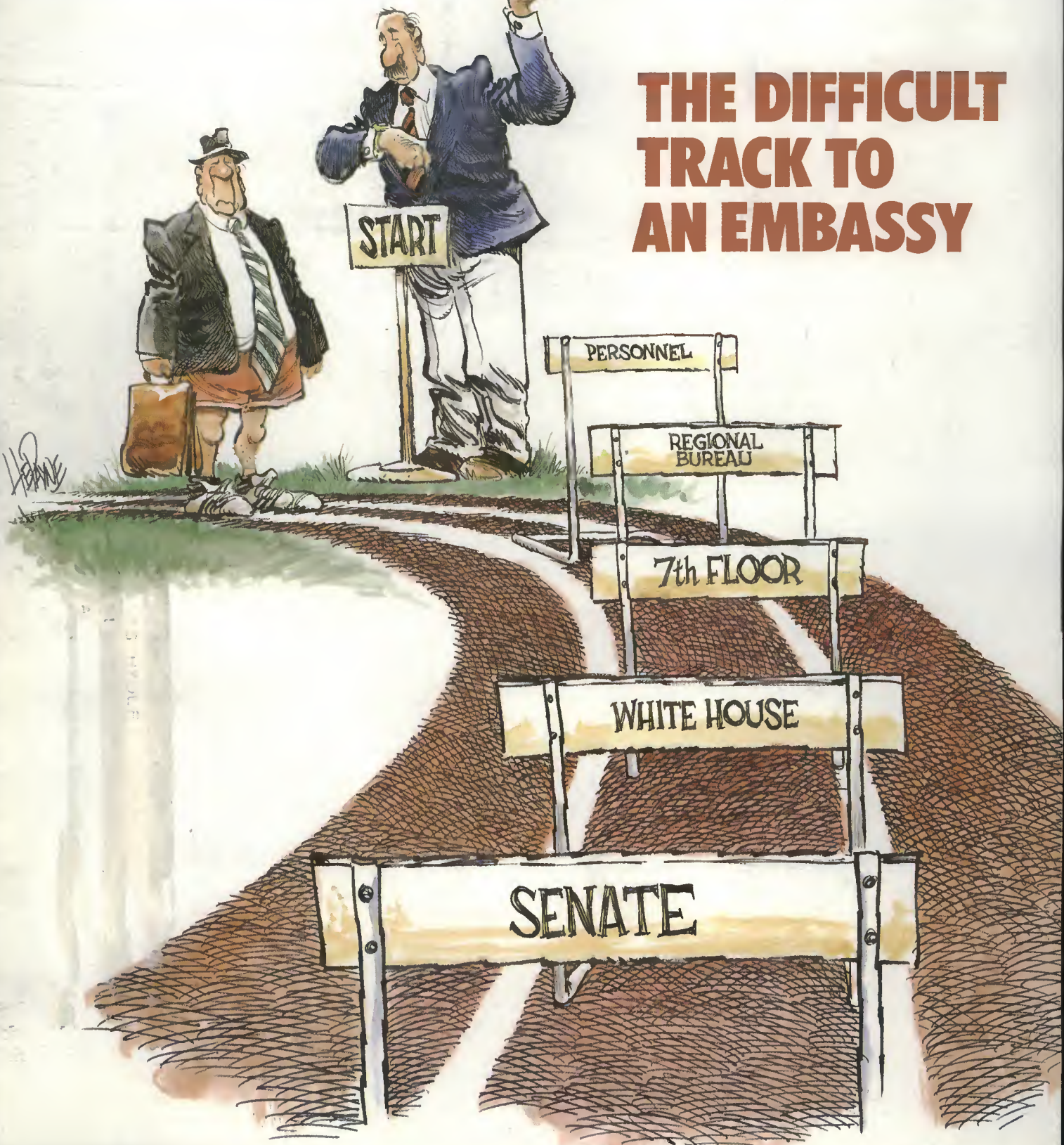


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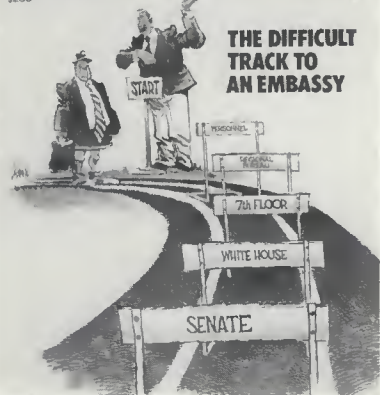


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THE DIFFICULT TRACK TO AN EMBASSY

COVER: The obstacles are formidable on the long road to an ambassadorial post. On page 17, historian H.W. Brands Jr. uses new material in his account of the arduous 1953 confirmation hearings of Charles Bohlen as ambassador to Moscow. On page 22, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Personnel Andrew Steigman gives an insider's view of the current ambassadorial selection process.

Watercolor and ink by Henry Payne III.

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

False Economies

As Washington becomes more heavily involved in the Gramm-Rudman world, the Foreign Service must ensure that the inevitable cuts affect more fat than muscle. We must also be on guard that Gramm-Rudman not be used as an excuse for policy measures that not only are unjustified in their own right but also bring little in actual budget reduction.

Budget cutting at the State Department traditionally has been difficult. Our budget contains few of the procurement or development programs that can be delayed or reduced with little impact on normal activities. Moreover, unlike other Washington bureaucracies, there has been virtually no increase in the size of the Foreign Service over the past 26 years. Despite a substantial growth in international activity, there are roughly 4100 FSOs today and there were 3717 in 1960.

Our Gramm-Rudman problems are complicated further by ongoing efforts to upgrade security at overseas facilities, as recommended by the Inman panel report. Congress is trying to fund this multi-billion effort at the same time that it is cutting budgets right and left. Even though the recommended security expenses are larger than the entire annual budget of the department, Congress may be tempted to find much of whatever funds it eventually appropriates for more secure facilities by cutting excessively into the department's regular budget. The law's impact can already be seen in cuts in travel, slight reductions in junior-officer intake, recommended post closings, and proposals for lengthened tours. More such efforts can be anticipated in these and other areas.

Much more worrisome are reports that management's forced retirement of hundreds of O-1s and seniors in the next three years is now being justified by Gramm-Rudman. The use of the deficit-reduction measure in this fashion should be resisted by the Foreign Service—and by the taxpayer. While removing these officers will reduce the department's salary costs, especially if promotions into the vacated positions are restricted, the net savings to the taxpayer will not be very great since the departees will be receiving annuities averaging 50–60 percent of their former salaries from a trust fund outside the department's budget. These annuities, plus the average salaries of incoming junior officers—which are about 40 percent of those of the retirees—make the savings to the taxpayer only minimal, even if *no* promotions result from the retirements.

Meeting the Gramm-Rudman challenge will require tough choices and tough sacrifices. However, we should not let this already difficult exercise serve as a screen for dubious policy measures that produce little or no savings.



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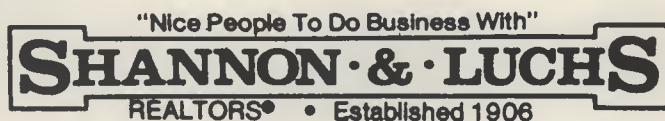
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LETTERS

Sex Discrimination

On September 13, Judge Smith of the U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia issued his decision in the class action lawsuit that alleges sex discrimination by the State Department against women Foreign Service officers. He dismissed the claims of the plaintiffs and said the department had made reasonable efforts to remove vestiges of discrimination. The department reported this in a cable, dated September 24, on management issues.

We, of course, were disappointed by this decision. However, we had expected to lose some issues in District Court and had planned to seek redress in the Court of Appeals. We prepared an appeal, which was filed January 29. We believe we have a good chance of winning and we know that sex discrimination against women Foreign Service officers does exist, despite the ruling in District Court. Many cases are won on appeal. For example, Alison Palmer, a career FSO, lost her individual sex discrimination case in District Court but won in the Court of Appeals and was awarded a retroactive promotion with back pay and refund of legal fees.

We realize that those of you who have supported this lawsuit may feel discouraged by the decision. We wish that you could have been present during the five-week trial last spring when many women FSOs testified in great detail to the discrimination they have experienced and are experiencing in terms of cones, assignments, promotions, evaluations, awards, etc. Many of our witnesses paid their own way back from far-distant posts in order to speak up. We also had witnesses who had resigned or retired from the Service, including several senior female diplomats telling of the difficulties they had encountered in getting appropriate assignments because of sex discrimination. It was especially valuable to have testimony from a very diverse group, some having just entered the Service, others at the senior rank, many in the consular cone, others from administrative, economic, and political functions, from assignments all over the world and in many bureaus in the department. Their personal and strongly stated evidence, and their eagerness to testify,

were very impressive and heartening.

Our appeal will probably not be decided for approximately a year because of the time necessary for briefing and the crowded court calendar. In the meantime, we want you to know that the District Court's decision is not the final word. This lawsuit is very much alive, and we will pursue it vigorously.

ALISON PALMER

Foreign Service Officer, retired
South Wellfleet, Massachusetts

MARGUERITE COOPER

Foreign Service Inspector
Washington, D.C.

The Service's Role

Edward Marks's essay "FSOs or MBAs" [December] reported his impression—gained from a stint on the promotion boards—that Foreign Service officers appear to be visualizing their role not as political operators but as bureaucrats or managers. This is exactly what some of us have been saying for years as subtly occurring in the Service through its failure—as well as the State Department's—to conceptualize itself as a political instrumentality and apply appropriate diplomatic criteria for the recruitment, selection, training, and education of officers. Now the consequences of this failure are becoming noticeable.

We do not recruit officers with political experience and aptitudes; we give them a feeling, through examining procedures, that they are headed for desk jobs where their primary function is to shuffle papers through a so-called "assessment procedure" borrowed from major corporations; and then, in so-called "orientation," we further reinforce their impression that they are entering a bureaucratic career by trotting them around to a variety of departments and agencies and giving them no analysis of and training in diplomacy itself.

Small wonder that it is now evident that Foreign Service officers are doubtful whether they are diplomats and think of themselves as mere cogs in an organizational or bureaucratic machine. This means they are gravitating to the status of civil servants posted abroad, which is a false notion the Service has been resisting for years.

Some years ago a colleague wrote a book about the State Department and Foreign Service called *The Administration of Foreign Policy*, as though "administration" adequately conceptualized what our work is



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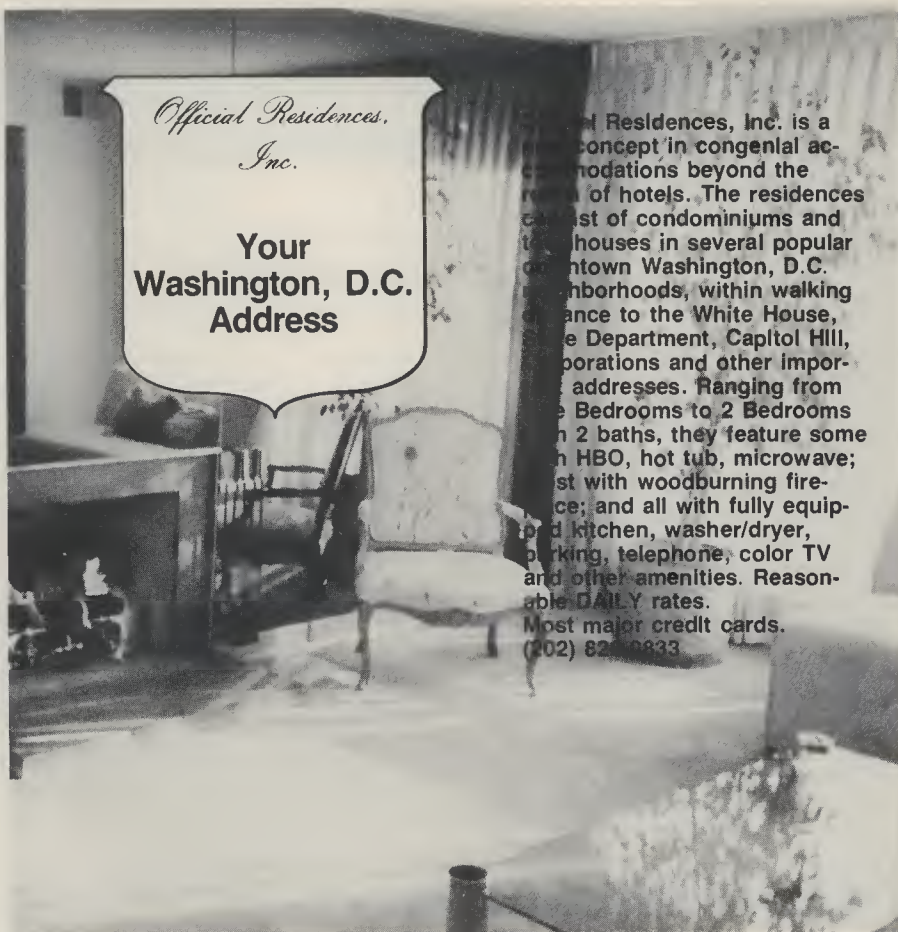
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all about. Administration and management are indeed important ingredients of the diplomatic process, but they are only incidental. They bear the same relationship to diplomacy that they bear to the exercise of military force. They are needed underpinning but in themselves gain no ground.

Diplomacy is a political process, designed to achieve political objectives. In a broad sense, diplomacy is international politics, with each actor engaged in strategies and tactics directed toward the accomplishment of national and international aims. It is a *political* dynamic. If we do not conceptualize diplomacy—and the role of the State Department and Foreign Service—in these terms we are not even in the game, and this is why other governments (such as that of Mr. Marcos in the Philippines) so often run circles around us.

SMITH SIMPSON
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Annandale, Virginia

Scapegoat Skeptic

Never mind that Mr. Christopher Paddock [DESPATCH, December 1985] wasted my entire 1982 contribution to the Internal Revenue Service along with those of several of my friends, or that he took himself out of productive service for an extended period of time chargeable neither to his home leave nor his annual leave.

Mr. Paddock was an employee of USIA, whose business is communication, and when he stated that he had been "scapegoated" he should have had his buttons torn off, his chevrons cut from his sleeve, and his ballpoint pen broken across the bridge of his nose.

Scapegoated, indeed!

MARIE J. STEPHENS
Willits, California

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BOOKS

Reviews

Managing Intercultural Negotiations.
By Pierre Casse and Surinder Deol. Intercultural Press, 1985. \$15.

