritually superior to these others. In addition, the reactive nationalists have tried to show how these same foreigners were responsible for the social and economic problems that beset Latin America.

By far the most important of the ideas generated by the reactive nationalists to help their peoples deal with negative national identities has been the theory of imperialism. Latin Americans are aware—often painfully—of their backwardness. The theory of imperialism gives them the means to shift the blame for this to outsiders. And, by staking out a claim on the moral high ground of anti-imperialism, the reactive nationalists are also able to assume a position of moral superiority.

The problem with the theory of imperialism is not that Latin Americans cannot find legitimate complaints about the behavior of foreign countries. The problem lies in the relative emphasis they give to those complaints. Reactive nationalists expend huge amounts of energy analyzing and debating how foreigners have damaged Latin America. Whether they are right or wrong, however, their analysis is largely

irrelevant, because the most important element in the rapid modernization of a country is whether the people have sufficient social discipline to work together to achieve common aims. The Japanese, for example, have proven that a people can rapidly modernize in the face of every conceivable disadvantage. When the reactive nationalists focus attention on what foreigners have done in the past, and on what they should do to make up for it, they ignore the critical question of what Latin Americans can do for themselves.

**A**N EXAMPLE of this is the reactive-nationalist complaint about the kind of investments outsiders have made in Latin America. Contemporary reactive nationalists often maintain that their countries lack a good manufacturing base because foreigners once concentrated almost all their investments in mining and agriculture rather than manufacturing. They are quite correct in their description of the investments foreigners preferred, but such criticism shifts attention away from the people with the main responsibility for modernization—the Latin Americans themselves. If they want to develop the manufacturing capacity of their countries, it is neither reasonable nor realistic to expect that foreigners should have done it for them. During the nineteenth century and for much of this one, North Americans and Europeans were preoccupied with developing their own economies and had little incentive for investing in manufacturing industries apart from their own. Their only need from Latin America was for food and raw materials, and so the bulk of their investments were placed in agricultural, mining, and petroleum enterprises.

What could Latin Americans have done under these circumstances? Those interested in developing domestic industries really had only one option: to emulate the Japanese by building their own factories. This required foreign technology and expertise—and, of course, foreign capital. The Japanese managed to acquire seed capital by creating a silkworm industry that exported to the West. Latin Americans were in an even more advantageous position for accumulating capital because many of their countries were rich in raw materials. Thus, far from condemning Latin Americans to economic dependence on primary products, North American and European investments in extractive industries provided an opportunity for them to accumulate capital and take the first steps toward industrialization.

Capital is the key factor in reactive-nationalist criticism of economic imperialism. Whether Latin Americans are complaining about the types of foreign investment, the profits removed from the country, or the loan terms given to foreign businesses, the underlying assumption is that the developed countries are not providing enough capital. Yet the essential irrelevancy of this is shown by the fact that capital is simply not the decisive element in economic development. The case of Japan demonstrates that a determined people can modernize their country with scant resources, few foreign investments, and high-interest rates on foreign loans. The example of oil-rich Venezuela, on the other hand, shows that a country can

have abundant capital and still not successfully modernize. The critical factor in economic modernization is not the amount of capital a country possesses, but how it is used.

In the last analysis, people develop a country, not money. This focus on people is hardly new in the study of Latin American modernization. The adoptive nationalists, who produced some of the finest thinkers in Latin American history, repeated this theme again and again during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Contemporary reactive nationalists do not recognize this because their main concern is not to discover the causes of national poverty but to relieve the burden of a negative national identity. However, they have not been very successful in this endeavor, even failing to convince many of their fellow citizens who want to believe.

Because many Latin Americans have an emotional need to cast stones at foreigners, the myth of imperialist exploitation has grown over the years to extraordinary proportions. Powerful foreigners are thought to be tirelessly scheming to impoverish and subjugate Latin America. When Ecuadorians in a small city saw a large number of dead fish floating down a river a few years ago, many concluded that "imperialists" were responsible for the event. On another occasion a rumor surfaced in Rio de Janeiro that the CIA had made the beaches in northeastern Brazil radioactive. University students throughout the continent will look you straight in the eye and inform you that the CIA has agents planted in every classroom. The filmmaker Fernando Solanas flatly accuses the CIA of controlling all—yes, *all*—the media on the continent. One particularly imaginative revolutionary discovered a way of blaming imperialism for earthquakes and hurricanes. Leading Latin American political figures, although normally more sober than revolutionary extremists, nevertheless often contend that the greatest problem facing their countries is imperialism. And prominent intellectuals and social critics, probing into the causes of national poverty, frequently write as if nothing else mattered except the malevolent hand of the foreigner.

The lesson for North Americans in this is a difficult one to accept. The fact is, however, that we have done little to alter the conditions that produce anti-Americanism in Latin America. The fundamental cause of this antagonism is the negative national identity so common among Latin Americans as the result of the vast disparity between the United States as a primary center of culture and the countries to the south as a secondary center. North Americans, of course, can help by providing access to capital and technology, but the crucial factor is not the amount of aid that they provide but how effectively Latin Americans use it.

Skillful diplomacy on the part of U.S. diplomats can prevent the arousal of hostile feelings. The United States must realize, however, that even substantial changes in foreign policy such as refusing to recognize dictatorships, increasing aid, or indexing the prices of raw materials to manufactured goods will not win the affection of the reactive nationalists who are now dominant. In the last analysis, the United States is not hated for what it does, but for what it is. □

**Capital is the key component in reactive-nationalist criticism of economic imperialism. But the critical factor in modernization is not the amount of capital but how it is used**

# CHANGING THE RULES

*Governments should reexamine  
the conventional handbook on  
countering terrorism*

CURTIS F. JONES

**A**S COLUMNIST Joseph Harsch recently observed, terrorism often works. Zionist terrorism accelerated the end of British rule in Palestine. Mau Mau terrorism hastened the independence of Kenya. South Yemenite terrorism led to the creation of the People's Republic. The Shiite hijackers of TWA Flight 847 received multiple dividends. They publicized their cause. They forced the U.S. government, in the minds of many, to renege on its policy and make a deal with terror. And they showed that realistic governments can seldom make good on promises of swift retribution.

When terror strikes against Americans, there is a natural flare of resentment that our powerful country is being humiliated by a handful of desperadoes. The government comes under heavy pressure to take a combative line. To hardline policymakers, conciliation of terrorism is demeaning in the short run and disadvantageous in the long run. During the TWA crisis, Henry Kissinger went on television to inveigh against any negotiation whatsoever with the hijackers. *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz argued on PBS that the United States should have taken military action, even at risk to the hostages themselves, to preserve U.S. honor. Their positions do not stand up to examination. If a terrorist faction is indeed psychopathic, its action will be unresponsive to official action, however violent. Or if terrorism springs from legitimate grievances, it is likely to persist until the basic inequities are eliminated.

Let's re-cast some of the rules from the traditional handbook on dealing with terrorism:

■ **Conciliation Can Save Lives.** President Nixon flatly rejected deals with the Palestinians who held diplomats Cleo Noel and Curt Moore in Khartoum and with the Haitians who abducted Clinton

Knox. Noel and Moore were murdered. Knox was saved when the Haitian government paid his ransom, without visible ill effects on that country's political situation. In 1976, when Croats hijacked a U.S. airliner to Paris, Kissinger issued the ritual rejection of negotiation, but the Federal Aviation Administration and the FBI looked into the hijackers' demands, found them acceptable, facilitated the publication of their manifesto, and recovered passengers and crew.

While all the facts of the TWA hijacking may never come out, most of us—including some prominent journalists and members of Congress—were persuaded by the sequence of events that the United Nations and Syria arranged in secret the exchange of the American hostages from the plane for Lebanese prisoners in Israel. Israel, which has an ostensible policy of refusing to negotiate, broke that doctrine in 1968 to recover an El Al airliner, and within the last year to retrieve a few soldiers from Palestinian imprisonment.

■ **Retaliation Usually Backfires.** Obviously, no government can long af-

ford to exchange empty threats with terrorists through the media. Epithets like "savages" and "barbarians" serve no constructive purpose. Pressures rise to fight terror with terror, evoking the image of Clint Eastwood or Charles Bronson's taking the law into their own hands to impose their own version of morality. Counter-terrorism, however, usually clashes with practicality. Rarely do we know who the individual terrorists are, or how to track them down in the jungles of Central America or the recesses of Tehran or Beirut. Even when they are located, strikes against them can cause civilian casualties, or unacceptable international consequences, and put off the possibility of negotiation.

■ **Look to the Causes.** U.S. defenses against terrorism should take three forms: maintain tight security; look for opportunities for quiet negotiation; and, above all, eliminate the root causes.

South Africa, for instance, faces the prospect of unending violence until racial equality is instituted. The Middle East can look for continuation of Arab-Israeli violence until the basic issues are resolved. Terrorists act out of a sense of grievance. As the illegal use or threat of force for political purposes, terrorism is a political act that seeks a political end. Resolving terrorism, therefore, means moving the action from the realm of warfare to the realm of the bargaining table, the voting booth, or the legislature. Only in such a manner can its causes be eliminated. □

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AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE PRESIDENT'S ANTITERRORISM, HOSTAGE RETRIEVAL, AND WALL-BANGING COMMITTEE



*A militiaman delivers supplies to one of the Shiite hijackers of TWA Flight 847. Terrorism is a low-cost, high-return form of conflict particularly profitable to political-military organizations with limited power that are seeking worldwide recognition for their causes.*

## WAR OF THE PRESENT

*International terrorism is a new form of warfare, and we need new weapons to fight it*

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

**T**HE HIJACKING of TWA Flight 847 brought home a stark reality of the 1980s. We are engaged in a war with international terrorism that promises to be longer, bloodier, and more difficult than anyone predicted. Over the past few years a number of western leaders, including French President Mitterand, British Prime Minister Thatcher, and President Reagan, have publicly declared war on terrorism in the wake of murderous attacks on their own institutions and citizens. The irony of these declarations is that they were made long after the war had begun.