This unusual book's purpose is to help Americans avoid interpersonal patterns that might work in the United States but would lead down blind alleys or create alienation in dealing with people from other cultures. Its unique feature is the backgrounds of the authors: one is a native of France, the other of India. They have employed their different perspectives to enlighten the American student on how foreigners are likely to perceive and respond to American negotiating styles.

The book covers the fundamentals of many theories of negotiation, such as group-planning, which allows consideration of a wide range of options before negotiators make plain their positions. It also provides guidance on body language, gestures, speech patterns, and differing concepts of time that affect interpersonal understanding.

The authors force the reader to alter culturally ingrained thinking habits. They introduce each chapter with quotes from eclectic sources, and the theoretical discourse is interspersed with exercises, quantitative explanations, and self-tests. The volume is really aimed at universities and other institutions that undertake training programs on international negotiation skills, and it is not easy to use outside of a classroom situation. Nevertheless, the book is useful for those engaged professionally in negotiations with persons from non-western cultures, especially those in the Middle East and South and East Asia.

—GILBERT J. DONAHUE

The China Quandary: Domestic Determinants of U.S. China Policy, 1972-1982. By Robert G. Sutter. Westview Press, 1984. \$22.50.

In the wake of the Communist victory in China in 1949, charges that the Truman administration had "lost China" and virulent attacks on the "China hands" left a long-lasting mark on U.S. policy. Even



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after the Sino-Soviet split of the late 1950s, the legendary power of the Nationalist China lobby stood in the way of any major shift in U.S. policy. Perhaps the legend was overblown; still, Richard Nixon's opening to China in 1971 was widely welcomed. But Jimmy Carter's normalization of relations in January 1979 brought a renewal of controversy, though far less intense and disabling than the one two decades earlier.

In *The China Quandary*, Robert G. Sutter, a veteran China-watcher currently with the Congressional Research Service, reviews the development of U.S.-China re-

lations from the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué to the 1982 communiqué on arms sales to Taiwan. Sutter drew on his experience as a China analyst in two previous books, *China-Watch: Toward Sino-American Reconciliation*, and *Chinese Foreign Policy after the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1977*. In this volume, he focuses on the U.S. side of the equation, examining the executive-legislative conflict over normalization and analyzing continuing issues in Sino-American relations: military ties, economic relations, and Taiwan.

Although Sutter feels that domestic debate has significantly influenced U.S. policy, he notes that strategic considerations have been the primary concern on both sides and points out the complexity of the issues. While controversy at the time of normalization centered on the termination of the defense treaty with the Nationalists and the terms of the continuing U.S. relationship with Taiwan, some legislators also were concerned with the impact of Sino-American rapprochement on Soviet-U.S. relations and arms control. Today, nuclear proliferation and abortion could be added to the list of issues impinging on U.S. China policy.

In his key chapters on executive-legislative relations and arms sales, Sutter draws heavily on unattributed interviews with congressional staff members and working-level officials in the executive branch. While these yield some useful insights, the reliance on disembodied voices is also a weakness. We are given an assortment of views with little analysis of their sources or the extent of their support. An examination of the debate and analysis of the votes on the Taiwan Relations Act would have been useful. Still, this is a good review of the growth of Sino-U.S. relations in a crucial decade.

—HARRIET D. SCHWAR

The Limits of Victory: The Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties. By George D. Moffett III. Cornell University Press.

The Panama Canal Treaties constituted a significant foreign policy success for the Carter administration. They also embodied an approach in which, in the president's words, concern for "justice and equity" would predominate over security issues, or "simple survival." Against formidable odds—a reluctant Congress, a difficult and capricious interlocutor in the late General Omar Torrijos of Panama, and a lack of majority support in the United States—the administration, through lavish expenditure of political capital, finally triumphed.

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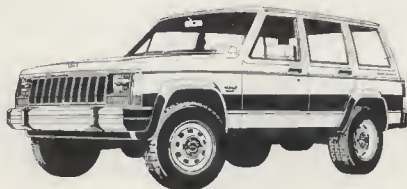
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The high price that had to be paid, however, turned the victory into a political liability at home. The administration's stock of credibility and good will was sorely depleted; the conservative movement was galvanized and strengthened; and the way was paved for the eventual Reagan landslide of 1980. This is the thesis of *The Limits of Victory*, and Moffett marshalls persuasive evidence to support it. For example, in the words of conservative lobbyist Richard Vigurie, whose organization was in the forefront of the conservative groups who sought to punish those politicians who supported the treaties, they were a "touchstone issue." A measure of the groups' success was that in the elections of 1978 and '80, some 20 of the 68 senators who voted for ratification were defeated in bids for reelection.

Moffett's deft analysis of the issues and his ability to draw significant conclusions from a wealth of material makes the book well worth reading in order to understand—in the words of Zbigniew Brzezinski—this "historically significant success that became politically a Pyrrhic victory for the Carter presidency."

—JOHN J. CROWLEY JR.

From the Think Tanks

Latin Migration North: The Problem for U.S. Foreign Policy. By Michael S. Teitelbaum. Council on Foreign Relations, 1985. \$4.95. In this monograph, Teitelbaum stresses the need for more attention within the foreign policymaking mechanism to the problems of refugees and migration, since foreign policy is now both a cause and a result of such human movements. He also calls for more consistent and objective attempts to identify refugees; a reexamination of policies that may cause refugee flows, especially U.S. economic policies toward Latin America; and more effective control of illegal migrants and their exploitation in the workplace.

Public Images of Western Security. By Gregory Flynn, Edwina Moreton, and Gregory Treverton. Atlantic Papers No. 54/55, Atlantic Institute for International Affairs, 1985. \$7. This monograph attempts to explain the disparity between the expected and actual results of public opinion surveys conducted in NATO countries after the 1983 deployment of intermediate-range missiles. The authors contend that it is the success of the alliance, rather than fear of the Soviet Union, that has led to much public ambivalence toward security and now requires that NATO governments seek new ways of legitimizing their security needs.

Romania: 40 Years. Edited by Vlad Georgescu. Washington Papers #115, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1985. In this study, the editor and contributors—all of whom are from the Romanian Service of Radio Free Europe—consider the economic and foreign policies of the communist regime in Romania during the last 40 years. They conclude that although Bucharest's somewhat autonomous foreign policy represents a weak point in the Warsaw Pact, that provides little advantage for the Romanian people, who are faced with an economic crisis and negligible civil liberties.

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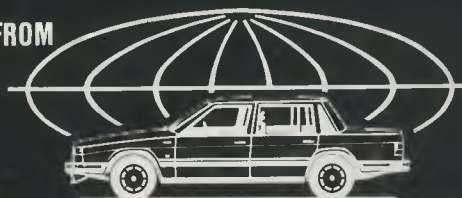
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PERIODICALS

By MICHELLE MAYNARD

"Managing Public Diplomacy." By Gifford D. Malone. *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Summer 1985. While the level of interest, funding, and activity of public diplomacy has increased over the past few years, writes this former Foreign Service officer, it still suffers from the lack of a clear definition and confusion over the roles of the agencies involved. The two institutions most concerned with public diplomacy—USIA and the State Department—are both beset by organizational problems stemming from the transplanting of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs into USIA during the Carter presidency. As a result, USIA is responsible for two very different types of programs: long-range cultural and academic exchanges, whose success depends on their separation from policy considerations, and information programs very much linked to policy. Malone argues that having one agency with these two roles is an unstable situation.

Moreover, State has recently become an active player in public diplomacy but has failed to define its role or even the term itself. Nor is it equipped to handle programs abroad. The separation of the two organizations is to the disadvantage of both; it makes little sense to keep the institution responsible for articulating U.S. policy apart from the one that formulates and implements it.

Malone argues that the present organizational problems make the recommendations of the Stanton Panel more relevant than ever. In 1976, the panel suggested that all policy-information activities become the responsibility of a new State Department bureau, while all general information and cultural programs would be carried out by an autonomous agency—similar to AID and ACDA—whose director would report directly to the secretary of state. The Voice of America would remain a separate organization with links to both the State Department and the cultural agency. Though some coordination through the National Security Council

Michelle Maynard is working toward her master's degree at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

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would be necessary, the department would be the authoritative figure in public diplomacy. Such a shift in structure and responsibilities would allow more integration between policy formulation and public explanation and would provide a firmer bureaucratic base for achieving the aims of both informational and educational aspects of public diplomacy.

"Third Parties in Conflict Management: The Structure and Conditions of Effective Mediation in International Relations." By Jacob Bercovitch. *International Journal*, Vol. XL, No. 4, Autumn 1985. Conflict management by third parties is both frequent and effective, but seldom studied, argues Bercovitch. In settling disputes, a third party may play a number of roles, from acting as a go-between to offering proposals, from ensuring secrecy in the negotiations to persuading both sides to make concessions. Bercovitch argues that three principal factors can influence the outcome and effectiveness of mediation: the nature of the adversaries, the nature of the dispute, and the nature of the mediator. He concludes that mediation has a better chance for success when adversaries are recognized as the legitimate spokespersons for their parties. In addition, it works best when resolving disputes between smaller powers and when the differences between the adversaries are themselves small. Moreover, the possibilities for success in non-ideological disputes are high while the chances for success in cold-war confrontations are low. Finally, the identity of the mediator, his or her impartiality, acceptability, and independence, as well as leverage, are vital factors in reaching a solution.

"Exaggerating America's Stakes in Third World Conflicts." By Robert H. Johnson. *International Security*, Vol. 10, No. 3, Winter 1985-86. Postwar U.S. conceptions of the Soviet threat in the Third World have been characterized by confusion, misperception, and exaggeration, writes Johnson. He depicts several frameworks within which U.S. policymakers assess Soviet threats: strategic criteria, the domino theory, credibility, world order, and a code of superpower behavior, and the belief that particular Soviet actions are historic departures forecasting a new range of threats.

In Angola, Afghanistan, and El Salvador, Johnson argues, the framework has proven faulty, often leading policymakers to overestimate the stakes and the threat to U.S. interests. Peace is not necessarily threatened when American values do not prevail, world order is not at stake in any

single Third World conflict, and U.S. commitments should depend upon specific situations rather than general concepts. Furthermore, Soviet capacity for long-term influence in the Third World is limited, what influence the Soviets do have is modest in most cases, and Soviet presence should not be equated with Soviet control. Last, several factors in the Third World favor the United States, including desires for autonomy, resistance to change, anti-communism, and the example of the western economic success. Johnson warns against threat inflation, which can create self-fulfilling prophecies and needless conflict, while undermining the believability of U.S. foreign policy.

"Enforcing Reciprocity in U.S. Diplomatic Relations: The Foreign Missions Act of 1982." By Andrew L. Odell. *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics*, Vol. 17, No. 4, Summer 1985. To remedy inequities in the privileges and immunities of U.S. diplomats abroad, the United States adopted the Foreign Missions Act of 1982, which empowers a new Office of Foreign Missions in the State Department to treat foreign diplomats posted here in a manner reciprocal to their country's treatment of U.S. officials. Odell argues that the act leaves uncertain the U.S. commitment to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

Before the measure was enacted, Congress had become convinced that our missions were not receiving fair treatment under the convention's reciprocity provisions. Members felt this had led to security problems, excessive or discriminatory costs, and a decrease in mission effectiveness. There were other reciprocity problems as well, such as the imposition of surcharges and taxes. Because the department lacked the authority to impose reciprocal conditions, Congress gave it a lever through the act and the OFM.

There are, however, special problems associated with applying the act outside the context of bilateral relations. U.N. missions and their personnel are treated under three international agreements—the U.N. Charter, its Convention on Privileges and Immunities, and the pact regulating the body's headquarters in New York. Since these agreements obligate the United States to accord U.N. missions and their personnel with the privileges and immunities generally enjoyed by foreign diplomats here, there is potential for conflict with the 1982 act.

Both foreign and American diplomats have noted that the act, if used without appropriate discretion, could run contrary to U.S. multilateral obligations and con-

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tribute to the breakdown of the Vienna regime. Odell concludes, however, that despite these troubling legal and political issues, it has nonetheless served its purposes effectively; with careful implementation, policymakers may be able to avoid problems.

"The Real National Interest." By Alan Tonelson. *Foreign Policy*, Winter, 1985-86. American foreign policy, on both the left and the right, suffers from delusions of universalism, writes Tonelson. Rather than being based on national interest or a finite set of goals, it is largely grounded in abstract notions of consistency, fairness, and simple symmetry. Tonelson identifies several problems stemming from this emphasis on universalism: wasting precious resources on secondary areas of interest; putting Washington at the mercy of repugnant, weak regimes and free-riding allies; and depriving American leaders of a coherent basis for a foreign policy consensus.

The concept that unlimited interests can be preserved with limited means has been articulated in various presidential doctrines. For instance, despite their different interpretations of Soviet intentions, neither the Nixon nor Carter administration believed the United States could abandon the superpower competition in any part of the world. In the current debate over when to use force, some policymakers show some awareness of the limits of American power, but many still make references to global responsibilities.

Tonelson argues that the United States must develop a reputation for reliability and predictability based on sound judgment. Although thinking specifically might encourage assaults on regions identified as low-priorities, it would also usefully highlight to U.S. allies that their importance to the United States—and the U.S. commitment to them—is limited.

Foreign policymakers must develop priorities. There are some areas where the United States must tolerate foot-dragging and political dissent from its allies, such as Western Europe, Japan, and possibly the Persian Gulf. Other areas are best handled by using a threat of force directly against a challenge rather than by costly, unsuccessful efforts to prop up dictators or to modernize societies that have been failures.

"The Poverty of Realism." By Charles Krauthammer. *The New Republic*, February 17, 1986. The realist school, based on Hans Morgenthau's foundations, is enjoying a revival in foreign policy, according to Krauthammer. In post-Vietnam America, the conflict between neo-isolationism and

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neo-internationalism (or neo-containment, as he calls it) has dominated the foreign policy debate. Realism, however, challenges the premises of both. Realists are particularly concerned with the neo-internationalism embodied in the "Reagan Doctrine," a reassertion of U.S. interventionism that realists characterize as an ideological crusade. Their critique focuses on the national interest, but Krauthammer points out the fallacy of this critique: that national interest is not some objective thing waiting to be discovered; beyond physical security, it dictates nothing.

Defining realism in terms of power or realpolitik is useful but it has interesting implications: realist foreign policy then differs little in practice from the "ideological" foreign policy it attacks. The difference is mostly in the analysis and rationale for intervention. Neo-internationalists would not deny that the spread of values supports U.S. power, but they would deny the premise that the purpose of such policy is to increase U.S. power for its own sake. Moreover, they would point out that it is not clear whether our adversaries believe that power is an end in itself. Krauthammer states that the realist analysis is overly dogmatic in its assumption that countries are driven by the quest for power, rather than ideology.

Realists also fault neo-internationalists for their excessive universalism and moralism. They argue that cost-benefit analysis should be applied to intervention, but Krauthammer counters that their application of this standard to interventions they don't like makes their criticism suspect. He also argues that the realist charge that political morality should not be part of foreign policy is not applied consistently. He concludes that the three-cornered debate among the realists, neo-internationalists and neo-isolationists may soon turn into a two-cornered one as the realist school splits between those who adopt a minimalist form of national interest, similar to neo-isolationism, and those who define interest as power, and end up advocating policies similar to those supported by neo-internationalists. □

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CLIPPINGS

State's Bogeyman

"In a bitter indictment of the agency that implements foreign policy, the Heritage Foundation detailed a 'distressing and embarrassing gap' between the president's public speeches and the State Department's practices....

"A Reagan appointee at the State Department called many of the allegations in the report 'preposterous.'...

"This need to find a bogeyman in George Shultz is silly," said the source, referring to a long-running feud between the Heritage Foundation and the secretary of state."

James Morrison in the Washington Times, February 19

Confronting Terrorism

"State Department officials say the challenge of providing security for U.S. diplomats abroad is epitomized in Lima, a city of six million people. Here, 200 embassy officials like John Youle live on the margin of danger as they tend to the day-to-day business of keeping relations with a key Latin nation on an even keel....

"There have been seven attacks on U.S. embassy facilities in Lima during the past three years. So far, no U.S. employee or dependent has been killed or injured in a terrorist-related incident in Peru."

George D. Moffett III in the Christian Science Monitor, January 29

"One-third of all international terrorist attacks are aimed at American nationals and property.... 'Unfortunately, this is a growth industry,' says Foreign Service officer Arnold Campbell, who coordinates a mandatory one-day course for diplomats en route overseas. It is held at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute in Rosslyn....

"Campbell, 35, sought the anti-terrorist job and was assigned to it in 1984. Since then he has traveled to the world's hot spots."

The Washingtonian, February

"Terrorism, revolutionary ferment, the challenge of change—all were involved in

the Tehran crisis, and all are areas in which major object lessons were posed but where major questions persist. But perhaps what Americans remember most from that crisis is the sense of national unity that eventually evolved at home. Not a bad thing, we will all agree."

L. Bruce Laingen in Minnesota, February

Shultz's Motives

"According to [Secretary of State] Shultz or those close to him, each of the recent incidents involving polygraphs or symptoms of irritability are attributable to different causes: [Shultz's] irritation with criticism from the conservative right, because he considers himself and his policies deeply conservative and because he is unaccustomed to public attacks; his deep sense of personal rectitude, which was violated by the polygraph directive; and his exasperation at being unable to bring about more forceful U.S. responses to international terrorism, a goal that has become his passion since hundreds of U.S. Marines were killed in Lebanon in October 1983."

Don Oberdorfer in the Washington Post, February 3

Professional Recognition

"I would like to say a word about that fine group of professionals in the United States Foreign Service. There is, regrettably, a natural tension between the politician and the career government servant. They tend to look at issues from quite different perspectives. The Foreign Service has not always been well treated on the Hill. I found them a superb group; I could not have done my job without their loyal support. Some politicians perpetuate the myth that the Foreign Service cannot be loyal to one administration if they have served under another. This is nonsense."

Edmund S. Muskie in a speech at Georgetown University, November 19

Outspoken Official

"At the State Department, where ambiguity in speech and obfuscation in actions

have become finely developed tools, the new No. 2 official, John C. Whitehead, has startled a number of aides by his preference for straight talk and crisp decisions....

"This propensity for saying what he believes has led to some criticism within the administration that Whitehead is an amateur in the very delicate profession of foreign policy. A more serious criticism has been that he lacks the knowledge to handle difficult foreign policy issues....

"Whitehead seems to recognize that he is still learning the trade and is just becoming expert in some issues. But other State Department officials praise him for acting decisively when options are put to him."

Bernard Gwertzman in the New York Times, January 30

Poison Pens

"It is difficult for me to understand why [Secretary of State George Shultz] was invited [to address the 48th International PEN Congress]. What has Shultz written? What is his connection to the world of letters? Has he been on the boards of libraries or publishing houses? Has he ever as secretary of state championed the cause of universal free expression that so concerns the international community of writers?..."

"Shultz's government has been conscientious in its application of the ideological exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act, which keeps out such dangers to the Republic as the Nobel Prize-winner Gabriel Garcia Márquez. His government is so contemptuous of language as to insist that the bands of *contra* terrorists—whom it wants Congress to fund, and who wage war against civilians in Nicaragua, killing men and women and children and mutilating their bodies—are 'freedom fighters.'"

E.L. Doctorow in The Nation, January 18

"Inside [the opening session of the 48th International PEN Congress], only minutes into the ceremony that began an hour late, applause and shouts greeted the appeal of Per Watberg, International PEN president, to Shultz to abolish the McCarran-Walter Act. The act has been used to deny visas to foreign intellectuals whose ideas are counter to those of any prevailing administration.

"When Shultz rose to speak, although there had been some talk of a mass walk-out, only two persons, both journalists, left. During his speech there was sporadic heckling."

Publishers Weekly, January 24



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Foreign Service Journal, April 1976:
"The [Senate Foreign Relations] Committee should ask the department to re-examine its reasons for denying promotion to a number of officers deemed promotable by the Selection Boards...."

"The Murphy Commission—which made more than 70 specific recommendations in the personnel area—stressed the need for active congressional interest in Foreign Service personnel reform."

John J. Harter

Foreign Service Journal, April 1961: "It is a truism that the public expects government agencies to be wasteful and inefficient, not limiting their needs to one dollar if two are available. The public is not yet well acquainted with the Foreign Service, and there is still hope that the old-fashioned virtues of thrift, common sense, and dedication, which for so many years characterized the work and esprit of the Service, will still be in evidence in the years to come. These virtues may sound trite and archaic in this age of modern diplomacy, but let us not barter away our birthright at the public trough."

Marshall P. Jones

Foreign Service Journal, April 1936:
"The organization of a golf course and club in Tehran had long been subject to discussion on the part of members of the foreign colony in Tehran....The idea assumed explosive force with the transfer from Cairo to Tehran early in 1931 of First Secretary George Wadsworth, one of the greatest of American Foreign Service golfers who, however, absorbed in following the tortuous intricacies of the Persian foreign trade monopoly, found no substitute in tennis or bridge for the golf which was denied him for the first time since he left the nursing bottle....Subscriptions were solicited and at a general meeting of some 75 subscribers, it was decided to proceed with the organization of the club to be known as 'Le Club de Golf de Sulemanieh.'..."

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Edward Fitzgerald

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DESPATCH

One Year Later

When we started *DESPATCH* one year ago, we were not sure whether a column devoted to news about the Foreign Service could be filled every month. Needless to say, we had no such problem; the past year has been an eventful one. Herewith, an update on some of the news we have covered.

Associates program put on hold. "The problem that probably represents the biggest threat the Foreign Service will face in the coming decade is maintaining the kind of Foreign Service we have known in an era of societal change in which the two-income family is becoming more and more the norm," Under Secretary for Management Ronald I. Spiers wrote in the *JOURNAL* in March 1985. In his view, the State Department's efforts in this area "only nibble at the edges."

The Association of American Foreign Service Women took a big bite at the problem with its Foreign Service Associates proposal, coincidentally also put forth in the March 1985 *JOURNAL*. Senator Charles Mathias (R.-Maryland) liked the idea, and he sponsored a bill that Congress passed last summer asking the State Department to come up with a pilot program. The final proposal, put before Congress last February, called for a total of \$1,650,000 to be spent over two years on 50 mostly full-time positions created especially for the pilot program. The jobs would fall into two categories, traditional Foreign Service jobs created specially for the program and projects outside the mission deemed to be in the national interest.

In addition, a separate but related pilot project would explore an Enhanced Employment Program, meant to establish a system whereby, in some cases involving existing jobs at posts designed for family members, spouses could maintain grade and salary levels when moving to another post. It would also use existing authority to allow spouses to fill higher-grade level jobs when temporary vacancies occur. Jobs in both programs would fall within the FS4-6 grade levels and derive benefits similar to the career Service. Career jobs, the proposal claimed, would not be jeopardized by the proposal.

As the proposal was taking shape, Congress passed the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction bill, and legislators began talking about massive staff and funding cutbacks in the foreign affairs agencies. The department apparently felt that it needed to make its own cuts to ensure the survival of such programs as the \$4-billion embassy-security plan, and the FSA pilot program was among the first to go. Ironically, the knife was wielded in this case by Spiers. "Because of Gramm-Rudman, Under Secretary Spiers decided this was not the time to start a new program, even if it's a low-cost one," William Bacchus, policy director in the Bureau of Personnel, told the *Federal Times*. "I don't think this is as much a money issue as what impression it would leave on Capitol Hill."

There were other factors contributing to the project's withdrawal, said to be only temporary by its supporters. The Office of Personnel Management and Office of Management and Budget opposed the project. A related proposal that spouses be paid for representational duties, patterned after a suggestion by Marlene Eagleburger, wife of the former under secretary for political affairs, was briefly included in the pilot proposal but later cut. This led to confusion on the part of the press and the public, typified by a *Washington Times* editorial that said that Foreign Service spouses, who are "forced to spend their time requisitioning the Beluga," might not "have fantasized their latest feminist proposal: going on the State Department payroll for performing such wifely duties as entertaining VIPs," if they had paid attention to the news about Gramm-Rudman. The proposal, to the contrary, said "we believe expanded spouse employment, because of the utilization of talents already at post," rather than bringing in additional personnel, "will help the government accomplish necessary tasks at less cost."

Security Funds Advance. Money for protecting diplomats overseas has been a stop-and-go proposition in Congress. When the Advisory Commission on Overseas Security chaired by Admiral Bobby Inman first presented its proposal to Congress last year, House Government Operations Subcommittee Chairman Dan Mica (D.-Florida), along with other Democrats, lined up solidly behind it. Thus it seemed ironic in early February when Mica told Secretary Shultz that "it is going to be very hard to send \$2 billion additional overseas while we're cutting possibly pensions and domestic programs at home." The money was the first installment on a program that would eventually cost more than \$4 bil-

lion. Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante Fascell (D.-Florida) told the secretary that the chance for increases in State funding was "slim and none." The consensus was that it might be better just to bring the endangered diplomats home.

The department is the smallest cabinet agency, but its funding request of \$2 billion for fiscal year 1987 for the security-enhancement program would roughly double its annual budget. "A moment's thought would show that the posts most at risk are the ones at which Americans are most urgently needed," the *New York Times* said in an editorial following the congressional criticism. "Money for diplomats is money for national defense."

Later in the month, there was apparently a change of heart, and Mica's subcommittee began pushing the program. "People are recognizing that Gramm-Rudman or not, we still have a problem with the embassies...and we have to embark on this program," a committee spokesman said. He said passage of the bill by the full House was likely. If the bill proceeds as planned, it should be under consideration by the Senate during April.

Spy dust dangers dismissed. After extensive tests by three federal agencies, the government concluded that the use of the chemical NPPD—nitrophenyl pentadienol, popularly known as spy dust—represented no health hazard to American employees in Moscow and Leningrad. When the U.S. disclosed Soviet use of the substance to track U.S. diplomats, late last summer, it said that earlier tests had revealed the chemical to be a mutagen, which means that it affects cells' genetic material and may be a carcinogen. "Exposure to the quantity of NPPD found does not pose a health hazard," the study concluded. Even if it enters the body, it is expelled within a day or two.

The substance may have caused political damage, however. As *DESPATCH* reported in September, the intelligence agencies knew the Soviets had used NPPD in the past and had begun using it frequently several months before the disclosure, but the latter information was not passed along to the State Department. Thus, U.S. official contacts may have been jeopardized if they were revealed by the presence of NPPD. There was one silver lining in the dust cloud: The United States now has a simple chemical test that signals the presence of NPPD by turning—appropriately enough—red-violet or pink.

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

THE GHOST OF YALTA

Charles Bohlen's 1953 confirmation hearings as ambassador to Moscow exorcised some non-existent skeletons in his closet

H. W. BRANDS JR.

SENATORIAL CONFIRMATION of ambassadors is usually a routine procedure. But in early 1953, few matters in Washington followed a normal course. For the first time in two decades, Republicans claimed the White House, pledging to roll back the tide of communism in Eastern Europe and Asia. In the Senate, Joseph McCarthy (R.-Wisconsin) was at the height of his influence. The war in Korea lurched on as a newly troubling conflict in Indochina gained momentum. And then Stalin died in Russia, raising the prospect of power struggle in the Kremlin. In the midst of all this, Charles Bohlen was nominated as ambassador to the Soviet Union.

From a professional perspective, Chip Bohlen was an ideal replacement for George Kennan, who had been sent packing several months before when he likened Stalin's Russia to Hitler's Germany. Like Kennan, Bohlen had been specially trained by the Foreign Service for a Russian post early in the 1930s, when the United States had normalized relations with Moscow. Subsequent tours in Tokyo, Washington, and Paris had broadened Bohlen's experience. It also broadened his contacts. These included most importantly Dwight Eisenhower, whom he first met near the end of the war and with whom he later golfed when Ike was commander of NATO. Eisenhower appreciated what he later called Bohlen's "tough, firm, but fair attitude" on the question of relations with the Soviets. His overall assessment was that Bohlen was one of the ablest Foreign Service officers he had ever met.

But the nomination had one serious drawback. Bohlen was closely associated in the minds of many Republicans with the foreign policy of the Democrats—the supposedly failed policies that the American people had presumably repudiated in the 1952 election. Bohlen made no apologies for the Truman administration's containment policy, which the Republicans had attacked as "defeatist." More damning still, he defended the actions of the Roosevelt administration at that most infamous—in Republican eyes—of wartime conferences, Yalta.

Eisenhower realized that Bohlen's nomination would raise some objections. But he wanted the best person available to fill the Moscow post, and on the assurance of Senator Robert Taft (R.-Ohio), a leading

conservative in the upper house, that Bohlen's confirmation would not be a serious problem, he went ahead with the nomination. In fact, the appointment raised a tremendous controversy, as right-wing Republicans attempted by means fair and foul to block the nomination. The debate over Bohlen became a debate over Yalta, over containment, and over the general direction of U.S. foreign policy. The basic outlines of this debate are well known. In recent years, though, previously classified documents have been released that provide a clearer picture of the events that swirled around the Bohlen nomination than has been available heretofore.