The hammer blows of the Beirut car-bomb attacks, and the continued prominence of Americans and U.S. installations as targets, have forced some reforms and improvements in our counter-terrorist machinery. There is still a frequent lack of effective counter-measures and planning, however. Much of this has been due to our inability to mobilize for this new form of warfare with the proper resources and commitment. The fever chart of preoccupation and concern with terrorism shoots up at each attack and falls precipitously during periods of calm. Interagency disputes, procedural arguments, bureaucratic logjams, and the continued reluctance of some civilian and military officials to fully appreciate the nature of the threat have hampered our efforts. This situation would not be tolerated in a conventional conflict, however minor.

The U.S. government has refused to face some of the hard facts of international terrorism. Unconventional warfare calls for unconventional solutions. Military history teaches few lessons to the counter-terrorist, and the legitimate desire of those innocent peoples who find themselves targets cannot be met by

traditional defenses. Let's look at some of those harsh realities:

■ **The War of the Present.** Terrorism is a low-cost, high-return form of conflict particularly profitable to political-military organizations with limited power that are seeking worldwide recognition for their causes. Once described as "the war of the future," terrorism is now the war of the present. It is a war we were—and are—unprepared for, and a war we are far from winning. For several years now, terrorists have been operating with considerable success.

■ **The Reality of Hate.** To cope with the violent world of international terrorism we must recognize that many people dislike the United States—and Americans—mightily. We have to understand the meaning and power of hate. The center of a terrorist's universe is not his or her plan, weapon, or political color. It is the terrorist's brain, the machine that controls thoughts and directs every move. Only if we have some knowledge of what influences, impulses, and emotions are affecting his or her thinking can we counter those actions. The TWA hostages have told us that one terrorist paraded through the aisles of the aircraft brandishing an AK47 and chanting that his family had been killed by shells from the USS *New Jersey*. The hostages were later shown films of the damage caused by the bombardment. This does not excuse the terrorists' actions but it underlines the

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Brandishing a pistol, a Shiite hijacker prepares to be interviewed by ABC-TV. A terrorist action without wide public exposure has about the same effect as a performance played to an empty theater.



linkage of previous events and the ongoing strength of personal hate—a weapon that terrorist movements have learned to nurture and use with effectiveness.

■ **The Need for International Cooperation.** The less-than-enthusiastic response from our allies and other friends when we requested support for a boycott of the Beirut airport reveals the difficulty of international cooperation in terrorist matters. While friendly intelligence organizations, police forces, and special paramilitary units maintain liaison for counter-terrorist purposes, they are powerless to share information or coordinate their actions without high-level approval. Economic considerations, old colonial links with specific areas and nations, internal political pressures, and the "they hit you but they would never hit us" syndrome often delay or annul cooperative action. Nevertheless, we should not abandon our efforts. If anything they should be intensified. High-level emphasis—such as Vice President Bush's recent swing through Europe—is essential, and on a continuing basis. A surge of terrorist activity may even facilitate bilateral and multilateral cooperative arrangements. Until this happens we must be realistic and prepare to go it alone.

■ **The Primacy of Intelligence.** The advent of international terrorism, with its indirect and sometimes direct state support, and its spiderweb of supply, training, and planning networks, has put a premium on the acquisition of accurate intelligence. HUMINT—the catchword for human intelligence, rather than that obtained from electronic surveillance and satellites—has come back into its own. Our spies in the sky may tell us that five truckloads of Shiite trainees have left their camp in the Bekaa Valley, but they won't tell us what their mission is.

Intelligence gathering on terrorist methods, operations, and personalities is seldom accomplished over stuffed squab at a diplomatic dinner. Much of the valuable information comes from the street. Prostitutes, bartenders, hotel clerks, waiters, drug dealers, airline personnel, merchant seamen, cab drivers, gunsmiths, refugees, and the employees of foreign embassies are representative components of the human sea through which the terrorist must move and the element in which he or she hides. Here again, international cooperation is of prime importance.

A French agent might pick up what appears to be an innocuous piece of intelligence on an individual transiting Djibouti on his way to Europe. The agent's report may be destined for a long slumber in the files of the *piscine* in Paris. The same information, fed into the efficient computers of the Bundeskriminalamt in Weisbaden, or correlated with other material by the Home Office in London, could spark an alert ensuring a surveillance operation when the suspect debarks at a European port.

The terrorists' propensity to operate in self-contained cells, like the wartime European resistance, makes infiltration both difficult and hazardous. Despite the pressure for immediate results, therefore, quick action is difficult. Only a long-term approach will make significant penetration possible. "Moles and money" are two keys to successful counter-terrorist intelligence gathering. It is much more cost effective to expend funds for such operations than to offer

huge sums for information following a terrorist action.


■ **The Difficulty of Striking Back.** President Reagan's reference to "pounding a few walls" in frustration during the Beirut hostage crisis dramatizes the situation of a superpower suffering from the pin-pricks of an elusive enemy. In our legitimate desire to find an adequate response to terrorism, we have mustered an overabundance of firepower and manpower, chiefs and Indians, that jeopardizes the three major requirements for combating terrorism—secrecy, speed, and efficiency. Air strikes, off-shore naval shelling, spectacular operations by Delta Force, shadowy deployment of teams from the Pentagon's Joint Special Operations Agency, and use of CIA-trained counter-terrorist groups (the bloody, unauthorized car bomb aimed at Shiite leader Mohammed Fadallah, for instance) have all been mentioned as available resources. Unfortunately, few of them can be brought to bear on a four-man terrorist team that changes location frequently and remains on a hair-trigger alert. The army's classic motto of "find, fix, and destroy" is basically sound in conventional warfare but, just as it seldom applied in Vietnam, so too is it impossible to fulfill when fighting terrorism.

A number of influential voices have been raised recently urging the president to fulfill his inaugural promise of "swift retribution." Henry Kissinger has been particularly active in demanding action, but there is a vast difference between unleashing bombers over Hanoi in 1972 and hitting a terrorist group that has gone to ground in a sympathetic urban environment.

The real answer—and it may be distasteful to many Americans—lies in the use of skilled, disciplined action agents, working under maximum secrecy, to attack and eliminate terrorists wherever they may be the most vulnerable. War means killing, and those under lethal attack have the right to self-defense even if it involves a pre-emptive operation. This does not mean the leveling of an entire village in an attempt to hit a local terrorist camp or the use of car bombs during the rush hour in a major city.

Moreover, we should drop the word "surgical" from our vocabulary when speaking of air strikes. Bombing, no matter how well planned, is indiscriminate. It tends to create more terrorists than it destroys. Only when applied to small scale agent action does "surgical" become an accurate description. It is not a question of launching a clandestine war of attrition with a monthly body count. The objective would be the punishment or elimination of the chiefs, the leaders and planners, not necessarily the foot soldiers.

■ **The Need to Think Like Terrorists.** There is no doubt that U.S. government employees are now priority targets—they are often in as much danger as a combat soldier. Yet Foreign Service personnel have misgivings about State's security arrangements at posts, as a recent survey in this publication revealed. To the department's credit, it is, by adopting the recommendations of the Inman panel on overseas security, making a major effort to reduce these risks through structural improvements, specialized equipment, and increased training. These efforts will be to no avail, however, if those responsible for overseas



*His face obscured but his weapon visible, a hijacker guards the doorway of the TWA 727. No one wants to encourage further terrorist action, either by showing weakness or by some other means, but negotiations need not signal capitulation.*

security don't eliminate risky situations before an attack can occur. The way to do this is to adopt an attitude of thinking like terrorists.

Television footage shown in Europe after the second attack on our embassy in Beirut, for instance, revealed that one counter-measure consisted of an exposed recoilless rifle, manned by one marine, mounted in the middle of the street. You don't have to be a guerrilla warfare expert to know that such a position could be quickly neutralized by sniper and rocket fire prior to any terrorist assault.

This example illustrates the need for all overseas Americans—security officers, marine guards, political officers, typists—to think like terrorists. Foreign Service personnel, at home, in transit, or at the office, should be asking themselves what they would do if they had the same tactical goals and objectives as terrorists. This simple exercise can be invaluable in identifying weaknesses in security procedures and ensuring an awareness of prevailing threats even in a quiet period. Security today is no longer the special domain of the security officer; it has become everyone's business.

■ **The Need to Negotiate.** Our policy of no negotiation and no deals with terrorists was shot full of holes by the TWA hijacking. Not only did we deal, we went to one of the world's leading terror-masters, Syria's President Assad, for help. In the best of worlds our putative hard-nosed policy made sense. In the real world it is already obsolete. No one wants to encourage further terrorist action, either by showing weakness or by some other means, but negotiations need not signal capitulation.

Terrorists are far from stupid. They know very well that if a busload of children on their way to an American school overseas is hijacked, domestic pressure would force the U.S. government to negotiate—directly or indirectly—regardless of our hardline policy. Dealing with terrorists in a hostage seizure has its own built-in requirements and risks. Experienced negotiators know that in most cases, particularly after the first 48 hours, when the success of an armed counter-strike becomes less feasible, the name of the game is continued contact. A dialogue, no matter how inconclusive, tends to keep fingers off triggers. Negotiation is not acquiescence. Depending on the psychological state of the terrorists, a negotiator can talk tough while reasoning with his adversary. A veteran *commissaire divisionnaire* of the French national police's Groupe d'Intervention with a history of success in hostage situations has his own formula. It is rough but to the point. "If you harm one of those hostages," he informs gunmen, "you're dead men."

Above all, we must not delude ourselves with set-in-concrete policies. Flexibility in dealing with terrorists is essential. That same flexibility, coupled with tactical ploys to exploit the enemy's weaknesses while taking into account its strengths, can be a useful tool in a crisis situation.

■ **The Need for a Global Audience.** A terrorist action without wide public exposure has about the same effect as a riveting performance played to an empty theater. The drama of international terrorism is designed to play on a world stage before a captive audience. For the terrorist that audience is as impor-

tant a target as the victim of his act. Modern media capabilities ensure that an isolated action in an obscure corner of the world will often become the lead item on all the network newscasts. The Islamic Jihad, for instance, is an organization yet to be clearly identified, but it is already known to millions.

Techniques must be developed to pre-empt and combat terrorist propaganda. This cannot be a simple public relations exercise of expressing horror and condemnation; in many ways this only plays into the terrorists' hands by amplifying the fear quotient. It is a question of deflating terrorist claims with ready facts, and with speed and clarity.