That Yalta would be an issue in Bohlen's nomination hearings should have been obvious to anyone who knew the man, and who knew of his stubborn support of the decisions made at that conference. Bohlen had no illusions about the Soviet Union, but neither did he have any patience with people who wanted to blame the cold war on Yalta. During the late 1940s, Bohlen became increasingly irritated at the exaggerations, omissions, and downright falsifications that obscured what actually happened at that conference, and he enthusiastically seconded attempts to correct erroneous allegations. In 1949, he wrote to a former FDR aide who was working on an edition of the public papers of Roosevelt:

Having had the privilege of being an eyewitness at this conference, I of course feel very strongly about the distortions and deliberate misrepresentations which have been so current in regard to what the president did or did not do at Yalta and the reasons therefore, and I welcome heartily any account that helps put the record straight.

In March 1953, Bohlen got a chance of his own to set the record straight, at his nomination hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Chairman Alexander Wiley (R.-Wisconsin) indicated with his first questions what the committee was interested in: "What was your position at Yalta?" Bohlen earlier had been asked by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles whether he could not reply to such a query by saying that he had been merely an interpreter. Bohlen had refused at that meeting to minimize his role at Yalta, and he again declined before the committee. "I was primarily an interpreter," Bohlen acknowledged, "but at the time of Yalta, I was an assistant to the secretary of state and one of my duties was to serve as liaison with the White House."



Bohlen at confirmation hearing in 1953. Right-wing Republicans used the occasion to hoist the nominee as ambassador to the Soviet Union on the petard of the foreign policy of the Democrats.

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Bohlen greets his principal Senate antagonist, Homer Ferguson (R.-Michigan), as Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Clarence Wiley (R.-Wisconsin) looks on. Ferguson tried unsuccessfully to associate Bohlen with Alger Hiss.



As Bohlen's examiners bored in on the Yalta issue, one of their first concerns was to determine whether Bohlen believed that the Chinese Nationalists had been betrayed by settlements worked out behind their backs. Bohlen admitted that it was "distasteful, to put it mildly," that Chiang Kai-shek had been excluded from a conference at which the future of his country hung in the balance, but he cited considerations of security and secrecy in defense of the exclusion. As to the charges of betrayal, Bohlen denied that China's interests had suffered as a result of Yalta. In fact, as Bohlen reminded the committee, the Far Eastern aspects of the Yalta accords had been highly praised when they became public. Bohlen conceded that the Russians had later violated that treaty; however, that was hardly the fault of the U.S. delegation. He added that if the Chinese had not had the Yalta agreements to fall back on—if they had had to negotiate alone with the Soviets—the ultimate result probably would have been worse.

Bohlen insisted that regardless of Yalta's impact on China, it was necessary to remember the military imperatives as they were understood at the time. He labeled "hindmyopia" the tendency to forget the pressures American leaders felt in 1945. "The terrific compulsions of the war are absent when you look at it 10 years afterward," he said. In any event, the overriding concern of Roosevelt and his advisers had been to get a firm Soviet commitment to enter the Pacific war. Bohlen readily acknowledged that the atomic bomb had rendered Soviet participation in the Pacific war unnecessary, but to hold that against Roosevelt was, he believed, uncalled for. Indeed, for Roosevelt *not* to have made the decisions he made would have been nearly inconceivable.

IN THE Republican brief against Yalta, China filled one half. The other half was Eastern Europe, especially Poland. Bohlen was not a specialist on the Far East, and his defense of Yalta's arrangements for Asia was that of an informed ama-

teur, as he was the first to admit. Europe, however, was his field of expertise, and there he spoke with an authority that his interlocutors had to respect, even if they did not concur in his conclusions.

Bohlen's chief antagonist on the Foreign Relations Committee was Homer Ferguson of Michigan. This Republican senator seemed convinced that Roosevelt had hoped to buy the Kremlin's postwar friendship by granting it effective control over Eastern Europe. That was the point of the Yalta agreements on Poland, he claimed. "Well, looking at the agreements, do you not think that is exactly what they were doing?" demanded Ferguson. "Were they not treating Russia as being the dominant figure after the war, and were not these concessions being made to her for the purpose of allowing her to become the dominant figure?" Bohlen dismissed the idea that the U.S. delegation at Yalta had wanted the Soviet Union to dominate Eastern Europe. The point he stressed, however, was that the U.S.S.R. was almost certain to control the region regardless of what the United States wanted or what its delegation did at Yalta. At the time of the conference, Bohlen reminded the committee, the Soviets occupied almost all of Poland, Russian troops were well into Hungary, and they were nearing the outskirts of Vienna. U.S. forces, still shaken from the Battle of the Bulge and trying to establish a bridgehead across the Rhine, were in no position to challenge Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. The purpose of the Yalta declarations regarding Poland, Bohlen asserted, was to loosen, as far as could be managed by diplomacy, the grip that the Red Army already had on the Poles.

Bohlen's defense of Yalta was a defense of the intentions of Roosevelt and his advisers, including, by implication, Bohlen himself. Bohlen did not pretend that affairs had worked out in practice the way the negotiators at Yalta had hoped. He fully admitted that the Soviets had broken the agreements, but he felt that this was no valid argument against making agreements in the first place. In fact, it was in some ways a justification of Yalta, in that Soviet violations



Senator Joseph McCarthy (R.-Wisconsin) tells the press that Bohlen is a security risk. Attempts to discredit the nominee also included charges of homosexuality.

put the West on notice regarding Moscow's designs in the postwar period. To Ferguson's partly rhetorical questions whether Bohlen did not know at the time of Yalta that one could not do business with the Soviets, Bohlen replied:

Yes, sir, I did, but I felt for a number of reasons that you could not afford not to make an attempt. I believe very strongly, and I believe to this day, that Yalta in effect was the test which demonstrated to the world the value of agreements with the Soviet Union. Had you had no agreements, there would have been a great difference of opinion on this subject.

No discussion of Yalta would have been complete without questions regarding the most notorious U.S. diplomat of the period, Alger Hiss. The convicted perjurer and presumed spy had been at Yalta as an adviser on U.N. affairs. Ferguson did his best to find evidence that Hiss had been behind some of the conference's agreements. Failing this, he sought to demonstrate at least that Hiss was a conduit to Stalin from the inner councils of U.S. diplomacy. He had a point, as Bohlen acknowledged, but at times the questioning bordered on the ridiculous. The discussion turned to meetings at which Hiss had been present.

FERGUSON: Well, now, do you say that nothing was discussed of a secret nature?

BOHLEN: No, I wouldn't say that at all, sir.

FERGUSON: Well, if you wanted Stalin in, you would have had him in these meetings, wouldn't you?

BOHLEN: Yes, sir; that is correct.

FERGUSON: You didn't anticipate at that moment that Hiss was a Soviet agent?

BOHLEN: I certainly did not, sir.

FERGUSON: Would you have discussed the things that you did discuss at these meetings if you had known that Hiss was a Soviet agent?

BOHLEN: Senator, if I had known anybody was a Soviet agent or even seriously suspected of such, I wouldn't have discussed anything with him. He wouldn't have been in the conference if the subsequent information which is now known was known then.

TO REPUBLICANS in the early part of 1953, Yalta was a symbol of the allegedly failed policies of Franklin Roosevelt. In attempting to persuade Bohlen to repudiate Yalta, the conservatives on the committee were trying to get him to denounce Roosevelt's diplomacy. What Yalta was to memories of FDR in right-wing demonology, "containment" was to fresher recollections of the Truman administration. Bohlen's examiners wanted to know where he stood on containment—especially with respect to its perceived antithesis, the dynamic new philosophy of the Republicans: "liberation."

Again Bohlen was a refractory witness, insisting on analyzing decisions and policies in their historical context. At the time containment was adopted, he argued, the choice was not between containment and liberation, but between containment and non-containment—the latter being indifference to communist expansion. Bohlen admitted that the term containment unfortunately had negative connotations that implied that nothing could be done about Soviet domination of the satellite nations. But the term, he believed, reflected some unfortunately stubborn facts. "You come down to the means that are open to you short of war as to what you can do to bring about a recession or a retraction of Soviet power." Bohlen denied that the Democrats had been excessively timid in challenging Soviet control. Citing in general terms various overt and clandestine efforts to penetrate the Iron Curtain, Bohlen said, "There are no limitations I have known that have been placed on what you do in those fields except the limits of what you can do effectively."

Bohlen thought liberation a political red herring; he was skeptical of the possibility of forcing the Soviet Union to retreat because he recognized the seriousness of the challenge that it presented. In the firmness of his anti-communist beliefs, Bohlen yielded to no one. But Bohlen's was a hardheaded anti-communism based on years of experience studying and dealing with Soviet leaders, in contrast to what he considered the armchair alarmism of many latter-day discoverers

of the Red threat. One of Bohlen's questioners, Republican Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa, had been impressed by a recent book on communism and what ought to be done about it. Part of the book's thesis, as Hickenlooper paraphrased it, was that containment was doomed to failure because it did not recognize the insidious nature and universalist aspirations of communism, treating it instead as "solely and only a Russian nationalistic operation." Bohlen objected:

I would not say, sir, that that has ever been the opinion of anybody who has ever had any experience in the field, because I think the first things you learn about the Soviet Union are precisely its dual nature, which makes it the menace that it is, that is to say, the same group of men, on the one hand control a great country with great resources, human and all that, and are at the same time the general staff of a world conspiracy, and in the evolution of this whole matter, this same group of men who run the Soviet Union have virtually total obedience and control over fifth columnists in other countries all over the world.

With statements like this, Bohlen denied to even the conservatives on the committee the opportunity to question his anti-communist convictions. Nor did it appear that they would make any progress trying to persuade him to reconsider his position on other matters, especially Yalta. Once this was clearly established—which, through the persistence of committee members like Ferguson, took several hours—the confrontation was brought to an end.

HOURS BEFORE Bohlen spoke to the Foreign Relations Committee, Stalin suffered a severe stroke. Two days later the news was released to the world, followed soon after by official reports of the dictator's death. This development made speedy approval of Bohlen's nomination seem imperative to the Eisenhower administration, as Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith told the committee a short while later. The Republican conservatives, however, were not willing to let him go so quickly. At a closed-door session on March 10, the committee decided, at the request of Ferguson, to postpone action on the Bohlen nomination for a week.

In this interval, resistance to Bohlen mounted among right-wing Republicans beyond the committee. A tempting target like Bohlen was too much for Joseph McCarthy to resist. On March 13, McCarthy announced that he would oppose the appointment; the reason, as he explained several days later, was that Bohlen was one of the same "Acheson-Hiss gang" that had been repudiated in the 1952 election. McCarthy's opposition was abetted by the Wisconsin senator's contacts with Scott McLeod, a recently appointed security officer at the State Department and a man who seemed to believe McCarthy's claims that the department was infested with subversives.

While objection to Bohlen's association with past policies provided the motivation for the McCarthy-McLeod attack, the attack itself centered on Bohlen's personal affairs. Thinly veiled allegations were made regarding the moral fiber of the nominee, with the implication that deviations from commonly accepted

standards would create a security risk by opening the ambassador-designate to blackmail. On their face, the charges—which were not made public until more than 20 years later—were ludicrous. They ranged from statements that Bohlen had associated with "confessed" or suspected homosexuals, including his brother-in-law; to one informant's blanket declaration that everyone who had served at the Moscow mission in 1934 was a homosexual; to claims by a woman who said that Bohlen's voice and expression were effeminate, except, for some unexplained reason, when he spoke French; to testimony by a man who asserted that he had a "sixth sense" for detecting homosexuals.

Absurd or not, these charges were taken seriously—not least by the Eisenhower administration. At a time when such innuendo often carried the presumption of guilt, or at least the presumption of risk to the nation's security, Eisenhower did not want to open himself to charges of laxity. The president asked Dulles to check out the rumors, which the secretary did. State Department Counselor Douglas MacArthur II found the allegations incredible, declaring that he had known Bohlen for many years, and that he was confident that the latter had a "normal" family life. Henry Cabot Lodge, a friend of Bohlen since childhood, characterized the charges as "utterly fantastic."

Despite these reassurances, Dulles was not one to take chances. On the second day of Bohlen's hearings, when both Dulles and Bohlen were scheduled to testify, Dulles insisted that the two ride in separate cars to the Capitol, and he told Bohlen that it would be best if they were not photographed together. Even after Bohlen was finally approved by the Senate, Dulles continued to worry. On hearing that the new ambassador intended to leave for Moscow a few days ahead of his wife, with a stopover in Paris, the secretary suggested that the couple travel together. "Why do you think Mrs. Eisenhower traveled with the president during the election campaign?" Dulles asked. The ambassador said that he was not going to change his plans.

Though worried by the furor that Bohlen was arousing, Eisenhower believed that he could not withdraw the nomination without jeopardizing presidential prerogative in making appointments. At the same time, however, he was determined not to let himself get into such a predicament again. In the middle of the Bohlen debate, the president told Dulles that in the future they would have to do a better job clearing such potentially damaging appointments in advance.

In the meantime, both Ike and Dulles worried that Bohlen would find the whole affair so distasteful that he would decide to follow Kennan and leave the State Department. After the political trouble the nomination had already caused, the president and the secretary did not want to see the administration's efforts wasted. Ike suggested that Dulles talk to Bohlen. The secretary complied, telling Bohlen that he must not resign in the middle of the controversy, because such a move would put the president in an embarrassing position. Bohlen assured Dulles that he was not about to quit.

On March 18, Bohlen returned to the hearing room

of the Foreign Relations Committee. Dulles, in another car, also made the drive from Foggy Bottom to Capitol Hill. The secretary testified first.

On his own initiative, and in response to queries, Dulles described the reasons why Bohlen had been chosen ambassador to the Kremlin, and how this choice fitted into administration plans for U.S. foreign policy. Dulles minced few words in telling the committee that Moscow was not a promotion for Bohlen. Bohlen had been a designer of the policies of the Truman administration, explained the secretary, and in a Republican State Department, there was no place for him—at least not in a policy position. Referring to Bohlen's previous duties, Dulles said, "I did not desire that Mr. Bohlen should continue as counselor." The reason was clear enough. "He has been loyal to the policies of the then administration, with which I differ rather sharply in a number of respects." Sending Bohlen to Moscow would both make use of his "unique capacity to understand Soviet communism" and remove him from a position where he could markedly affect policy. On the latter point, Dulles was explicit. In reply to a question whether Bohlen's new post would leave him in the policy mainstream, Dulles declared, "There is no policy that is made in Moscow at all."