If we accept the fact that we are involved in a war with terrorism it is time we begin to approach our own public reactions with more sang-froid. The carnival atmosphere attached to the return of the hostages, ranging from yellow ribbons to welcoming committees, is understandable for humanitarian and political reasons. But victory celebrations should be reserved for a more propitious time. We are far from winning; in fact, we aren't doing well at all. A more businesslike approach is required if the public is to understand the problems and efforts of its own government and not engage in roller coaster rides alternating between euphoria and depression.

■ **The Need for an Independent Counter-Terrorism Office.** In the winter of 1982 I put forward a number of recommendations in an article titled "Organizing for Counter-Terrorism" published by the *U.S. Strategic Review*. One of them called for the creation of a central, full-time counter-terrorist office staffed by competent civilian and military officials with knowledge of terrorist organizations, training in counter-terrorist tactics, and specialization applicable to terrorist activities in specific regions. Even with the proposed consolidation of State's security and counter-terrorism offices under the Inman panel recommendations, an intragovernmental agency is still needed.

The assets of such an office could range from psychological profiles of particular terrorists to estimates on the amount of international support expected following a specific U.S. move; from on-the-ground resources available at a given location to the required air space clearances required in an emergency. During lulls in terrorist activity, a permanent office could reinforce its expertise, continue its data gathering, and assist other government agencies through training programs, briefings, and advice. In a crisis situation it could go into action quickly with a minimum amount of gear shifting and a maximum amount of security.

During a recent visit to Washington, where I spoke with U.S. officials involved in our counter-terrorist effort, I had the impression that there had been some subtle but positive changes in our approach to the problem. I sensed a certain pragmatism and practicality that had previously been lacking. Nevertheless, in the measure of historical time, we are probably only beginning a long, bitter struggle that will produce additional casualties. The sooner all of us recognize this and prepare for it, the more likely we will eventually be able to counter terrorism with a measure of success. □

## CUTS, SALARIES, SPOUSES CONCERN YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATS

**T**HE WORK OF Yugoslavia's Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs is very complicated. Members of our foreign service are spread around the world, and round-the-clock ties must be maintained with the center in Belgrade. Furthermore, Yugoslavia plays a special role in world affairs as one of the pillars of non-alignment and the struggle for peaceful co-existence. These policies are deeply rooted in all parts of the FSFA. They constitute an unwritten but inviolable law that regulates the activities of all secretariat organs and is included in all its documents and contacts with other governments.

To understand how the foreign affairs secretariat works, it is necessary to understand its structure. The Foreign Office is located in several hundred rooms of a majestic, multi-story building at 24-26 Kneza Milosa Street in Belgrade. The FSFA has 2411 employees: 1132 serve in our diplomatic and consular missions abroad, while 1279 work in Belgrade. It is headed by the federal secretary, who is appointed by the Federal Assembly. The deputy federal secretary, undersecretary, and FSFA ambassadors—the secretariat's chief executives—are appointed by the Federal Executive Council. There are 16 of the last in the Foreign Office. Their duties are not confined to a particular division; instead, they take on responsibilities as the need arises. They are usually former ambassadors or other experienced diplomatic officials.

Below the ambassadors, if we can put it that way, are the assistants to the federal secretary. There are usually five to eight assistants, whose job is to head the various regional and functional divisions. Daily business in the divisions is conducted by officials from 10 departments (regional bureaux, the bureau for personnel, the international affairs service, etc.) headed by department chiefs, who are high-ranking FSFA officials. Within the departments, duties are apportioned according to rank, ranging from attaché up to minister plenipotentiary, which gives the entire operation of the secretariat, both at home and abroad, a hierarchical character. This ladder, however, is not meant to divide individuals. Its purpose is rather to form a chain of command within which collegial and interpersonal relations are extraordinarily good.

The hierarchy also exists in our diplomatic and consular missions overseas. The highest ranking are

those with the title of ambassador, who head our missions to countries in which we have embassies. The chief representatives of our multilateral missions also carry ambassadorial rank. In five countries—Bolivia, the Congo, Madagascar, the Central African Republic, and New Zealand—we have embassies headed by a *chargé d'affaires*. In the hierarchy, a *chargé* (although he may bear the title of ambassador) stands one step below the rank of ambassador and therefore has fewer powers. They usually serve in countries with which we have less-developed relations. We maintain this type of diplomatic representation for reasons of economy: a *chargé* usually has a staff of only one or two officers.

Diplomacy has always attracted a great deal of public attention because of the nature of the work and its importance. We discussed the work of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs with Under Secretary Andjelko Blazevic. A very pleasant man and an experienced diplomat—he was ambassador to India and has held diplomatic positions in many other countries—he found time to talk to a *Start* reporter despite a very busy schedule.

Blazevic said that the Yugoslav public believes the FSFA is a closed shop. "Although we try to demonstrate that we are not an elite service, many people in our country and abroad continue to think of diplomacy as a so-called 'elite profession,'" he said. This may have been true in the past, but today, he insisted, the secretariat has opened its doors to everyone qualified to do this demanding work. In the early 1970s the opinion was often heard that anyone could be a diplomat, and that professionalism was unnecessary. Fortunately, Blazevic said, this opinion was not long-lived, and the "policy of non-professionalism" has disappeared from 24-26 Kneza Milosa, probably forever. There may still be a few remnants of that time, but the last traces are fading. The FSFA now has a very clear and sensible policy that requires diplomats to be social, political, and economic professionals, with additional training needed to do diplomatic work.

Blazevic emphasized that diplomacy is a very demanding job. A person who is not prepared for hard work should not become a diplomat. It is not an occupation with fixed hours; a diplomat is always on duty, not only because of what his own country asks of him, but also because of the requirements of the country in which he serves. For example, if an ambassador is leaving for a few days' vacation or some other busi-

*Reprinted by permission of Start magazine, Zagreb, Yugoslavia. This article has been adapted from an informal translation by the U.S. embassy in Belgrade.*

Although we try to demonstrate that we are not an elite service, many people in our country and abroad continue to think of diplomacy as a so-called 'elite profession'

ness, he has to notify at least two countries. Diplomats simply do not have the right to conduct themselves in a foreign land as that country's citizens do. Diplomacy is unique work, an effort that is "a kind of fatigue through consideration." It is a profession that is becoming increasingly dangerous, because terrorists often settle accounts with a government by shooting its representatives. Yugoslav diplomacy, like that of almost all other countries, has had its dead and wounded.

Diplomacy has also been subject to economic pressures. Since 1980, Blazevic remarked, the secretariat has reduced the number of its employees by a third and closed 24 diplomatic, consular, and other missions abroad. The number of employees has been lowered everywhere, and the cutbacks continue. Blazevic stressed that this was not done because the volume of work has decreased; on the contrary, it has increased. However, as part of this country, it is only natural that the FSFA should be subject to economic stabilization. There should be no exceptions.

That economic stabilization is in effect at the FSFA is proved not only by reductions in staff and travel; it is demonstrated also by a decreasing operating budget. Four years ago, the FSFA had an annual operating budget of \$63 million (provided for, of course, in the federal budget); today, although the secretariat has many more complex tasks before it, its annual budget is approximately \$48 million, and further cuts are expected. The FSFA's annual revenues (from visa fees and the like) amount to around \$6 million.

The secretariat points out, however, that there have been some exaggerated demands for economy from people who do not understand the role of our diplomatic and consular missions, nor the purpose of sending representatives to various international conferences and meetings. But the question is not, Should we go? but, rather, What will we lose if we don't? For financial reasons, the FSFA did not send representatives to several international conferences, but it made these decisions reluctantly. The lesson—"it's more expensive not to go"—is all too well known in the secretariat.

Blazevic and I had a long talk about pay. The public has many misconceptions about salaries, particularly those paid in hard currency. Even people in the federal government have the completely erroneous idea that our diplomats are paid too much. "Ten years ago no one asked us about our salaries, but today many people do, directly or indirectly," Blazevic said. None of the people who complain about our salaries understands what diplomatic life is like. Expenditures for clothing, shoes, and entertaining are necessities for both political and representational reasons for all diplomatic personnel, but especially for ambassadors.

Three factors are used to determine the salaries of diplomatic personnel, from administrators down to the janitors. First, a base salary, denominated in dollars or other hard currency, is established for each country, depending on the cost of living as determined by U.N. research. Second, the base is multiplied by a coefficient that depends on both rank and responsibilities. In many countries the coefficient is 3.2 for ambassador, 3 for the consul general, 2.9 for a

consul, and so on down to the janitor. The ratio between the highest (the ambassador's) salary and the lowest (the janitor's) is 4:1. Salaries are higher in some of the larger and more important missions, like Moscow, New York, and London. The ratio in consulates general is 3:1 and it is lower still in consulates.

Eleven special allowances, awarded for a variety of reasons according to very strict criteria, are the third factor. There is no diplomatic or consular mission eligible for all 11. Every employee abroad has a guaranteed minimum income for his spouse of 10 percent of his salary; this allowance cannot exceed 20 percent, except in the case of ambassadors, who receive 30 percent provided their wives participate in representation.

All employees also receive an allowance of between \$40 and \$120 for each child. There are also special allowances for knowledge of a foreign language, harsh climate, etc. As a result, in most countries an ambassador's salary, including the coefficient and special allowances, is around \$2500 a month, of which 20 percent is payable in dinars (as it is for all other diplomatic personnel). Of course, if an ambassador is unmarried or childless, his salary is lower. There are, however, about 10 countries in the world—including Japan, Guinea, Nigeria, and Kuwait—where \$2500 would scarcely last 10 days. Base salary is higher in these countries, but the ambassador's total still does not exceed \$4000 a month. Because of the devaluation of the dinar, a cleaning woman in our embassy in Washington who earns \$500 a month makes more than the president of the Federal Executive Council. Although this is a fact, such comparisons make no economic sense.

It is worth noting that there is a great difference between the salaries of businessmen employed in Yugoslav companies abroad and diplomats of the same rank. Businessmen typically earn twice as much. For example, senior executives in our enterprises in Iraq earn \$5000 a month, twice the monthly salary of our ambassador. The situation is similar in other countries. Diplomats commonly try to find a job in business, not only because the pay is higher, but because the work is less complex.