Senator Ferguson asked if Dulles was satisfied that Bohlen would be able to fill his new position without being unduly influenced by previous policies that he had had a hand in formulating. Dulles replied, "Yes; I believe that Bohlen will be loyal to the administration that he serves, and that he is not so emotionally dedicated to policies of his own invention that he cannot shift his allegiance to new policies." In defending the president's choice for an important post, Dulles could hardly have answered otherwise. His later actions, however, indicate that he was not really convinced about the nominee.

DULLES'S DOUBTS about Bohlen's loyalty to the administration surfaced four years later—after Bohlen had done little in the interim to cause the secretary concern. Early in 1957, Dulles decided to ease Bohlen out of the embassy in Moscow and reassign him to a more out-of-the-way post. In justifying what was clearly a demotion, Dulles claimed that he thought Bohlen had wanted to retire after Ike's first term. Dulles told the ambassador that he had promised Moscow to someone else. At approximately the same time, Dulles described to White House aide Wilton Persons his suspicions about Bohlen. A transcript of a telephone conversation between Dulles and Persons records the exchange: "[Dulles] does not think he [Bohlen] is very loyal but can do less harm in the Philippines [to which Bohlen was reassigned] than if kicked out." Dulles had to be careful where he placed Bohlen; if he tried to move him too far out of the way—Senator William Knowland (R.-California) suggested South America—Bohlen might indeed decide to resign, which would raise a "bad stink." Beyond the odor that such a situation would produce, Dulles worried about the possibility that Bohlen might take a position in a Washington research institute, whence he would pro-

ceed to attack administration policies. When Bohlen, after some further maneuvering by Dulles, accepted the assignment to Manila, the secretary was relieved. In Manila, Dulles told Persons, Bohlen would be "adequately insulated."

But after Dulles finished his testimony at Bohlen's 1953 hearings, the nominee was invited back into the hearing room. In the two weeks since his earlier appearance, some members of the committee had been investigating published documents relating to Yalta. Alexander Wiley had discovered a statement in the diaries of the late Navy and Defense Secretary James Forrestal that Bohlen had advocated delaying a peace settlement with Japan until the Soviet Union could enter the Pacific war. Wiley seemed willing to accept Bohlen's answer that Forrestal's recollection was an error based on a secondhand conversation, but Ferguson would not let the subject drop. When Bohlen stood firm, Ferguson suddenly shifted course and quoted a speech that Bohlen allegedly had made in 1947: "And I want to state now unequivocally we are tired of these people who criticize our conduct at Tehran and Yalta; in fact they are our most glorious diplomatic triumphs." Bohlen declared that he had never made such a statement. He did not deny expressing his opinion that he found criticism of Yalta tiresome, but the phrase "glorious diplomatic triumphs," he said, was not his style.

After Ferguson finished his examination, William Knowland—the "Senator from Formosa"—made an attempt to implicate Bohlen in the communist victory in China in 1949. When this tactic failed, the committee members decided they had heard enough. The nominee was asked to leave the room, and a vote was taken. Bohlen was approved—considering the atmosphere, one might almost say acquitted—by the surprising count of 15 to 0. Even Ferguson joined in, suggesting that there may have been some posturing involved in the attempts to wring a confession out of the witness.

After the unanimous vote of the Foreign Relations Committee, Bohlen's confirmation by the full Senate was never in doubt. A handful of conservative die-hards followed Everett Dirksen (R.-Illinois) in the opinion, "I reject Yalta, so I reject Yalta men," but their opposition was primarily for the record.

The Bohlen affair was not the Eisenhower administration's finest hour. Had Ike and Dulles realized the storm the nomination would raise, they undoubtedly would have chosen someone else. The president was forced to defend Bohlen or risk losing control of his foreign policy at the outset of his administration. The president preferred to avoid confrontations with Congress, and his later actions indicate that he took seriously Robert Taft's warning after the turmoil over the nomination subsided: "No more Bohlens."

The outcome of the fight over Bohlen's appointment did not quite put the ghost of Yalta to rest. Too many Republicans, and a few right-wing Democrats, had been frustrated for too long by the hard facts of the cold war to admit that their visions of Rooseveltian duplicity had been only hallucinations. By the end of the Bohlen affair, though, it was evident to objective observers that the apparition's spell-casting powers were fading fast. □

A DIFFICULT MATTER

Because the process for selecting ambassadors is often based as much on politics as qualifications, some funny things happen on the way to the Senate

ANDREW L. STEIGMAN

The naming of cats is a difficult matter/It isn't just one of your holiday games...—T.S. Eliot

NOR IS THE naming of ambassadors. The process of selecting chiefs of mission is one of the most complex, cumbersome, and mysterious in the U.S. government—a mystery not least to the career Foreign Service officers to whom it is perhaps most important. Then again, there is something of the holiday game in the seeming whimsy of some chief of mission selections, career and noncareer alike. The latter are perhaps most notorious, from the nominee who couldn't remember the name of the prime minister to the big-game hunter who shopped for an African post by calling prospective embassies to check on hunting regulations. These, and others like them, have made their way into the public print and so achieved a dubious place in history. Yet, as everyone in the Foreign Service knows, there can be equal whimsy in some of the career selections—or so it often appears from the outside. An explanation of the process may help show how some of the seemingly odd choices come about.

The mechanism varies slightly from one administration to another, particularly with regard to the basic decision as to whether a given post will be career or not. The Carter administration set a 25-percent ceiling on noncareer appointees and pretty well respected it. In most cases during those years, the White House Personnel Office let the State Department know in advance whether it had a noncareer candidate for a particular embassy, and played a relatively restrained role in choosing career chiefs of mission. Since 1981, that office has had four directors, and each one has had his or her own style. On the whole, however, the White House under Reagan has been much more assertive of presidential prerogative than under his predecessor, and thus much more involved in both career and noncareer ambassadorial choices.

For the State Department, the result has been far greater uncertainty in its own procedures for the selec-

tion of career candidates. Some posts, for example, have been filled by the White House before State even knew there was to be a vacancy (usually when one noncareer candidate has been replaced by another). For some posts, State has anticipated a vacancy, but has not been asked even to put forward a career candidate. And, in still other instances, the White House has made a snap decision to replace an ambassador and has insisted on a career nomination within two or three days—often in circumstances where State could not be sure if a noncareer candidate had already been chosen, a situation which would make the entire exercise a charade. (Every now and then, the FSO nominated in a shadow exercise of this kind turns out to be a big winner. One officer whose name went to the White House in a situation where the department knew that a noncareer candidate had already been chosen ended up as chief of mission at a choice post when the noncareer nominee was unable to get security clearance.)

The process has become generally more orderly since the arrival of Ronald Spiers as under secretary for management. Spiers's greatest contribution in this regard has been a concerted effort to establish and maintain as good a working relationship with the White House Personnel Office as the temper of the times will permit—something his noncareer predecessors during the Reagan administration never quite managed to achieve. Indeed, prior to Spiers's arrival on the scene, the responsibility for liaison with the White House on appointments rested with then Deputy Secretary Kenneth Dam, whose efforts on behalf of the career Foreign Service often seemed less than wholehearted.

Whether an individual nomination has been rushed or processed slowly and thoughtfully, and regardless of mood swings at the White House, the elements of the State Department's internal process have changed only in details, not in essentials, over the past decade. When an impending vacancy becomes known to the department (now at approximately three-year intervals, another element of order introduced by Spiers), the Bureau of Personnel (PER) begins the process by developing a list of possible candidates. The job is done initially by the Senior Officer Division in the Office of Foreign Service Career Development and Assignments (FCA/SO). The four career counselors in that office collectively propose FSOs who either have a background appropriate to the post in question or have specifically asked to be "put up" for the post.

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The process of selecting chiefs of mission is as difficult as the naming of cats



The "raw" list which results is reviewed by both FCA and PER front offices. At this level, one or two more names of qualified officers may be added (including occasional officers proposed by such other agencies as AID or USIA) or names may be deleted of officers for whom there are other plans not yet known to FCA/SO.

At this stage, the "raw" list has become a PER list, which is now sent to the regional bureau responsible

for the post. This is a key step in the decision process, since the comments and rank-ordering provided by the regional bureau carry great weight in the final selection. The initial rating in most regional bureaus is done by a designated deputy assistant secretary, subject to final approval by the assistant secretary—and new names are frequently added to the PER list at this point as preferred choices of the regional bureau. The list is then returned to FCA/SO with the top

regional bureau candidates (either PER proposals or bureau additions) in rank order, usually from one to five.

The original FCA/SO list has now undergone several changes, but it is by no means in final form. PER now has the task of preparing the list for submission to the committee, chaired by the deputy secretary, that proposes career candidates to the secretary. This committee, comprising most of the top echelon in State Department administration, plays a central role in the selection process and is hereafter referred to as "the committee." The list it receives from PER normally is much shorter than the original. It contains top bureau choices and top PER nominations, some of which may coincide. Differences of view between PER and the regional bureaus usually arise when PER plays the role of ensuring consideration of qualified officers who may not be well known to regional bureaus—those who have served, for example, in functional bureaus or in assignments otherwise deemed to be "out of the mainstream." At the level of the director general's office, PER may also add the names of officers known to be on a regional bureau's "blacklist" (often despite solid prior service in the area) so that they too may be fairly considered by the deputy secretary's committee.

This, then, is the list that counts, and perhaps 95 percent of all career candidates for chief of mission are in fact chosen from the short list of five or six names that goes to the committee. Career counselors in FCA/SO can get their clients on the "raw" list that they control if the clients ask to be considered for a particular post—but FCA/SO cannot guarantee them a place on the final list put before the deputy secretary and his senior colleagues.

WHO DOES in fact get on this list—and thus has a chance to be put forward to the White House as the secretary's choice? And who ultimately gets picked by the committee? This is where the internal process sometimes takes on aspects of a holiday game. One obvious category is the bureau favorite, who is near the top of the rank ordering after the regional bureau has reviewed the PER list. This often is a deputy assistant secretary or senior office director who has provided loyal support to the current assistant secretary, or is a well-regarded ambassador or DCM in the field whose skills the bureau wants to shift to another post. These are by far the strongest candidates, both because the assistant secretary's views normally are accorded great weight by the deputy secretary's committee and because their names often will be submitted over and over again by the assistant secretary for a succession of posts until his or her protégés are duly rewarded.

There is a second category which sometimes overlaps with the first. A president, a secretary of state, even an assistant secretary sometimes simply wants to get rid of a senior subordinate who either is not quite up to par or perhaps knows too much to be a source of comfort to a newcomer who seeks to control his domain. If the senior subordinate has been loyally executing the administration's policy, he or she cannot

be demoted or shunted aside without giving wrong signals about the policy. So the "dumpee" is kicked upstairs to an embassy abroad, a treatment more commonly meted out in less democratic societies to senior military officers whose loyalty is considered surer at a safe distance. Some of the Service's best officers have gone off to head missions under these circumstances—including Tom Enders, who went to Spain because his management of Latin American affairs caused discomfort to elements in the Reagan administration but who could not simply be fired because that would have called into question the policy he had been implementing.

Category three comprises FSOs with patrons high in the State Department who push their careers, usually former bosses who go out of their way to help their one-time subordinates get ahead. These names usually go on the list for the deputy secretary's committee at the PER front office level—or sometimes emerge at the committee meetings themselves. This is not surprising, since the most likely senior patrons are themselves members of the deputy secretary's committee—the deputy secretary, the under secretary for political affairs, the under secretary for management, the director general, the executive secretary of the department, and, since the advent of the current administration, the special assistant to the secretary. In recent years, some committee members have remained resolutely neutral while others have shown no compunctions about using their positions to give protégés an extra boost. (Members of the committee ready to help their friends have on occasion been equally ready to blackball their enemies. More than one otherwise qualified FSO has been denied a post because of the hostility of a senior official serving on the selection committee—making it a game in which the holiday spirit sometimes is sadly lacking).

There is yet another category of career nominees that emerges from the deputy secretary's committee—a catchall heading that might simply be called "special interest" cases. One particular concern of the director general's office, for example, is to ensure that groups traditionally underrepresented among chiefs of mission get a fair chance at these positions. Thus, lists prepared for submission to the committee are reviewed to see if there are qualified officers from these groups who might be included—for example, women, minorities, administrative and consular officers, or nominees from AID or USIA. Both in preparing the final lists and in the subsequent committee deliberations, membership of an otherwise qualified officer in one of these underrepresented groups can be a definite plus in the final selection. (Even here, however, FSOs can be caught by changing fashions. Affirmative action gave a considerable boost to women and minorities during the Carter years, but has been a far less important factor under the current administration.) This broad category also encompasses the handful of FSOs whose names come forward with indications of outside political support—garnered through association or acquaintance with someone whose word carries weight at the White House. For the most part, this has not been a significant factor in decisions within the committee, though—as we shall see—it has played a role in final White House selections.

Committee procedures are relatively informal, and decisions are generally reached by consensus. Though there are no exact statistics, the regional bureau assistant secretaries probably get one of their top choices about half the time, on the theory that assistant secretaries have to be comfortable with the chiefs of mission who are carrying out their policy in the field. Where the bureau choice does not prevail, the chosen candidate presumably falls into one of the other three categories described above—"dumpee," protégé, or special interest—either drawn from the list before the committee or simply picked by committee members during their meeting. (Over the past year, a number of these non-bureau choices have in fact come from "out of the mainstream," a particular concern of several current members of the committee.) Should the committee fail to agree on a candidate for a post, as sometimes happens, PER may be asked to suggest additional names for consideration at the next meeting.

WHAT ACTUALLY EMERGES from committee meetings is a list of three candidates for each post on the agenda—the committee's first choice plus two alternates—all of whose names are then formally presented to the secretary. For all practical purposes, this exercise represents little more than the illusion of secretarial discretion, since secretaries of state have almost without exception nominated the committee's first choice to the White House. Rarely has a secretary returned a proposed nomination to the committee with a request for fresh alternatives, and only once in the past five years has a secretary sent to the White House the name of one of the alternates rather than the first choice on the committee list.

Since this is a competition in which no silver or bronze medals are awarded, the also-rans are out of the picture once the secretary signs the memorandum nominating a career candidate for a given post. At this stage, the name of one lucky FSO goes to the White House, but the appointment—as many FSOs have learned to their sorrow—still is by no means assured. For here the process does on occasion begin to look increasingly like a holiday game, with nominees often in limbo for many months as they wait for their fate to be decided.