**D**IPLOMATIC PERSONNEL, from janitor to ambassador, have the same customs requirements as other citizens returning from abroad. Greater problems arise with employment and housing. When a businessman returns from abroad he has a job waiting for him in his company as well as the apartment he received in the past. A diplomat, however, doesn't know what his job will be when he comes back, and even the bureau that guarantees him a position cannot say in advance exactly what the job will be. It is therefore difficult to determine who is coming back when and what he will be doing. Sometimes a diplomat will depart immediately for another job abroad, sometimes he will stay in the Foreign Office.

When a diplomat leaves for an assignment his apartment is assigned to the housing pool. The office then gives it to another family that has returned and is waiting for onward assignment. When that diplomat

returns from his assignment he will most probably receive someone else's apartment. Constant moving around, changing apartments, buying new furniture and shipping effects create a significant number of problems. Some employees who have been working abroad for 20 years still do not have an apartment in Yugoslavia. Employment for diplomats' spouses is another particularly complicated issue. The Republic of Serbia has passed a law guaranteeing that spouses' jobs will be held for them until they return from assignment abroad. Other republics and provinces have not yet solved this problem, or at least not completely.

The status of all diplomatic personnel in our missions is regulated by the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 and other conventions dating from that period. Parties to these conventions (which regulate diplomatic relations, privileges, and immunity) have guaranteed certain privileges and immunity to foreign diplomatic personnel in their countries, despite differences between constitutional and social systems. This is not for the sake of giving preference to some individuals over others, but to enable foreign representatives to perform their duties effectively.

People with diplomatic status are untouchable. They cannot be arrested or detained for any reason; their residences, like embassies and consulates, are inviolable and are entitled to the same protection. The same applies to any documents a diplomat may be carrying, his correspondence, and his personal belongings. The members of a diplomat's family who share his household also have immunity and certain privileges. Administrative and technical personnel and members of their families have somewhat more limited privileges and immunity.

The rights granted diplomatic officials carry certain responsibilities. Even a traffic violation committed by a diplomat is more serious than one committed by a businessman. Naturally, the more serious the offense, the greater the responsibility. Even if a diplomat manages to evade the authorities of the country where he is accredited, he cannot get away with his offense when he returns home. Diplomats who violate the law of other countries are severely punished when they return, and they are frequently withdrawn from post. Of course, a host country can always pronounce a diplomat *persona non grata* and throw him out. It is worth noting that for the last 20 years Yugoslav diplomats have rarely been cast out.

**T**HE FSFA CLAIMS that the recruitment of foreign service personnel is very democratic. Ambassadors and other senior officials are recruited in two ways: two-thirds of all diplomatic positions are filled by the FSFA from its own ranks; the remaining third are prominent political and social officials from the republics and provinces. The latter must receive additional training in diplomacy, a provision which did not exist in the past.

All candidates for foreign assignment must fulfill certain criteria. First, they have to be qualified for the job. Their education and experience, however distinguished, should not be too specialized. In other

words, the director of a cellulose factory who is also an excellent economist does not necessarily make a good diplomat. There have been a sufficient number of cases to prove this. For this reason, the secretariat gives precedence to those people who have already worked in foreign affairs, either in Yugoslavia or abroad.

A candidate for ambassador must know at least one foreign language, and that means reading and writing, not just a passing knowledge. People who know more than one foreign language have an advantage. A recently introduced regulation specifies that a candidate for chief of mission cannot be over 60 years old nor due to retire before the expiration of the position's designated term. Although exceptions were made in the past, this rule has been strictly enforced since 1982. Moral and political fitness for such posts is a requirement which hardly needs mentioning.

Current FSFA personnel policy places greater emphasis than in the past on the recruitment of young people. In recent years, senior positions in the diplomatic service have been given with greater frequency to young people who, it is assumed, will serve several four-year tours abroad during their careers. It is an open secret that 10 years ago it was difficult to make an older, high-ranking diplomat retire, especially if he had fought in the National War of Liberation. It was said that "no one had the heart" to relieve them of their posts. Today, retirement is regulated by law and there are no exceptions.

The process of replacing these people, of finding jobs and housing for those returning, and of preparing lists of candidates for positions being vacated has already begun. The FSFA also recruits personnel from the republics and provinces. Their recruitment is regulated by law, with special concern for equality of representation. However, the secretariat insists that "equality should not be maintained for its own sake, and an effort should be made to overcome a tendency to overestimate pro forma equality at the expense of quality." The principle that a candidate must have the necessary education, expertise, and language for the job has now won out. Republics and provinces send their "list of candidates" for foreign assignment to the FSFA, where the Candidacy Commission makes the first selection. This is followed by consultations between the federation and the republics and provinces. The secretariat then makes the final proposal.

The federal secretary is in charge of FSFA personnel policy and works in cooperation with the delegated agencies in the secretariat. "We hope to avoid dividing personnel into two categories: federal and those of the republics and provinces. Our first criterion is the candidate's ability to do the job," says the Foreign Office. The federal president has the last word on ambassadors and other high-ranking officials, while the Federal Executive Council confirms appointments of senior officials.

The FSFA is one of the most dynamic federal secretariats in our government. Withdrawing into a shell of self-satisfaction does not suit these dynamic people, for whom diplomacy is both a life's work and their destiny. Such behavior would violate the principles of a profession whose essence is contact with the world. □

**Terrorists often settle accounts with governments by shooting their representatives. Yugoslav diplomacy, like that of most countries, has had its dead and wounded**

# INCREASING UNDERSTANDING

*The goals of educational-exchange programs are often thwarted by insufficient counseling and inattention to the ultimate results of U.S. training*

RICHARD E. BISSELL

**I**N AUGUST 1984, House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D.-Texas) and his colleague across the aisle, Minority Leader Bob Michel (R.-Illinois), introduced a bill to provide 10,000 scholarships for Central Americans to attend U.S. colleges. In March of this year, Senator Charles Mathias (R.-Maryland) introduced a more sweeping bill authorizing a new program of undergraduate grants for Third World students in the United States. These initiatives grew out of the consensus achieved by former Secretary of State Kissinger's Bipartisan Commission on Central America. Despite that kind of backing, the Mathias bill still barely passed the Congress in August 1985, as a rider to the State Department authorization bill. And committee aides are doubtful that any money will be appropriated in the near future to fund the scholarships. In the hollow victory to enact that measure lies an unreported story about changes in international education in the last 25 years. Whether or not the education of foreign students in the United States will survive those changes is unclear.

This is a decade of important challenges to the established pattern of foreign-student flows. We are familiar with the many exchange programs that helped Americans learn about the world beyond our borders: the American Field Service high school program, Fulbright student and faculty exchanges, Rhodes scholarships to Oxford University, Youth for

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Understanding, Operation Crossroads Africa, and hundreds of others. The old flow of exchanges, which virtually reached an apple-pie status, also created a mythology that the facts no longer warrant.

Some important realities have intruded upon the world of student exchanges as we have known it for several decades, especially at the post-secondary level. First, exchanges are no longer equal trades. A simplistic—but essentially truthful—observation by one international student adviser is that the United States imports graduate students from the Third World in technology fields, while exporting undergraduates to Europe to study the humanities.

A second reality is the tremendous growth in numbers. More than 340,000 foreign students are now in the United States in formal programs at colleges and universities. That number does not include those studying in commercial learning institutions, in post-doctoral retraining, on short-term study visits, or in pre-college exchanges. For instance, recent estimates place the number of secondary-school exchanges in the United States at 100,000. In some colleges, foreign students compose upwards of 20 percent of the student body. The demand for specialized training has become so intense that entire curricula are being created for large groups of foreign students outside the college environment, and without government guidance.

With this growth in numbers, the old issue of students' refusing to return to their home countries has taken on greater significance. The American experience with tens of thousands of Iranian and Ethiopian students remaining in the United States because of revolutions was not a happy one, although the worst seems to be behind us. What has not been worked out is the official response when that inevitably happens again. The most sensible proposal seems to be to provide some kind of extended student visa for those who are stranded in the United States for political reasons. But issues like that continue to color the American reaction to the growth in foreign-student numbers.

Consider, too, the change in atmosphere. On a typical college campus today, foreign-student advisers are not spending their time organizing "Egypt Night" at the student union, as advisers might have done in the 1950s. Instead, most of their time is devoted to dealing with the sheer numbers, such as arranging visas for the ever-increasing number of foreign students. On many campuses, the number of

*There are more than 340,000 foreign students in the United States in formal programs at colleges and universities, plus 100,000 more in secondary schools.*





*If American educators don't help foreign students make sense of their experiences here when they return home, foreign study will create a larger gap between cultures.*

particular nationalities has grown to the point that they provide their own social environments and counseling services. Who invites a foreign student home for Thanksgiving any more? Familiarity can breed indifference.

Foreign-student advisers can tell endless tales about the new realities. Their greatest worry is administrative: will they obtain the funds and other resources to do the basic job? Since advisers generally live a hand-to-memo existence, any use of imagination is difficult to inject into their education programs. Tensions are rising between the advisers and the university administration, as well as the government. Increasingly, foreign students in the United States and American students going abroad are allowed to drift on their own into departments, programs, social situations, problems, and opportunities without guidance. To take an active role would require an explicit strategy and the ability to deal with rapidly growing numbers, but purpose and capability are in short supply. The signposts of the next decade are simply not clear to the international-studies field, but the leaders hope it won't be like the hectic 1970s.

**W**HAT ARE the key factors of the next decade for international education? They can be loosely grouped into issues of finances, technology, education, communications, and politics.

The problem of financial resources has both short-term and long-term dimensions. At present, for instance, certain individual programs are unusually well endowed. But will the scheduled doubling of funds in the USIA exchange programs stand up to scrutiny in a time of budget constraints? If those monies are not well-spent, as perceived by congressional budget-cutters, the future of the government-funded field could be in jeopardy. Clues to important changes in the nature of funding are already evident. Larger spend-

ing levels will likely mean more involvement of private companies, either as sponsors or executors of educational projects. When future foreign students come to the United States for technical education, for instance, they may go to Bell Laboratories or a technical institute, instead of a traditional four-year university. The ideal level of counseling that should be provided for current student levels also suggests far greater expenditures in the future.