Admittedly, the best-known horror stories do represent the exception. Most nominations emerge from the White House machinery in anything from two weeks to two months, usually depending on such factors as other presidential commitments (summits, for example, impede all other business) or the congressional schedule. But there have been enough nominations delayed or derailed at the White House to make that part of the process worthy of mention.

Many FSOs still remember the days of Lyndon Johnson, when the merest whisper of publicity about a possible nomination before the president had acted was enough to kill it on the spot. Under the current administration, advance word about possible nominations has tended to come from the White House itself, and has posed no threat to the prospects of those involved. But other funny things *have* been happen-

ing on the way to the Senate, and nominations of career FSOs put forward by the secretary of state have not always emerged unscathed from the White House Personnel Office.

One distressing trend has been the appearance of what might be termed "political career ambassadors"—a category hinted at earlier in this article. Simply put, these are FSOs who have gotten chief of mission appointments through political influence with the administration in power, through much the same process that determines noncareer choices. In the present administration, there have been at least four cases of FSOs who have garnered ambassadorial posts at the expense of career colleagues chosen in the deputy secretary's committee and nominated by the secretary. One did it through an influential senator who happened to be a neighbor; three others did it through individuals whom they had cultivated on the White House staff. A fifth FSO, a mid-level officer, tried to parlay his wife's political connections into a chief of mission nomination, and succeeded to the point of having his name proposed to the secretary by the White House. Had he held senior rank, he might well have gotten his embassy; only the unfortunate (for him) fact that he was still a decade short of the Senior Foreign Service made it possible for the department to talk the White House out of pursuing his nomination.

Other strange things have happened at the White House, though shrouded behind a veil which makes it difficult to know exactly why. The nomination of one career officer with unique qualifications for the particular post was rejected by the White House, possibly as the result of objections from a National Security Council staff member who had crossed swords with the nominee at a previous post. Another FSO sent forward by the department contrary to the wishes of the regional bureau concerned was held up for several months, with no reason stated, and finally got his post a year later only after a less-qualified White House choice failed the security check for presidential appointees.

The activist role of the White House Personnel Office under the current administration has also been seen in the exiling of FSOs prominent in Latin American affairs to embassies outside the area in which they had made their mark. Though Enders, moved out of Latin America, was never a specialist in the region, at least two other FSOs with substantial Latin American experience were denied chief of mission posts in the area—and, when nominated by the secretary to be ambassadors there, were summarily moved by the White House to posts in other parts of the world.

The naming of ambassadors is indeed a difficult matter, and the path to an embassy is not always straight or smooth. Even an officer with superb qualifications may never clear the obstacle course that is the nomination process in both the department and the White House—and, perhaps worst of all, is unlikely ever to know quite what happened along the way. Ultimately, the naming of ambassadors involves an uncomfortable mix of politics, bureaucracies, and personal chemistry, and thus inevitably will remain a source of bewilderment and frustration to FSOs for whom it is so critical. □

LIFE & LOVE IN THE



APRIL IS the cruelest month: taxes are due, the EER cycle begins, Foreign Service employees begin packing for transfers. But April is also the month for humor. To combat the effects of spring fever, therefore, we offer the following collection of LIFE & LOVE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE, with captions written by our premier contest winner, Bob Fouche.



Management Cable: "Moreover, management will appoint a study committee to examine the second consumables allowance if there is ever convincing need for such a policy."

"Don't ask me what it means. I'm only the courier. You're the code clerk."



"Take a letter, Ms. Ipswich. Golly, gee, after 65 years in the Foreign Service, a secretary of my very own!"

FOREIGN SERVICE

"G'night, Mom, Dad, Joey, Freckles, and Fluffy. I'm going to have my favorite dream...that I marry an FSO, go with him anywhere, raise his babies, make canapes for the Ambassador's wife..."



News item: "Until VOA's new 500 kilowatt transmitter comes on line, announcers are relying on traditional techniques to overcome Soviet jamming."



"Jones, you may be public affairs officer, but you ought to keep it a little more private!"

"In addition to this certificate, Mr. Ambassador, please accept this concrete symbol of our personal regard for you and your unusual policies concerning female employees. Turn it around, girls!"



EMBASSIES FOR SALE: BLUNTING THE BUDGET KNIFE

HEDLEY ADDISON WOOLTHAM III

SECRETARY OF STATE Shultz announced in late February that the State Department would resume its time-honored practice of selling high-level diplomatic postings overseas. Shultz made clear his move was in support of the Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (also known as Gramm-Rudman-Hollings), which mandates huge spending cuts to balance the budget. "We very firmly support the Congress's efforts to trim the deficit," Shultz said in his prepared statement. "But the required cuts would severely affect our ability to implement the nation's foreign policy in an effective manner. We have decided, therefore, to seek an additional source of revenue by auctioning our ambassadorships. We believe this step is fully in accord with the president's desire that government work more closely with private industry, and we intend to let the free market determine the value of each embassy."

According to a State Department spokesman, all ambassadorial and consul general positions will be available for purchase. They will be auctioned off in a competitive bidding process which, if there are rivals for a particular post, could lead to several rounds of bidding. Current ambassadors and consuls general who wish to retain their positions must compete in the auction. The program will be run by the State Department's Office of Presidential Appointments. A spokeswoman for that office admitted that it had little experience in running such auctions, but said it was in the process of hiring a consultant. The office will be accepting bids for specific posts starting April 1 and hopes to have the process completed in six months.

Reaction to Shultz's announcement was mixed, with some observers praising the financial responsibility of the scheme and others warning of the possibly dire effects on the quality of American representation overseas. A staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, which votes on all ambassadorial-level appointments, commented, "The Gramm-Rudman budget cuts have forced the entire government to cut back drastically or seek new sources of revenue. Secretary Shultz's plan must be seen in that context. And, since most diplomacy is now conducted by the White House, the quality of the ambassador

isn't that important anyway." A statement issued by the office of Senator Richard Lugar (R.-Indiana), chairman of the committee, said, "The secretary of state has come up with an imaginative response to his department's financial dilemma. Of course, some individuals who are not obvious ambassadorial material may end up with a post, but we will all have to make some sacrifices to get the budget deficit under control." President Reagan, when asked for his reaction while boarding a helicopter to leave for Camp David, said, "Wonderful, wonderful! Just the sort of initiative we like to see."

But the plan has not met with universal acclaim. As one senior Foreign Service officer commented: "The senior corps has been under siege in recent times—this could be the nail in the coffin." He went on to note that the hopes of many senior officers like himself for an ambassadorship had been dashed, since 27 years of a Foreign Service salary had not provided him with enough assets to make an acceptable bid for a post. Former Secretary Henry Kissinger, however, supported Shultz's proposal. In an appearance on *Nightline*, he told anchorman Ted Koppel that he was thinking of selling his consulting business and using the proceeds to buy all of Western Europe, along with Moscow and Beijing.

At the U.S. Information Agency, Director Charles Z. Wick was enthusiastic about the plan: "This represents a great opportunity for more private citizens to get involved in diplomacy. I've already called some friends to urge them to support the program." Peter McPherson, head of the Agency for International Development, commented: "This program could alleviate the need for AID to undergo tremendous budget cuts during the next few years. Bob Geldorf and I have been discussing the possibility of a Live AID concert, but we couldn't afford to rent the video equipment. We are now working to get PER to consider the donation of that equipment as a suitable bid."

In his announcement, Shultz said that the final details of the program had not yet been worked out. According to department sources, one major element still under discussion is the type of payment that would be acceptable as a bid. In the past, ambassadorships were often given to wealthy individuals with the understanding that they would use their own funds to refurbish the embassy. Since the most pressing need at embassies now is usually security enhancement measures, these department sources are confident that

Hedley Addison Wooltham III retired from the Foreign Service in 1985 as a result of departmental efforts to reduce the size of the Senior Foreign Service. He assures us that any resemblance to fact is purely coincidental.

a bid promising to pay for certain anti-terrorism measures—such as a new chancery or improved guard services—would be as acceptable as a straight cash bid of similar value.

AID and USIA officials are reportedly exploring the possibility with the State Department that pledges to supply development or military assistance to certain countries or a new VOA transmitter would also be acceptable as bids. In such cases, the goods or services offered would be evaluated and assigned a cash value by the office of the comptroller and a special team of auditors. There have been rumors that bids consisting of early American artwork or antiques suitable for the 8th floor reception rooms would also be acceptable, but curator Clement Conger's office could not be reached for confirmation.

ANOTHER MATTER still under discussion, according to a senior State Department official, is the amount of revenue likely to be raised through these auctions. Since no ambassadorships have been sold for a number of years because of changes in campaign-financing laws, there is little recent experience to indicate how much they might bring in today through competitive bidding. But in 1956, Maxwell Gluck, a horsebreeder and owner of a ladies' apparel chain, gave the Eisenhower campaign \$30,000 and was appointed ambassador to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). Since then, the consumer price index has almost quadrupled, so the same post may sell for as much as \$118,767 today. One of President Nixon's ambassadors contributed \$100,000 to the 1968 Republican presidential campaign, when a postage stamp cost 6¢. Using the price of postage as an indicator, that post would go for \$367,000 today. Ambassadorships to London and Paris would presumably exceed \$1 million, although care must be taken in assessing the relative value of different posts. As Senator William Fulbright (D.-Arkansas), then chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, remarked during hearings on Gluck's nomination in 1957, the person who became ambassador to Belgium only donated \$11,000.

State Department officials are cautiously optimistic that if enough ambassadorial and consul general positions are sold, the need for substantial cuts in programs and services could be averted. They said that their discussions with officials in the Office of Management and Budget had been "frank" and "cordial," but that it was "too early to tell" if the department's policy would be enough to offset the mandated cuts. However, congressional sources point out that under Gramm-Rudman, the fiscal year 1987 foreign affairs budget must be trimmed 25 percent from revised FY '86 figures; that is, from \$17.9 billion to \$13.4 billion. If this \$4.5 billion cut is to be made up, the 140 positions available for auction would each have to bring in \$3.2 million. And, these sources warned, similar deep cuts are planned every year until the budget deficit disappears in 1991. Thus it seems unlikely that selling ambassadorships will raise enough revenues to maintain current funding levels.

A special committee established by Secretary Shultz in late January and charged with the task of

finding suitable budget cuts is now reported to be looking at steps beyond selling ambassadorships. According to Charles W. Bray III, chairman of the committee, the group has received suggestions that some functions now performed by the foreign affairs agencies be turned over to private industry. Bray did not specify which programs would be privatized, but sources close to the committee say discussions have centered on VOA, which might either be allowed to sell commercial airtime or be sold itself. It is understood that W.R. Grace & Company is interested in expanding into international radio and has had some exploratory conversations with the Board for International Broadcasting. According to sources, J. Peter Grace told the board, however, that the offer is contingent on receiving tax breaks that would offset the acquisition costs. At the least, according to these sources, VOA will be forced to raise some of its own funds, perhaps through pledge weeks similar to those held by the public broadcasting stations. Premiums reportedly could include such items as videotapes of the show "Let Poland Be Poland" in return for donations of \$100.

Other strategies for raising revenue reportedly under discussion in the foreign affairs agencies include allowing companies to take charitable income tax deductions if they donate equipment or expertise to developing countries and farming out political reporting functions overseas to local journalists on a freelance basis. The department may also entertain bids from mercenary organizations willing to provide guard services in exchange for a base of operations protected by diplomatic immunity. The embassy in Managua is thought to be particularly interested in this kind of arrangement. However, it was learned that the department had already turned down an offer from Texas oilman T. Boone Pickens to take over all embassy functions in OPEC countries, an offer said to be worth several billion dollars in junk bonds and penny stocks.

A senior-level official indicated, however, that two additional revenue raising programs were likely to be announced in the near future. One would provide for the creation of an unlimited number of ambassador-at-large appointments which would be available for \$500,000 each. The individual would be under no obligation to perform any services or go overseas, but would have a White House swearing-in ceremony and the right to use the title of "ambassador" for life. For a modest annual premium, the department will furnish a chauffeured limousine flying American flags. The other program would allow the donors of funds for overseas building construction to name the new facilities, much as is done on many college campuses. Supporters of Senator Jesse Helms (R.-N.C.) are reportedly already planning a special fund-raiser to pay for an embassy to be named for the senator after he retires.

Meanwhile, federal diarist Mike Causey wrote in his column in the *Washington Post* that "selling embassies is an idea whose time has come. The Foreign Service has never been able to keep its ranks free from political appointees; the secretary's proposal will at least allow the foreign affairs agencies to pocket the profits this time." □

An Indian Initiation

MY FOREIGN SERVICE career started off on the wrong foot. At the end of a short indoctrination course during the spring of 1945, our class was requested to indicate preferences for its first assignment. Mine was one of the Scandinavian countries. I got Karachi.

The name did not, contrary to what one might expect, conjure up visions of houris and devious natives in smoke-filled dens. Instead, it conjured up nothing, since I didn't even know where Karachi was. An atlas informed me that it was located on the west coast of what was then British India, on the Arabian Sea. That didn't tell me much. I learned from the State Department's files that Karachi was a three-person consular post, which didn't tell me much more.

Still, it was exciting to feel that I would become a member of the far-flung Foreign Service (even though it meant being flung into Karachi, far from the glamorous centers—or even suburbs—of diplomacy). I began to cherish a sneaking hope that eventually I would write despatches on the political situation in Karachi, which had assumed considerable importance with the rapid shift of U.S. military resources to the East after VE Day. Not even several weeks of training at the department on the more prosaic duties of a consular officer were sufficient to dispel this naive delusion.

Buoyed by such fantasies, I waited incommunicado for several days in a rented room, ready for the sudden call to the airport. The war with Japan was still on, so secrecy was enforced on all flights out of the country, which were the sole re-

Albert Cizauskas, a Foreign Service officer for 26 years, took early retirement to join the World Bank where he worked for 11 years. He represented the bank at many semi-annual meetings of the Berne Union, an international association of official export credit agencies from over 30 countries. He is now a free-lance writer.

A Foreign Service officer's first assignment proves a bizarre introduction to consular life

ALBERT CIZAUSKAS

sponsibility of the military. When the call finally came, I found myself on a prop job with bucket seats and a miscellaneous assortment of military officers. After several stops en route (including a 24 hour layover at Casablanca, where Humphrey Bogart had just closed his American cafe), I arrived at my destination.

My first chief in the Foreign Service, Clarence Stacy, waited for me in his jeep. Clarence was an unlikely name for the consul, a taciturn, rugged, middle-aged man. Even more unlikely was his topi, the hard, helmet-like hat worn by the British in the tropics. He welcomed me gruffly as we set off for Karachi, 10 or so miles across the desert as the vulture flies.