Political support for funding exchange programs may come from unusual sources: it was not anticipated, for instance, that the Kissinger commission would recommend the creation of 10,000 annual scholarships for Central Americans in U.S. universities. A political judgment lies behind that kind of recommendation: we no longer know where the elites of future Third World societies will come from. The increasingly unpredictable process of power transfer—the examples of Doe in Liberia and Rawlings in Ghana come to mind—means that the use of educational exchange to acquaint future leaders with U.S. society must be expanded to new groups. They may come from the military, the better-educated, the commercial classes, labor unions, or none of the above.

Foreign study is no longer an elite activity. The growing number of students coming to the United States and going abroad has a qualitative effect on the program. With more than 300,000 foreign students in the United States each year, the danger is a depreciation of the currency, with exchange students simply fading into the education background. Not only is the benefit of exposure to other cultures reduced for Americans, but foreign students do not have their needs met because their group is too large to handle. Both result in a loss of benefits to the United States, not to mention the participating countries. After all, if educational exchanges (in both directions) are meant to provide greater understanding and better images of each other, some care needs to be taken that

Pictures courtesy of Princeton University.

the experiences are positive. This is especially true at a time when university communities are growing increasingly skeptical about the direction of U.S. government and society. As a result of recent self-questioning about our global role, the whole of U.S. culture and policy is facing serious self-criticism. Foreign students exposed to that academic questioning in raw form, without it being placed in the context of the traditional American love of diversity of ideas, may see only our faults. What is at stake here is not U.S. foreign policy, but rather the image of our nation. It is thus all the more necessary to view foreign students as part of a strategic pattern of ties with other countries. The United States needs to devise goals and guidelines for this form of cultural diplomacy that will reflect the realities and meet the needs of the 1980s.

Some educators will object to such a formulation: it sounds as though educational exchanges are being subjected to foreign policy tests. But first, foreign policy should not be confused with the long-term national interest. And second, such an objection is ironic, since all legislation covering such exchanges has emphasized the role of the national interest and the way in which exchanges underpin our long-term policy interests. Indeed, some of the current political weakness of the exchange programs is a result of the recent monopoly by educators who are reluctant to acknowledge the foreign policy aspects of the program. The increasing use of foreign students as tuition fodder by colleges has cheated the long-term interests of both the students' education and the sponsoring governments. Curiously, many were reluctant to embrace the recommendation of the Kissinger commission for fear of being "tainted" by foreign policy concerns. In fact, cultural diplomacy simply recognizes the continuum of foreign relations in the 1980s. Reality forces us to harmonize the intersection of international education and foreign policy.

Take, for example, the revolution in cultural diplomacy now made possible by technological innovations, creating new ways of moving people and ideas across national boundaries. At the Harriman Institute of Soviet Studies at Columbia University, for example, a new satellite dish picks up domestic Soviet television broadcasts. Students and faculty there now have the opportunity to watch what the Soviet citizen watches. A more active form of cultural diplomacy can be seen in the way in which *Time* magazine and the newspaper *USA Today* beam their publications to

Europe by satellite. Or consider the creation of USIA's global television feed Worldnet. That capability is now being tested in the education field with video teleconferences involving learning institutions here and abroad. There is no reason why follow-up training for foreign students in the United States could not be arranged after the students go home—sort of electronic educational exchange programs. With the positioning of national satellite systems over a number of developing countries, meant to strengthen domestic educational services, the opportunity has become available for the United States to hook up.

**B**ECAUSE OF THESE technological opportunities, however, technological differences between the developed and undeveloped worlds have become more problematic. Of what value is a data bank to people who wish for assurance of shelter and warmth? Interestingly, this aspect of cultural diplomacy is no longer simply a North-South question. Countries such as Brazil, India, and Korea are outdistancing their Third World neighbors, producing high-technology products such as computers, satellites, and automobiles for their own and the U.S. and European markets. To do so, Brazilian educational planners demand that their students go only to the best U.S. schools for graduate training. And what is the benefit to the United States if the Indian students trained here in computer science return to their native land to start an industry meant to compete directly with IBM? At the same time, the lowest-tier countries will be sending students to the United States who cannot operate computerized library catalogues. For American students going abroad, the result can be just the opposite: a step back in technological time. These problems can be overcome, but only with special attention. Most important, American educators must help foreign students make sense of their experiences when they return to their homes. Otherwise, what is meant to be a bridge between cultures will instead create a larger gap.

Extremes in technology between the two worlds can result in those cases of foreign students who use their new-found expertise in a manner inimical to U.S. interests. Throughout the history of international studies, we have heard stories of physics students from abroad who returned home to become the pioneers of nuclear-weapons programs. For the most part, such cases have been the exception and certainly not frequent enough to mandate sweeping regulations. The enormous growth of the foreign graduate-student population in technological fields, however, has reopened the question, particularly in regard to the fostering of advanced industries that end up competing with U.S. companies. The training of foreign graduate students in electrical engineering and computer sciences has already caused misunderstanding between Defense Department officials and the higher education community. The concern of the government over technology leakage extends to academic conferences, the training of foreign scholars, and the dissemination of scientific information. The devotion

*The United States imports graduate students in technology fields, while exporting undergraduates to study the humanities.*





*The devotion of universities to the free exchange of ideas is fully understandable, but it may not always be in the best interest of national security.*

of universities to the free exchange of ideas is fully understandable, but it may not always be in the best interest of national security. So far both government and academe have been willing to work out ad hoc solutions. It is unlikely, however, that the question of foreign-student access to defense-related technology will be settled permanently or simply. This is because Americans have yet to face up to the broader question of the relationship between technology and public policy, and the extent to which one must make concessions to the other.

We can make little sense of these technology problems without considering the nature of the U.S. university. Government exhortations about the broad impact of technology matter little by themselves if, in the long run, educational institutions are not helping students to understand the effects of the knowledge they absorb. If universities do not take the responsibility for influencing the uses made of an education in advanced technology, laws will have little impact. But the trend has been just the opposite. More and more of the resources devoted to the education of foreign students in the United States are taken up with simple maintenance, such as administering student visas, rather than providing cultural, societal, and ethical contexts. This is likely to work against the U.S. national interest.

Educational administrators, faculty, and student advisers need to ensure that these special needs of international students are taken into consideration in university planning. Such a step need not always involve increased resources and concomitant budget strains; it can simply mean encouraging cooperation among international student advisers at various universities in a given region. Important cooperative projects have existed for several years in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, among other cities. At the same time, foreign-student advisers need to focus beyond their September-to-June responsibilities. Both summer programs and post-graduate contact need

more support. This can happen through newsletters, through incentives to faculty to maintain ties to former students and colleagues abroad, or through technological innovations such as satellite seminars. The financial cost of such innovations is constantly dropping; what is required is a process of allocating staff hours and the identification of such needs as a priority. If it takes some financial encouragement from the government, then the funding should be allocated as part of modernized educational-exchange programs. Foreign-student advisers and their national umbrella organizations, such as the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, should be pressed harder to assess their programs. In too many colleges, advisers have become part of the financial flywheel that keeps the institution afloat financially, with little concern about what is being put into the student's head and heart.

**I**NTERNATIONAL EDUCATION has become trapped in contrary tendencies. The number of foreign students goes up, while our appreciation of them goes down. The United States becomes more intertwined with the world, while it becomes less involved with the study of foreign languages and societies. American educators extol their gift of technical training, while giving little concern for the end use of those technologies.

The role of student exchange must be seen in context. If we persist in body counts—where a successful exchange is one student departed and returned—support will inevitably dwindle. A sensible understanding of cultural diplomacy, however, should lead us to provide substantial support for modernized educational exchanges. Their goal should be the same as it has been for decades: to increase understanding between nations and advance the U.S. national interest by exposing foreign students to the best of U.S. culture, political norms, and intellectual traditions. □

## Holy Joe's

A Golden Quest  
Yields  
Bitter Medicine

FRED GODSEY

A FEW WEEKS after my arrival at the consulate in Asuncion I was having lunch in the Germania, the only good restaurant in Paraguay at the time, when Elly, the Japanese waitress, placed a steaming plate of *carne asado* before me and whispered that the gentleman seated in the corner would like a word with me. "The *Senor* speaks English," she said, "I believe he is also an *Americano*." I looked at the table to which she was pointing and saw a wizened, balding, middle-aged man with a gray beard and a black eye patch.

The man walked over and pulled up a chair. "I say, mate, they told me ye're a Yank. I'm a transplanted Aussie meself. Name's Joseph Moss. Pleased t'meetcha." So this was Holy Joe. The natives had given him the name because of his habit of reading his pocket Bible in local bars while consuming prodigious quantities of gin. He was married to a half-Indian woman and lived in a shack on the outskirts of Asuncion. I already knew his story from an old-timer at the consulate. He had warned that Joe would sooner or later approach me, as he did every newcomer, with a request to finance a search for treasure. He said Joe would also produce a map showing exactly where it was buried.

According to legend, Madame Lynch—the Irish mistress of the Paraguayan, Mariscal Francisco Solano Lopez—had, in 1870 during the Triple Alliance War, hidden a trunk filled with gold somewhere in the Chaco plains of northwestern Paraguay. The treasure had never been found, and Joe had spent many yeats searching for it.

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Holy Joe had not had an easy life. In his youth, while working as a high-wire walker without a safety net in a London circus, he lost his left eye and was partially crippled when the wire broke. Out of gratitude that his life was spared, he became a missionary to South America and spent many years living among various Indian tribes in the Amazon. After contacting a severe case of *malatia*, he gave up missionary work and came to Paraguay, where he earned a pittance as a part-time buyer of herbs for an American company. But his real occupation, apparently, was looking for Solano's buried treasure. Whenever he succeeded in getting enough money together he would disappear for weeks at a time, only to return empty handed and promising his backers the next trip would surely succeed.

I invited Joe to have a coffee, but he opted for a glass of gin and immediately went into his sales pitch—complete with map. "Look, Joe," I finally said, "if Solano Lopez had any gold it was taken out of Paraguay in 1870 by Dr. Stewart, the Scottish physician and confidant of Madame Lynch. So no treasure and no grubstake from me!"

Holy Joe was crestfallen, but only for a minute. He pocketed his map, took a hefty swig of gin, and moved his chair closer to mine. He looked carefully over each shoulder. "O.K., mate, I'll give it to ye straight. I know there's no buried treasure—never was!"

I was taken aback. "But all these years you've been searching for it. Why?"