Clarence said very little during the bumpy ride to town. My unease about Karachi grew when I saw the remains of camels strewn about on either side of the road. Clarence, sensing my unease, volunteered, "The GIs pay no mind to anything that gets in their way."

My unease mushroomed when I saw in the distance a circular tower with swarms of vultures hovering over its roof, raising sinister questions in my mind as to its purpose. Later I learned the structure was a "Tower of Silence," where Parsees—a small but influential sect that followed the ancient teachings of Zoroaster—disposed of their dead by exposing

the corpses on a grated roof to vultures that devoured the flesh. The bones then fell into a pit containing dissolving chemicals.

An uncommunicative consul, camels rotting in the hot sun, and vultures feeding on corpses were hardly reassuring omens for my first assignment in the Foreign Service. But much more awaited me. Karachi was no striped-pants, cookie-pushing post. With a population then of just under a million, the city was a melange of alien cultures: the beliefs and mutual antipathies of Hindus and Moslems united only in their hostility to the British Raj; the 19th century traditions of a colonial empire that would soon come to an end; and more recently, the mores and materiel of a major U.S. military staging area in wartime.

Odors of spices and excrement mingled in the air over the city as we entered it. We drove through the streets of a living bazaar, our jeep competing with cows, camels, and horse-drawn vehicles for the right-of-way. On the crowded pavements, wan, child-like mothers, with emaciated infants slung over their shoulders, begged for "baksheesh" (a loose term for alms, tips, or bribes). Hindu holy men—totally naked and daubed all over with a white dust—squatted like immobile mystics in the midst of unheeded throngs. Sidewalk cooks, crouching over pans heated by cow dung, sold the Indian version of fast food. Billboards advertised Judy Garland in "Meet Me in St. Louis," next to other billboards of Indian women starring in domestic films. And through it all, GIs raced in their jeeps, oblivious of the anachronism.

The consulate was located at the top of a three-story building in the business quarter. As we entered the hallway and began to ascend the worn, wooden flights of stairs, I was shocked to see dried red blotches on the walls and floors. This must be the bloody handiwork of the Hindu-Moslem hatreds that



periodically convulse India, I reasoned. Not until later did I find out that the blotches were only the dried stains of betel-nut juice, the end result of a habit similar to that of devotees of tobacco chaws at home.

Before plunging into my duties, I was permitted a period of grace to find an apartment. In this, the senior vice consul, Joe Marks, was most helpful. His servant, Ismael—Joe's Figaro—was chief of the local clan of servants. He recommended one of his followers, Abdul, a mustachioed Muslim whose job as "bearer" was to look out for my welfare: wake me in the morning with a cup of coffee, draw my bath, buy the food, cook and serve it, clean the apartment, shine my shoes, wash and iron my clothes. Abdul represented my greatest culture shock—this was a far cry from life in my home town of Brooklyn.

The days were very hot when I arrived at Karachi that June, and the nights were not much better. I couldn't help recalling the words of the old consul general who was responsible for our Foreign Service orientation. His valedictory advice to us was to remember three rules for success in the Foreign Service: get plenty of sleep, drink plenty (presumably of water), and keep warm at all times. I may not have observed the first two rules too conscientiously, but the third was no problem.

My apartment occupied one-half of the second story of a building on the outskirts of town. It was spacious for a

bachelor and luxurious by local standards. One curious feature was that in place of windows it had glassless apertures with shutters that deflected the scorching afternoon sun and kept out bats and other unwelcome intruders.

The apartment on the other side was occupied by a covey of Red Cross women who ran a canteen for GIs on their way to fight the Japanese. The women were a bright and friendly group, assembled from all over the United States. I got to know them one evening when, in desperation, they begged me to rid their apartment of a bat that was terrorizing them. I was only too happy to oblige. I grabbed a broom and chased the bat around and around the apartment. The hapless creature was as frightened as its supposed victims, but I finally managed to flush it out through one of the apertures. The girls were so grateful that, as a consequence, I developed a friendly relationship with one of them. It was comforting to know that a bit of America—pretty and lively at that—lived right next door in Karachi.

AS THE JUNIOR vice consul in the three-man post, my function was to be generally useful, a sort of consular "go-fer." Consular responsibilities, while essentially the same as at any foreign post, also took on a local cast. For example, at one time or another I had to deal with frustrated Indian war brides, cryptography, diplo-

matic mail, and even a homicidal maniac.

When an Indian woman married a GI, one of my "go-fer" jobs was to help Joe Marks review the woman's visa application to ensure her admissibility into the United States under Congress's racially cumbersome laws. One difficult case was that of an Indian bride whose husband had already been shipped home wounded. It took more than a year of tracing the woman's mixed heritage before a sufficiently convincing case could be made for her eligibility. The irony was that, upon her arrival in New York, one of the city's tabloids pilloried the Foreign Service on its front page for keeping a bride away from her husband.

Another function, usually reserved for the junior officer, was the encoding of messages to Washington and vice versa. The easiest code we had was something called the "brown book." It was based on a simple principle. Groups of five letters represented either extended and conventional phrases or substituted for another word. The Japanese captured a copy of the "brownie" while overrunning the Far East, but the Foreign Service continued to use it as a thrifty means of communication (probably causing the Axis powers to decode thousands of messages during the war that contained nothing more confidential than the reassignment of a Foreign Service officer or instructions on a visa case). For me, the chief distinction of the "brownie" lay in a puckish sense of humor its anonymous compilers had oc-

asionally permitted themselves, designating the U.S. Congress, for instance, as "DEATH."

My most unusual experience as a neophyte consular officer was with an American businessman who complained in a very low, depressed, and conspiratorial tone that certain unnamed persons were "out to get" him and who, in a vaguely threatening manner, demanded the protection of the U.S. government. Eventually we called the military police who quietly and efficiently "persuaded" the visitor to accompany them to the military hospital. The next day we learned that the man had been diagnosed as a manic depressive with homicidal tendencies. He was returned to the United States in a straight jacket.

Consul Clarence Stacy was a typical specimen of the Old West who looked as if he might have ridden herd in his younger days on a long cattle drive and who spoke in a drawl reminiscent of John Wayne. He had one overriding idiosyncrasy, however, that seemed to go against the grain of his personality. He had been a doughboy in World War I and had seen service in France, rising to the rank of sergeant. The climax of his military career, he proudly proclaimed, was supervision of the mail. Taking care of mail somehow gave him a deep inner satisfaction which, over the years, developed into a passion that fishing or women arouse in other men.

Fortunately, he was able to give free rein at Karachi to this urge. During the war, Karachi was the mid-way point for diplomatic mail addressed to other posts on the Cairo-to-Colombo route. The mail was carried by a military courier weekly. Clarence happily assumed the role of mail overseer, personally sifting the diplomatic correspondence and processing it for the other posts in India.

Clarence ran a tight ship and had limited tolerance for "learning on the job," as I was obviously doing. In what must have been for him a supreme test of my qualifications as a consular officer, he once passed some of the courier's mail to me for sorting. Somewhere along the line I blundered, which to Clarence was as serious an offense as if I had profaned the holy grail. I was never again invited to participate in the weekly ritual of the sorting of the diplomatic pouch.

Some time later, Clarence was compelled (much against his will) to entrust the mail to me on the Indian leg of the run when the regular courier fell ill and Joe Marks couldn't be spared. I was painstakingly coached on the inviolate responsibilities of a diplomatic courier,

given a list of contacts, and warned, above all, against fraternizing with fellow travelers.

The adventure began when I boarded a Royal Air Force plane early one morning for Bombay, where I stopped overnight at the well-known Taj Mahal hotel. My Bombay contact helpfully informed me that the hotel's architect had committed suicide when he realized, too late, that he had built the front of the hotel in the back and the back in front. I must confess I couldn't tell the difference, but I was troubled that night by dreams of the architect's ghost trying to shift the hotel around.

The following day, I flew RAF again to Colombo, but this time the military plane ran into severe disturbances and had to fly so high that the passengers almost passed out in the unpressurized cabin. This worried me, since Clarence had strictly warned me to remain conscious at all times when carrying the mail.

From Colombo the route led via RAF to Madras, where, after delivering and collecting the mail, I had to take an overnight train to Bangalore, a popular resort in the highlands of southern India. By now, I had begun to feel like Somerset Maugham's intelligence agent, Ashenden, who often traveled on secret missions. This feeling was encouraged by the knowledge that I would have a private compartment on the train to ensure greater security.

Arriving at train side, I discovered a beautiful Indian woman in the compartment. Mindful of orders to avoid familiarity with fellow passengers, I reluctantly sought out the station master and explained the monastic rules of my mission. Fortunately, he understood, and ousted my would-be companion, but not before she let out loud shrieks of outrage that she never went second class and besides, what could she do with the three large cats she had with her? The station master smiled as he answered her question.

From Bangalore, it was RAF once more to Bombay and then back to Karachi. The break in routine was very welcome and happily all of it went without a hitch. Presumably Clarence was relieved, but there was no evidence of it from the high priest of mail.

CLARENCE STACY'S WIFE was his direct antithesis. She was an elegant and lively French woman who took delight in hinting about a colorful past. Without being ex-

plicit, she boasted that her husband—like the proverbial cowboy hero—had rescued her from the perils of a bohemian life in the hedonism of Paris after World War I.

Whatever the truth about her past, Madame Stacy was a good looking woman who paid much attention to men, and they repaid the compliment. European society in this provincial town soon began to intimate that the wife of the American consul was rather generous with those she favored. Needless to say, the British ladies ostracized Madame Stacy, who in turn made no effort to conceal her own Gallic hostility toward them.

There was no more incongruous sight than that of John Wayne and Madame Bovary together in one of their rare—and obligatory—appearances at a function in the governor's residence.

The local staff, as at all Foreign Service posts, was the heart of the consulate. It was these people who constituted the permanent core, the continuity, that enabled the consulate to survive the frequent changes of American staff that have always been endemic to the Foreign Service.

It was through the consulate's local staff that I became acquainted, in some small measure, with the real India. I spent many a Sunday in their homes, relishing their generous hospitality, eating their tangy dishes of curry and rice, relaxing with their numerous relatives, and developing an awareness of the local political situation. One of their views, in those tempestuous pre-independence days, was expressed with the exaggerated satire of a Jonathan Swift. They would say that, if all the Indians in India would spit at the same time, they would drown the British. It is a remarkable tribute to the British that they recognized the inevitable—contrary to other colonial empires—and left India with dignity and honor a few years later.

After less than a year, the department transferred me from one colonial empire to another. I was sent to Jakarta (then Batavia), capital of the Netherlands Indies. But change was in the air. Hints of an independent and partitioned India were heard, but these seemed no more substantial than a midsummer night's dream. Other changes that did take place during these months in Karachi were those embodied in the Potsdam Conference, the start of the atomic age, and the Japanese surrender. Change was in the air for the Foreign Service, too, as the United States assumed global responsibilities in the post-war world. □

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PEOPLE

Deaths

MARION L. GRIBBLE, a retired Foreign Service officer, died November 20 of a heart attack at his home in Bethesda. He was 54.

The son of a Foreign Service officer, Mr. Gribble was born in Stuttgart, Germany. Following service in the Army during the Korean war, he was graduated magna cum laude from Dartmouth College in 1956. He joined the Foreign Service the same year.

His posts included Oslo, Manila, Bangkok, Vienna, Izmir, Copenhagen, and Vientiane. From 1968-71 he served in Washington in the office of the undersecretary for political affairs. He was detailed as secretary general of Intelsat from 1969-71. In 1978 he attended the NATO Defense College in Rome.

He is survived by his wife, Judy, a son, Mark, and two daughters, Sharon and Kary, all of the Washington area.

GEORGE GOMEZ HOOVER, a retired Foreign Service officer in AID, died of cancer November 7 at his home in Arlington. He was 65.

Mr. Hoover, a native of Chile, was graduated from the University of Chile, where he also earned a master's in education. He came to this country in 1949 and earned a bachelor's in mathematics at Amherst College and one in civil engineering at Oregon State University. He then worked in private industry and as a civil engineer in the Panama Canal Zone for the

Department of the Army. From 1962-63 he worked for the Military District of Washington.

Mr. Hoover joined AID in 1966, serving in Panama, the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Survivors include his wife, the former Lucille Yaussy, of Arlington; three sons, Rodger George Hoover, of Arlington, Robert Daniel Hoover, of Dallas, and Gary Michael Hoover, of College Park; a daughter, Catherine Hoover, of Arlington; a brother, Mario G., of Springfield, Missouri; a sister, Julia Hoover Dominquez, of Santiago, Chile; and two grandchildren.

HENRY J. LAWRENCE, a retired Army colonel and architect for the State Department's Foreign Buildings Office, died January 21 at his home in Washington. He was 85.

Mr. Lawrence earned a bachelor's in architecture from the University of Virginia, where he also did graduate work in design. He ran private architectural firms in Miami and Houston before becoming a civilian employee of the Office of the Army Quartermaster General. He served in the Army during World War II and was commander of the 466th Regiment.

As supervisor of construction in the Foreign Buildings Office, Mr. Lawrence was assigned to Manila to rebuild the embassy there and to design residences for U.S. personnel assigned to the embassy. In 1950, he was named a regional director of the office's headquarters in New Delhi. Mr. Lawrence returned to Washington in 1952 to become assistant director in charge of building and design for the office.

Prior to his retirement in 1960, he was a coordinator of the American National Exhibit in Moscow and was responsible for organizing a committee to select architects of Foreign Service buildings around the world.

He is survived by his wife, Helen Brooks Lawrence, of Hendersonville, North Carolina.

IFFIE C. ROGERS, a retired Foreign Service officer with AID, died of cancer January 1 in Vero Beach, Florida. He was 71.

Mr. Rogers was graduated from George Washington University and also studied at Johns Hopkins University. He joined the Department of Agriculture in 1934 and transferred to the Department of the Navy in 1947. He served as a management analyst and later as director of administrative operations in the Office of the Secretary of the Navy. In 1958, he joined the International Cooperation Administration, serving in Karachi, Pakistan, as assistant director for management. He also served in Seoul, Saigon, and Ankara. He retired in 1971 and moved to Vero Beach. Mr. Rogers was the recipient of the Superior Honor Award for service in Vietnam.

Survivors include his wife, Eleanor; a son, David, of Falls Church; a daughter, Carol Naughton, of Reston; three brothers, William and Earl, of Glassboro, New Jersey, and Lawrence, of Boynton Beach, Florida; and a sister, Elizabeth Raymer, of Newfield, New Jersey.