"Ye see, mate, what I've been looking for is worth more than any gold Solano ever had. I've never told this to another soul before, and I'll thank ye to keep what I'm about to tell ye under yer hat. I use any money I raise, plus the little income I have, to pay for trips to the Amazon and the Matto Grosso. What I've spent half a lifetime looking for is a plant—ah, but a very special plant. Ye see, mate, the women of certain Indian tribes take a tea made from the leaves of this plant to prevent conception—a natural method of birth control. Just think of it, mate, what a fortune I could accumulate by making this available to the

world!" Holy Joe's good eye beamed. "On some of my trips to the Amazon I found tribes that used it, but they're very secretive. I've brought back a few plants, but they always turned out to be the wrong ones."

"But how do you test the plants, Joe? I mean..." Joe hung his head in embarrassment. He had seven children and another on the way.

I finally convinced Holy Joe that I had no money for a grubstake. But I had not seen the last of him. Over the next two years we came to be good friends. Since I shared his secret, he apparently felt obligated to come to my office after each trip—which miraculously coincided with each influx of new consular personnel—and apprise me of the results. They were always negative. I would occasionally invite him for a gin at the Lido Bar or lunch at the Germania. During one of these lunches he confided that he felt he was getting old, and his greatest fear was that he might not find the plant in time. He continued his search.

ONE RAINY AFTERNOON, with no urgent matters requiring attention, I stopped at the consulate reading room to look for some newspapers. I was browsing through the stack on the table when suddenly the glaring cover of an American magazine caught my eye. There it was in black and red: "The Birth Control Pill: A New Age Dawns."

With trembling hands, I hurriedly turned to the article inside. It detailed the work of a number of scientists, including Dr. Pinkus Gregory and Dr. John Rock, and stated that the new discovery was the solution to the world's population explosion. The magazine was two months old.

Holy Joe could now end his long search. I had to reach him immediately, since I knew he was about to make another trip to the Amazon. He had no telephone, so I sent a messenger to his shack with a note asking him to meet me at the Germania at six p.m. sharp. I tore the page with the article from the magazine and put it in my pocket. Since

# Treasure



MIGNON KHARGIE

Joe read nothing except his Bible and owned no radio, I knew he would be unaware of the discovery.

He was waiting for me when I arrived. We were the only customers, since the Paraguayans dine late. Elly brought a glass of gin for Joe and beer for me. I noted at once that he was in high spirits—and he hadn't been drinking. "I've got great news, mate," he said. Before I could interrupt, he continued, "This time I've got it! This morning I met a missionary at the Sanatorio Adventista who just returned from the Matto

Grosso. He gave me exact directions for reaching a small tribe there that grows the plant. Think of it. They don't search for it in the jungle like the others. They grow it near their huts. He's seen it, and he could have brought out as much as he wanted had he known anybody was interested." Joe was euphoric. I was reaching into my pocket for the magazine article when he added, "Ye know, mate, this is the happiest day of my life. I'm going to be rich. I'm setting off for the Matto Grosso for the last time end of this week."

I slowly withdrew my hand from my pocket—without the magazine article. I excused myself and went to the toilet, where I tore the article into tiny shreds and flushed it down.

"By the way, mate, what did ye want to see me about? I mean, the note," Joe said when I returned to the table.

I finished my beer in one gulp. "Well, er, actually I knew you'd be leaving on another trip soon, and uh, well, I just happen to have a little spare cash. Not much, you know, and I thought maybe...." I, too, am a dreamer. □

# PEOPLE

## Foreign Service Juniors Awarded AFSA/AAFSW Scholarships

THE AFSA COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION has announced the list of Financial Aid scholarship awards for academic year 1985-86. This year 73 Financial Aid scholarships have been awarded. Once again, the committee expresses deep appreciation to all those who have supported the scholarship programs with their generous contributions, and in particular AAFSW for their continued interest and efforts on behalf of Foreign Service juniors with funds raised at their annual AAFSW Bookfair.

This year, two special AAFSW scholarships are given in honor of Dolly Barger and Mary Hodge, volunteers who have worked tirelessly for many years in support of the Bookfair. Their citations from AAFSW read as follows:

Dolly Barger has been a stalwart in the Art Corner for 11 years. She has many times chaired this important segment of the Bookfair, and has not only priced the items, but each year has cleaned, matted, and framed many of the paintings and prints.

Mary Hodge has worked on every Bookfair since the first one in 1961. She, too, has worked in the Art Corner, and has helped clean, frame, trim, and polish the many thousands of items that have passed through her hands.

Their expert knowledge, their devotion, and their skills have made an incalculable contribution to the Bookfair. We are proud to honor them during our 25th anniversary year.

The names of the recipients of the Financial Aid Awards, the scholarships they have received, and the colleges and universities they will attend are given below.

Dependent children of career Foreign Service personnel of State, AID, USIA, the Foreign Agricultural Service, and the Foreign Commercial Service are eligible to apply for Financial Aid grants or Merit Awards by writing to the AFSA Scholarship Programs administrator for information and applications. Forms will be mailed in early November for both the Merit Award program (limited to high school students graduating in 1986) and the Financial Aid grants for full-time un-

dergraduates studying in U.S. colleges and universities.

The AFSA Committee on Education members include Claude G. Ross, chairman; Sheila W. Austrian, USIA; William R. Ford, AID; David T. Jones, State; Lisa C. Keller, AAFSW; and James F. Prosser, State. Dawn H. Cuthell is the Scholarship Programs administrator.

## Financial Aid Grants 1985-1986

**Klaus J. Aber**, David K. E. Bruce Scholarship, University of Southern California

**David M. Austin**, AAFSW Scholarship, Oberlin College

**Douglas Austin**, Livingston T. and Elizabeth Merchant Scholarship, Princeton University

**Consuelo Barrett**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Lowell

**Ian Barrett**, Robert E. and Florence L. Macaulay Memorial Scholarship, Massachusetts College of Art

**Sean Barrett**, Marcia Martin Moore Memorial Scholarship, University of Iowa

**Tania Barricklo**, C. Montagu and Frances M. Pigott Memorial Scholarship, University of South Florida

**Catherine Bogosian**, Hope Rogers Basketek Memorial Scholarship, Wellesley College

**Joseph Brogley**, Julius C. Holmes Memorial Scholarship, Northwestern University

**Louise Brogley**, AAFSW Scholarship, Marquette University

**Michele Burkart**, Suzanne Marie Collins Memorial Scholarship, University of Notre Dame

**James M. Carson**, Harry A. Havens Memorial Scholarship, Radford University

**Shawn Carson**, AAFSW Scholarship, Mary Washington College

**Colette V. Cabral**, AAFSW Scholarship, New York University

**Katheryn L. Cottrill**, Lowell C. Pinkerton Memorial Scholarship, University of Virginia

**Michael J. Coubough**, William Benton Scholarship, University of Arizona

**Eric Dandridge**, Landreth M. Harrison Memorial Scholarship, Harvard University

**Edward Dandridge**, AAFSW Scholarship, Tufts University

**Frank Ian Darlington**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Washington

**Jefferson Dolan**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of California-Berkeley

**Robert Drechnowicz**, Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, University of Rhode Island

**Naomi Durham**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Notre Dame

**Stephen Fallin**, AAFSW Scholarship, Seattle Pacific University

**Ralph Falzone**, John Campbell White Memorial Scholarship, Columbia University

**James M. Farrell**, Robert Woods Bliss Scholarship, Keene State College

**John M. Farrell**, AAFSW Scholarship, Lyndon State College

**Erin M. Fitzgerald**, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Rhode Island College

**Shawn M. Fitzgerald**, AAFSW Scholarship, New York Institute of Technology

**Matthew German**, AFSA Beirut Memorial Scholarship, University of Maryland

**Gretchen Goodwin**, Marie E. Casey Memorial Scholarship, Barry University

**Joan Goodwin**, Theodore A. Xanthaky Memorial Scholarship, Columbia College

**Carolyn L. Holguin**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of New Mexico

**Christopher J. Holguin**, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, New Mexico State University

**Rudolph Holguin**, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, New Mexico State University

**Thomas Hohm**, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Virginia Tech

**John K. Ivie Jr.**, Charles C. & Jane K. Stelle Memorial Scholarship, Texas Tech University

**Margaret H. Ivie**, William Benton Scholarship, Radford University

**Angela Kaya**, Timberlake Scholarship, University of California-Berkeley

**David B. Kelly**, Adolph Dubs Memorial Scholarship, University of Colorado, Boulder

**Terri L. Kelly**, Betty Carp Scholarship, University of Maine, Machias

**Pamela M. Lincoln**, AAFSW Scholarship in honor of Mary Hodge, Fitchburg State College

**Dennis C. Lincoln**, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Worcester Polytechnic Institute

**Patrick W. Loomer**, C. Montagu and Frances M. Pigott Memorial Scholarship, Sarah Lawrence College

Barbara A. Lowe, AAFSW Scholarship, Asbury College  
Pamela J. MacDonald, AAFSW Scholarship, St. Mary's College  
Sara-Jean Manapol, Charles B. Hosmer Memorial Scholarship, University of California at Davis  
Teresa-Anne Manapol, AAFSW Scholarship, Trinity University, Texas  
Vivynne L. Martindale, James Hugh Keeley Memorial Scholarship, The Johns Hopkins University  
Ann L. Milton, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, George Mason University  
Christopher Milton, Howard Pyfe Memorial Scholarship, Macalester College  
Elizabeth Milburn, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Maryland, College Park  
Rachel A. Nelson, AAFSW Scholarship, Virginia State University  
Claudia G. Nenko, Mary Noyes Chapin Memorial Scholarship, Brown University  
Nancy P. Nenko, Jefferson Patterson Scholarship, Brown University  
Deborah S. Nugent, AAFSW Scholarship, University of New Hampshire  
Scott T. Nugent, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Averett College  
James W. O'Brien, Arthur B. Emmons Memorial Scholarship, Brown University  
Anne E. Oppel, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Richmond  
Kathryn L. Oppel, AAFSW Scholarship, Virginia Commonwealth University  
Nikki D. Penn, Ladies Group, American Consulate General, Frankfurt, University of Maryland, Munich Campus  
Vicki M. Penn, The American Women's Group of Bonn, University of Maryland, College Park  
Lora Lee Rhoades, AAFSW Scholarship, Auburn University  
Ann L. Thompson, AAFSW Scholarship in honor of Dolly Barger, University of Oregon  
April E. Skinner, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Kentucky State University  
Nicholas Tarnoff, Timberlake Scholarship, Virginia Tech  
Julie E. True, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Pomona College  
Margo True, John Foster Dulles Memorial Scholarship, Pomona College  
Juan L. Vazquez, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Southern California  
Edward F. Vazquez, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Boston College  
Deana Webb, AAFSW Scholarship, Grand Canyon College  
Jill Westmoreland, Clark W. Slade Memorial Scholarship, Wellesley College

Michael Womack, Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Central Michigan University  
Norman Yarvin, Oliver Bishop Harri-man Memorial Scholarship, The Johns Hopkins University

## Deaths

SUZANNE MARIE COLLINS, daughter of retired Foreign Service Officer John Albert Collins and Trudy A. Collins, died July 12 in Millington, Tennessee. She was 19.

Ms. Collins accompanied her family to posts in Thessaloniki and Athens and to Madison, Wisconsin, where her father served as the first selectee under the Special Domestic Assignments Program from 1976-78. She was graduated in 1984 from Robert E. Lee High School in Springfield, Virginia, where she was a class officer for three years and a member of the student government during her senior year. She was also a member of the school's softball and track teams. She sang with the youth choir of St. Bernadette's Church in Springfield and was active in the Catholic Youth Organization, particularly in its dramatic presentations.

Following her graduation, Ms. Collins entered the Marine Corps and underwent nine weeks training at Parris Island, South Carolina. Following a five-week period of temporary duty at the Marine Corps Air Station at Cherry Point, North Carolina, she was assigned as a student to the Navy/Marine Corps Avionics school in Memphis. On the day of her death, she would have graduated from that school.

In addition to her parents, she is survived by her brother, Stephen; grandparents Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Martinus, of Springfield; and grandmother Mrs. Nicholas M. Collins, of New York. In lieu of flowers, contributions in her memory may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

GRACE HAWES DREYFUS, widow of Louis G. Dreyfus, a Foreign Service officer, died June 6 at Pinecrest Hospital in Santa Barbara, California, following a brief illness. She was 92.

Ms. Dreyfus was graduated from New York University in 1916. She married Mr. Dreyfus in 1917 in Paris. Mr. Dreyfus served with the State Department for over 50 years.

Ms. Dreyfus founded the Grace Dreyfus Clinic and Orphanage in Tehran in 1942. She was later honored by the government of Iran for her charitable activities there from 1940-42, when her husband was ambassador to Iran and Afghanistan.

She was a member of the board of direc-

tors of Welfare for the Blind, Inc., in Washington; a member and past president of the Santa Barbara branch of the National Society of Arts and Letters; and a member of the International Platform Association.

Survivors include a nephew, Herbert H. Muir, of Mesa, Arizona; a grandnephew, Herbert W. Muir, of Chariton, Iowa; a grandniece, Grace A. Tieder, of Greenville, South Carolina; and five great grandnieces and great grandnephews.

MANNING HAWTHORNE, a former Foreign Service officer with USIA, died in Celina, Texas, on June 14. He was 79.

Mr. Hawthorne, who was a great-grandson of Nathaniel Hawthorne, was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1930. He earned a master's at the University of North Carolina.

After his graduation, Mr. Hawthorne taught at Le Rosey, a private school in Lausanne, Switzerland, the Adirondack-Florida School, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Maine. He then worked for the American Optical Company. He later entered the Foreign Service and served in India, Japan, and Malaysia. He retired in 1971.

Mr. Hawthorne was a founding member of the Hawthorne-Longfellow Society and a member of the House of Seven Gables Society and the Massachusetts Institute of Industrial Editors. He wrote articles about Nathaniel Hawthorne that appeared in the *New England Quarterly*, *The Essex Institute*, and the *Yale News*.

Survivors include his wife, Alice K. Hawthorne, of Portland, Maine; two daughters, Elizabeth M. Carruthers, of The Colony, Texas, and Deborah H. Mitchell, of Denver; a brother, Randolph Hawthorne, of Poundridge, New York; a sister, Phyllis Hawthorne, of Verona, Wisconsin; two granddaughters; and one grandson. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the Parkinson's Disease Foundation or St. Benedict's Church in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

## Announcement

Friends of Ethiopia: A People to People Organization is being formed by returned Peace Corps volunteers, diplomats, missionaries, military and naval personnel, information officers, aid technicians, teachers, and scholars who have lived in Ethiopia. They wish to look beyond the famine and promote wider understanding of Ethiopia's history and people and encourage the just resolution of armed conflicts there. For further information, send name and address to Friends of Ethiopia, Box 42532, Washington, D.C. 20015.

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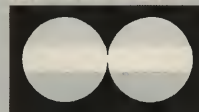
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# ASSOCIATION NEWS

## Keeley steps down as president

Robert V. Keeley resigned as AFSA president a few weeks after taking office, when he was confirmed by the Senate as ambassador to Greece. He was nominated for the position late in the election campaign. Vice

President Anthea S. de Rouville will serve as acting president until the Governing Board names a replacement.

Keeley, head of the Unity Slate, has been a member of the Association for 29 years. He was ambassador to Zimbabwe from 1980-84 and deputy chief of mission and chargé in Kampala. His memoir on his experiences in Uganda will be published shortly.

**Acting AFSA President Anthea S. de Rouville and State Constituency Representative Gerald Lamberty prepare to be interviewed by a reporter for WTTG-TV about Soviet KGB use of "spy dust."**



## Association protests 'spy dust,' requests change in hardship status

The Association has protested "in the strongest terms" Soviet KGB use of a potentially harmful chemical to track movements of diplomats in Moscow and Leningrad. The use of the chemical, known as NPPD, was revealed by the State Department in August. Tests have shown that it can alter genetic material and may be carcinogenic.

Diplomats, journalists, and others were briefed in the Soviet Union on August 21, several months after the CIA knew that the substance—which had been shown to be a potential carcinogen a year earlier—was being extensively used, but only three days after the department was told of it, the JOURNAL learned. NPPD had only been used sporadically in the past. No known cases of illness attributable to NPPD have been reported.

In addition to "deploring" the Soviet action, AFSA requested that the department raise the hardship status of the posts in

question because of the potential hazard. The Association also posed a series of questions to the department. AFSA asked if the practice had taken place at other posts and if it had stopped, as well as how employees would be protected if it had not. "How can the department be sure there is 'no evidence of ill effect,'" it also questioned, when "the team established to look into the 'long-term implications' has only just been established?" The Association concluded with a query about testing employees and dependents who have returned from post, resigned, or retired.

AFSA released its questions to the media, and Acting AFSA President Anthea S. de Rouville and State Constituency Representative Gerald Lamberty appeared on WTTG and WDVM television news, AP Radio, and ABC Radio to express the Association's concern about the potential danger.

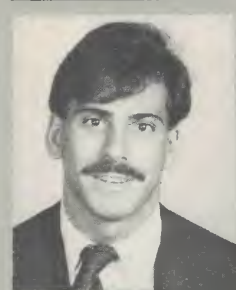
## AFSA preserves bargaining unit, career director general

A campaign by AFSA to stop a midnight attempt by the Senate to remove the Senior Foreign Service from its bargaining unit and to drop the requirement that the director general be a career officer resulted in the measures' being dropped in conference. At the same time, however, Congress passed two other amendments to the State Department authorization bill that provide that the chairperson of the board of the Foreign Service need not be a career officer and bring the department under the Inspector General Act of 1978. The department will still retain its own inspector, now designated the program inspector general, to review the conduct of foreign relations.

The Association mobilized immediately upon learning that the Senate had tacked the amendments on the authorization bill at the last minute, without hearings. Aiming to disarm the measures when they reached the House-Senate conference, three AFSA presidents, two congressional liaison officers, and

members of the Governing Board waged a well-organized campaign of consultations with Capitol Hill staffers and direct contact with key senators and representatives. For Rick Weiss, who had recently joined AFSA as a lobbyist, 10 to 12 hour days were the norm during the crunch. At the same time, a world-wide appeal to the membership resulted in scores of cables and calls to legislators pointing out the potential damage to the Foreign Service under the measures.

Most members of the SFS are not management employees and must serve under the same conditions of employment as lower-ranking personnel, AFSA noted. The Association also pointed out that persons who lead the Service, such as the director general and the chairperson of the Foreign Service board, should have the experience that only a career officer can have, just as only career military officers can serve as chief of naval operations or army chief of staff.



## AFSA hires new legal assistant

The Association has hired James P. Joseph to serve as legal assistant in its labor-man-

agement relations office, under the direction of the general counsel. He replaces Gregory Lewis, who resigned to take up studies at George Washington University School of Law.

A 1984 graduate of Georgetown with a major in comparative government, Joseph also attended University of Sussex in England and Université de Dijon in France. He worked for several months as assistant operations officer of the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration in Nairobi, with principal responsibility for the resettlement of refugees in Kenya. Previous to that he was administrative assistant to the director of development of the International Human Assistance Programs in Washington and a legal clerk and paralegal.

## Commitment to public diplomacy only partly fulfilled: NSC adviser

Public diplomacy means "fighting the war of ideas and building the infrastructure of democracy," in the words of National Security Council adviser Walter Raymond. While the president is "most deeply committed" to this concept, he said, there remains a lot of unfinished business. The NSC official spoke at the eighth in the Dialogs on Public Diplomacy series, sponsored by AFSA's USIA Standing Committee. Titled "The NSC View of Public Diplomacy," the program was held June 20 at the Capitol Hill Holiday Inn.

Raymond acknowledged that USIA is a well-established member of an inter-departmental public diplomacy structure that includes the NSC, State, the Department of Defense, and others. He added, however, that while this structure has achieved more success than other efforts in the past, its achievements are less than complete because some elements have not participated as fully as possible.

Raymond defined public diplomacy as more than traditional government-to-government diplomatic exchanges. It involves all sectors of society, including

### Iglitzin resigns as director

Lynne Iglitzin resigned her post as AFSA executive director last July to return to teaching and research. A search committee appointed by the Governing Board is reviewing more than 100 applications for her replacement, who should be on board sometime in the fall.

Iglitzin served in the post for 16 months. Previously, she was executive director of the National Council for the Social Studies, based in Washington. Prior to that she was a lecturer in political science and director of undergraduate studies at University of Washington in Seattle. She is the author of several books and numerous articles in her field.

labor, defense, the business community, and academia. This, he stressed, is the root of public diplomacy's effectiveness in the field. In complimenting USIA's role in this regard, he said that energizing the public affairs officers without energizing ambassadors is fruitless. "We'll not be effective public diplomats in the field until we realize this," he emphasized.

Public diplomacy's most difficult problems, in Raymond's view, are two: perceptions and dollars. He urged State and AID and others to rethink their internal structures and assign authority to senior public diplomacy advisers at deputy under secretary or equivalent levels. He recommended that public diplomacy be integrated into junior officer training, mid-career courses, and elsewhere. Knowing what U.S. policy is, he said, is fine, but competent people can and do fail to make their key points in public appearances. PAOs may know how to do this, but not all other diplomats are trained to do so. He also suggested that officer evaluation report work requirements include public diplomacy responsibilities.

Public diplomacy, Raymond went on, is underfunded. He credited USIA Director Charles Wick with gaining significant increases in the agency's budget, but "this is nowhere near enough" overall. Owing to the legal restraints which prohibit USIA activity in the United States, he said, other agencies must work on public diplomacy domestically, particularly State. Raymond cited three complementary components of an overall approach to public diplomacy as necessary for full effectiveness: government, the private sector, and quasi non-governmental structures. This latter category, which he illustrated by naming organizations like the Asia Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the Inter-American Foundation, supplements official public diplomacy, particularly in those areas where USIA is restricted. Funding should be



NSC Adviser Walter Raymond

increased for such organizations, he said. In concluding that all three elements are part of "a viable process involving understanding, consultations, and

cooperation," Raymond declared that "USIA's work has been vital in moving us forward." In his words, "We are half-way home."

### USIA Standing ratifies new leadership

In late spring, AFSA's USIA Standing Committee decided to consult its membership on the 1985-86 slate of candidates for its Executive Committee, including the chair and vice-chair. In view of the then-pending question of a constituency vice-president for the agency—since ratified by the overall membership—the USIA group wanted a sense of support from Association members in the agency for the directions it planned to take. Accordingly, the standing committee sent a survey to all USIA members, asking for ratification of its Executive Committee, for alternate nominations, and for comments.

The response was gratifying. Nearly 40 percent of the far-flung members have responded so far. The voting statistics were overwhelming: in all the responses there was only one

negative vote, pinpointed to only one of the 10 candidates. No alternate candidates were proposed. There were numerous comments penned in, indicating a strong sense of team solidarity and even enthusiasm about the standing committee's efforts.

As ratified, the Executive Committee stands as follows: chair, Charles Loveridge (State detail); vice-chair, Kathleen Brion (EA); members, Sheila Austrian (congressional fellow), Donna Culpepper (NEA), Donald Mathes (P/G), Donna Oglesby (AR), Caroline Meirs Osterling (P/R), Alvin Perlman (EU), Lois Roth (P/D), and Stephen Telkins (P/PF). With the assignment of Caroline Osterling as public affairs officer in Bogota, William R. Lenderking (EA) agreed to replace her on the Executive Committee. In September, with the retirement of Dick Arndt as constituency representative, Charles Loveridge was elected constituency vice-president for the board and Kathleen Brion took Arndt's place as representative.

## Legislative Alert

### New Retirement Proposal for New Employees

By RICK WEISS, *Congressional Liaison*

Congress has until the end of the year to develop a new retirement program for employees who joined the federal workforce after 1983. While hearings have been held in both houses, the vehicle which provides the basis for legislative discussion was introduced on July 30 by Senator Ted Stevens (R.-Alaska). Called the Civil Service Pension Reform Act, this legislation establishes a retirement program for all new federal and postal employees and members of Congress, as well as other employees who opt to join the plan.

Legislation enacted in 1983 brought all federal employees hired after that year under the Social Security system and attempted to lessen the burden of dual contributions by temporarily reducing retirement contributions. This reduction will expire upon the enactment of a new retirement program or in January, whichever is earlier. This fall, hence, will be a busy one for Congress and for those groups such as AFSA that represent federal employees.

The Stevens proposal consists of three tiers: Social Security, a defined benefit plan, similar to but less generous than the current retirement system; and an optional thrift plan that is accompanied by certain tax advantages.

■Employees will continue to pay into Social Security according to the payroll deduction schedule in the current law. Upon retirement, disability, or death, beneficiaries will receive the same entitlements as private-sector workers in the Social Security system.

■The defined-benefit pension is similar to the present retirement system, but with the following modifications. First, there will be no employee contributions; the government will pick up the cost. Second, employees are vested for benefits after five years of service and are eligible to retire with unreduced benefits at age 62, the same age as So-

cial Security and the typical age of retirement in private industry. Last, the annuity is based on length of service times one percent per year and uses the average of the highest five years of salary.

■The tax-deferred thrift plan with options for private investment provides for voluntary employee contributions to be matched by the government and transferred to individual accounts. The contributions and their earnings are available on retirement either as a lump sum or an annuity, or they may be rolled over into an IRA upon separation before retirement. This

thrift plan allows employees to fine tune their retirement plans, while sheltering income. As the bill is currently drafted, an employee can invest up to 10 percent of pre-tax salary per year, with the government matching up to five percent. The thrift plan will be selected by the employee.

As the Stevens proposal is debated in September, AFSA and the State Department will monitor the situation closely. In meetings through the summer, the Association made congressional staffers aware that the plan will have to be adjusted to meet the unique requirements of the

Foreign Service personnel system. The proposal will thus be reviewed by the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs committees each of which will make appropriate adjustments.

This fall, AFSA will continue its three-pronged strategy of the last two years: preserving the Foreign Service retirement program as an integral element in the operation of the Foreign Service personnel system; preventing erosion in the present level of retirement benefits; and ensuring the integrity of present annuity levels and COLAs for those already retired.

## LAF fund nears \$90,000 as donations taper off

Contributions to the Legislative Action Fund are tapering off as the total collected nears the \$90,000 mark. Approximately one member in five has contributed to the fund, which is being used to support AFSA's two congressional liaison representatives on Capitol Hill, who work on retirement legislation and other actions affecting the Foreign Service.

The money is being put to good use, and it is essential that we keep up the fight. To date, most of the administration's at-

tempted cutbacks have been defeated by AFSA, working in consort with other federal-employee organizations [see related articles in this section]. But the fight to preserve the Foreign Service retirement and disability system is far from over.

You can help AFSA in its battle to maintain the Foreign Service career. Send your tax-deductible contribution to the fund at the address below. Donors names will be printed in this space unless they wish to remain anonymous.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION FUND  
2101 E Street NW  
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## Hill freezes pay, maintains annuity tab

The budget resolution passed by Congress in the hours before its summer adjournment freezes civilian government-employee pay for one year but keeps employee retirement contributions at seven percent, rather than the nine percent proposed by the White House. Longevity or step increases will still be allowed, and a COLA of 3.8 percent will apply in January 1987 and one of 4.7 percent is expected the following year.

Congress rejected the administration's proposal to raise the retirement age from 55 to 65 as well as its plan to cut federal pay five percent in fiscal year 1986. Federal and military retirees will receive a cost-of-living adjustment in January, similar to the Social Security adjustment.

AFSA was active on Capitol Hill on all the measures, in consort with other federal-employee unions. As expected, the pay freeze became a concession when the administration proposed the five-percent pay cut, but the unions were successful on all other counts.

## Trustees announce change in AD&D insurance underwriter

AFSA's Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs has announced a change in underwriters, effective September 1, 1985, for AFSA's insurance against accidental death and dismemberment. The new carrier is Life Insurance Company of North America. Notices of the change have been sent by the Hirshorn Company, program administrator, to all persons holding certificates of insurance under the program.

AFSA has sponsored AD&D insurance for many years. In 1982 rates and coverage were significantly improved when Federal Insurance Company agreed to provide up to 50 percent of the policy limit for claims arising from acts of war, declared or undeclared. Until that time, war-risk insurance was

available only at prohibitive extra rates. The Federal plan not only broke the barrier, it also provided the coverage to spouses and dependent children. According to the trustees, this is a unique feature of the AFSA contract.

Since 1982, however, Federal has paid more than \$500,000 in claims, principally from fatalities resulting from the bombing of the embassy in Beirut, an explosion in Namibia, and an airline crash in Bolivia. After careful consideration and lengthy negotiation with Hirshorn, the company gave notice of non-renewal, effective September 1. Despite the recent spate of claims, Life Insurance Company of North America agreed to continue this coverage, with only the following changes:

- A slight increase in premium from 70 to 80 cents per \$1000 of insurance;

- The benefit for permanent total disability to be paid in monthly installments instead of a lump sum; and

- The benefit for claims caused by terrorist acts limited to 50 percent of the policy limit.

In all other respects, the new policy provides the same coverage as the old one.

The trustees believe these changes to be reasonable under the circumstances. They recommend that policyholders continue this insurance because of the war-risk coverage for Foreign Service personnel and their families, a feature not available elsewhere to their knowledge.

Write AFSA for brochures on its insurance programs.

## Time to apply for AFSA scholarships

Now is the time to apply for the two scholarship programs run by the AFSA Committee on Education. Students who are qualified dependents of career Foreign Service personnel are encouraged to apply for either the **AFSA Financial Aid Awards** or the **AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards**.

The aid program is open to undergraduates studying in the United States, and awards are based solely on need. The merit awards are for students who will be graduating from high school in 1986 and are based on academic excellence. Interested students must submit completed applications by February 15, 1986. They can obtain materials now by writing AFSA.

## Life & Love in the Foreign Service



"But Mr. Secretary, an ambassador needs a DCM he can lean on."  
*Katie Bowcutt, Kinshasa*

### Honorable Mention

"But he's been admitted to the bar, sir, so why can't he be assigned to L?"

*Frank Cunningham, Washington*

Winners of the monthly LIFE & LOVE contest receive a certificate for a free lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club. Honorable mentions receive a free carafe of wine with a meal.

Mail entries to:  
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