LOIS WERSBA ROTH, a Foreign Service officer in USIA and a former member of the AFSA Governing Board, died January 13 of pulmonary failure at Washington's Sibley Memorial Hospital. She was 54.

Ms. Roth was educated at Fieldston School in New York, then at Elmira College, before transferring to Barnard College and the Columbia University Graduate Department in Sociology. She was also a Fulbright student at Uppsala University in Sweden, and she spoke fluent Swedish.

Before joining USIA in 1967, Ms. Roth was assistant to three presidents of the American Scandinavian Foundation. She administered a Ford Foundation program

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that brought Finnish leaders exposure to the United States. She translated from Swedish the novel *Roseanna* by Major Sjowall and Per Wahloo.

After joining USIA, she served in Tehran, Rome, and Paris. In Tehran, she was director of the Iran-American Society, a binational cultural organization. In 1981, she was appointed deputy director of the division of Cultural Resources in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. She initiated, designed, and implemented a government cooperative agreement with the Macmillan Publishing Company, designed to produce a year's supply of half-hour weekly television materials for the teaching of English in countries all over the world. For this, she was awarded USIA's Superior Honor Award in 1984. She also earned a Meritorious Honor Award in 1977.

As a member of the 1980-81 Executive Seminar in National and International Affairs, Ms. Roth wrote a paper, later published by the Fletcher School of Public and International Affairs, on the intellectual history of USIA. The paper, "Public Diplomacy and the Past: The Search for an American Style of Propaganda," is used today in many university classrooms.

For the past four years, Ms. Roth was president of the Women's Action Organization, a group of women advocating equitable personnel policies for women in the foreign affairs agencies.

Survivors include her husband, Richard T. Arndt, also a former member of the AFSA Governing Board, and her mother, Natalie M. Wersba, both of Washington; and her sister, Carolyn Rosenthal, of Bethesda. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the Lois W. Roth Fund, an educational and cultural fund established in her memory, to be administered by USIA. Checks should be made payable to USIA and addressed to the Lois W. Roth Fund, USIA, Room 849, 301 4th Street, SW, Washington, D.C. 20547.

MILTON KENNETH WELLS, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of a heart attack in Margate, Florida. He was 79.

Mr. Wells was graduated from George Washington University. In 1931, he joined the Foreign Service as vice consul in Mexico. Later assignments included Valencia, Spain; Peru; Guatemala; the Air-War College in Montgomery, Alabama; the U.S. delegation to the United Nations; Barcelona, Spain; and Colombia. Following his retirement in 1961, he was admissions counselor for the Capitol Institute of Technology in Washington. He moved to Florida in 1975.

Survivors include his wife, the former Soledad Robles Linares of Mexico; two sons, John M. Wells and Norman L. Wells of New Jersey; six grandchildren; and two great grandchildren.

Birth

Luke Alexander Morton was born to COLLEEN and JIM MORTON on January 3. The father is a Foreign Service officer.

Announcements

The first Ellsworth Bunker Memorial Lecture was held February 10 in San Francisco. The speaker was Henry A. Kissinger. Each year the lecture will address the state of the U.S.-Asia relationship. The lecture will be published and placed in the major research and archival libraries of the world.

The Ford Foundation has announced the establishment of a fellowship program designed to "illuminate the complex interplay of forces that influence the U.S. foreign policymaking process." The program will be administered by the Social Science Research Council and will award seven fellowships to scholars taking a fresh look at the traditional foreign policy agencies as well as newer influences on policy, including Congress, the media, and private re-

search institutions. The fellowships will be for up to two years and will include an annual stipend and expenses ranging from \$20,000-\$35,000. Two of each year's winners will be from countries other than the United States. A \$1.5-million grant from the foundation will fund the program for five years.

The Better World Society has established an annual presentation of awards to individuals and organizations that have made outstanding achievements in one of five areas: peace advocacy and arms reduction; reducing population growth; humanitarian service; protecting the global environment; and global education through communications. The Better World Society is an international non-profit membership organization dedicated to fostering individual awareness of global issues that directly affect the sustainability of life on earth. The nominations period for the annual awards closes June 1, and the awards will be presented September 16.

Help Wanted

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Notices of births, deaths, or other announcements of interest to the Foreign Service community should be sent to the JOURNAL at 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

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ASSOCIATION NEWS

Director General George Vest makes a point during the Association's roundtable open meeting with management officials (left). At a followup meeting to determine a consensus on personnel issues,



an unidentified Foreign Service officer (right) asks a question of AFSA President Gerald Lamberty. A report on a final meeting, with Under Secretary Spiers, will appear next month.



Open meetings on personnel issues show Service solidarity

In AFSA's second and third open meetings on personnel issues, hundreds of employees joined in common cause against the personnel practices now endangering Foreign Service careers. In the second meeting, held in December, employees probed Director General George Vest and other management officials on their concerns about recent State Department actions that would severely affect the nature of a diplomatic career. In the third meeting, in January, employees engaged in a roundtable discussion to consolidate their positions before a fourth and final meeting with Under Secretary Ronald Spiers in February. As AFSA President Gerald Lamberty said in the third meeting, "What has happened in the last four months is that people have realized we are all in this together."

Three-quarters of the Senior Foreign Service are within three years of a career-ending threshold, Lamberty said at the roundtable meeting, and at least half of the FSO-1s are similarly within three years of leaving the Service. "The personnel policies had had the effect of dividing and conquering the Foreign Service," Lamberty said. Junior officers had been supporting the forced retirement of FSO-1s, O1s had been favoring pushing out seniors, and seniors had been trying to stop stretch assignments. Now we realize we are all in the same boat, and the

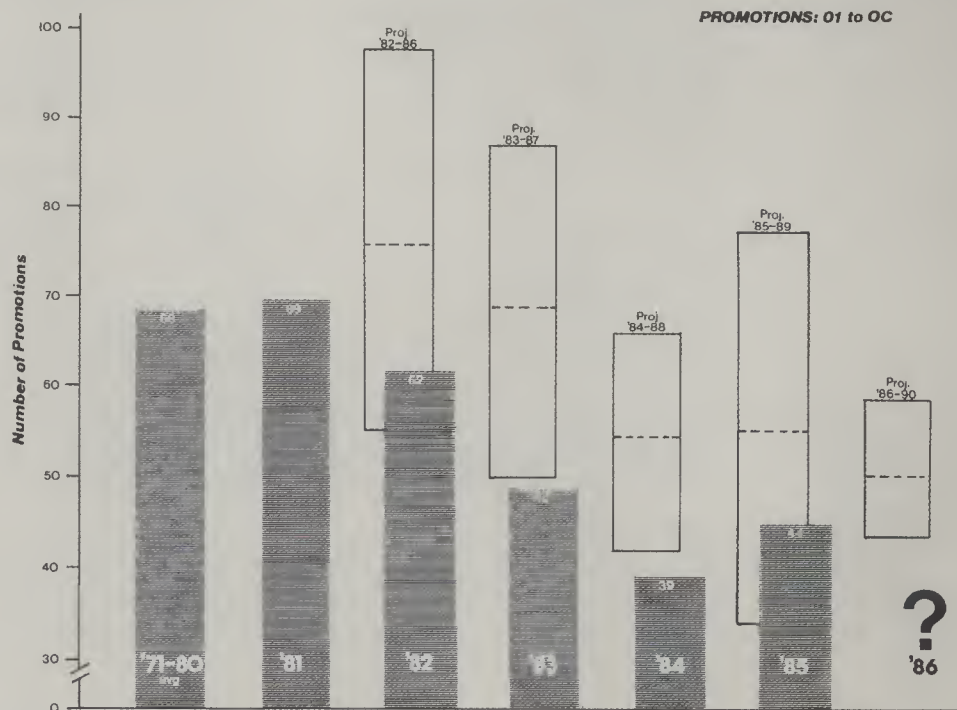
boat is not riding high in the water."

The chart accompanying this article explains the effect of management policies on the SFS. The recent historical average was 68 promotions a year into the SFS. After the act was passed, however, promotion rates have fallen off. The act requires management to project

the numbers it will promote across the threshold each year. But, as the chart shows, promotion rates have been below the median (dotted line) every year, and twice they have been below the bottom projection. As Lamberty said at the third meeting, "Most of the 110 FSOs who face selection out this fall because of time in class could have been

accommodated if promotions were held to their historical averages, or even to management's median projections."

Lamberty said that the act had been promoted as a vehicle that would accelerate careers, not end them. "Management went around the world saying that instruments in the act would move officers right into the SFS," he



This chart shows how the State Department's promotions across the senior threshold have not increased since the Foreign Service Act—much to its supporters' surprise. Moreover, promotions have not even kept up with the annual five-year projections that the act requires the department to make. In each case, the actual number of promotions is below the median projection (dotted line), and in two cases below the bottom projection as well.

said. At some point management concluded that not only did they not want to permit growth in the SFS, but wanted to reduce it. "Management has a formula to calculate its projections, but one is tempted to believe that they came to the number first and then came up with the projection."

In response to a question, Lamberty said that the problems he had cited were not caused by the unusually high number of political appointees, but by departmental policies. One officer declared that "we are dealing with an administration that is making decisions for a lot of baronies—the regional bureaus. What do these baronies think about a situation where many of the people they will need will instead be leaving?" Lamberty responded that the bureaus are finding that the people they want have only a year or two left before selection out. "It is beginning to make less sense to them," he said.

Other questions related to the isolation of the staff corps and the dissatisfaction of junior officers. "JOs come into the Foreign Service a lot older than they used to," Lamberty answered. "They have families and mortgages. They pass the exam, spend a couple of years on the register, then make it over the junior threshold. At that point somebody says to them that after 20 years, there is a 70–90 percent chance they will have to look for another job."

Lamberty concluded that the department is creating a personnel system "in which there are vast regions in this building in which you cannot afford to be assigned except as a deputy assistant secretary. You won't be positioned to get the good overseas assignment, you won't be competitive, you'll end up having a short career." The irony, Lamberty said, is that then the non-regional bureaus have to hire back on contracts many of the people who were just forced into retirement. Since most active-duty officers can't afford to be assigned to these bureaus, contracted retirees end up playing crucial roles there.

A report on the final meeting with Under Secretary Spiers will appear in the next issue.

San Salvador employees face reduction in danger pay

Seven Americans associated with the U.S. embassy in El Salvador have been killed in the last four years, yet the State Department is proposing to reduce the level of danger pay Foreign Service employees there receive because the government has not required that dependents be sent home. Under the plan, danger pay would be graduated, as is hardship pay, with different rates at different posts. At present, San Salvador is the only post so affected. Both the mission and AFSA have opposed the move. As the AFSA chapter made clear in a cable, the threat to diplomats there from the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front is "unprecedented."

This is not the post's first problem with danger pay. In 1983–84, the Association fought for 18 months to force the de-

partment to award the pay retroactively to late 1982. Previous to that, it took a year-long battle to get any danger pay for the post at all, a problem shared by Beirut. At that time, the issue was also the presence of dependents, and the Senate passed an amendment unlinking the two.

In the last year alone, four embassy guards were shot in a public restaurant in San Salvador, and embassy personnel are now restricted from visiting restaurants and other public places. Embassy vehicles have been fired on by the guerrillas, and a rocket grenade damaged the embassy itself. As the chapter reported, the guerrillas have "announced that they intend to kill us whenever they find us unprotected."

At the same time, the government has allowed dependents to

stay at post because the threat to them is believed to be much lower. According to the chapter, FMLN leaders even publicly announced that families of Salvadoran government officials would not be attacked because of the bad publicity the organization received after kidnaping the president's daughter last year. The chapter believes that applies to U.S. officials as well. "That dependents do live somewhat 'normal,' albeit restricted, lives in no way reduces the risk or mitigates the damage to which employees are exposed every day," the chapter said in its cable. "The assumption that a post is necessarily less dangerous for the employee just because dependents remain needs to be questioned." The chapter said removal of dependents would have a negative effect on morale and should not be required for employees there to receive the full amount danger pay.

Institutional grievance faults AID on second consumables

AFSA has filed an institutional grievance against AID for its refusal to comply with a negotiated agreement on the second consumables allowance. At posts where hardship conditions make it virtually impossible to obtain locally many consumables, AID's breach of the negotiated agreement has adversely affected many employees.

The agreement, which became effective last July, provides an additional weight allowance for shipment of consumables for a tour extension of at least six months. The foreign affairs agencies agreed to pay transportation costs for the shipment of consumable items, in recognition of the added difficulty of living at hardship posts. These goods, purchased and paid for by the employees, are necessary items (such as toilet paper, soap, detergent, etc.) that are unavailable on the local market, or, if available, are vastly over-priced or of grossly inferior quality. Without the consumables allowances, employees and their families are subjected to unstable local markets,

prices, and availability.

AFSA originally proposed the second consumables allowance in 1982. The proposal asked that the allowance be provided to employees who serve an additional tour of duty, or extend their current tour, at designated posts. Despite continuous reminders and the submission of specific proposals, there was no counter-proposal forthcoming. Two years after its initial proposal, AFSA filed an unfair labor practice charge. One month later, the foreign affairs agencies submitted their first written proposal.

Since the implementation of the agreement, AID has been arbitrarily denying the consumables allowance to employees who began their second tour after the date the agreement went into effect—July 12, 1985—if their orders had been issued before then. The Foreign Affairs Manual provides in 6 FAM 111.5 that travel, transportation, and related expenses under travel orders issued prior to the effective date of the regulations, but incurred after the ef-

fective date, are payable. Additionally, AID is violating a March 1985 General Accounting Office decision on storage of household effects. The GAO held that the rule against retroactive amendments to travel orders would not be applicable since the new allowances are fixed amounts requiring no administrative discretion to authorize, and the regulations, 6 FAM 111.5, specifically provide for applying the more beneficial allowance in these circumstances.

As a remedy for AID's violation of the negotiated agreement on the allowance for second consumables, AFSA has requested that AID immediately issue the allowance to employees whose orders were issued prior to July 12, 1985, but who arrived at post after that date; notify all employees of proper eligibility requirements and procedural guidelines to apply for the allowance; and provide employees with the allowance to which they are entitled, calculated not from their time remaining at post, but retroactively from the start of their tour of duty.

If you are affected, contact AFSA's general counsel by cable or letter.

Members urged to review files for errors

We urge all of you—but in particular State employees—to review your performance file before the Selection Boards meet this summer. If you are overseas this may not be possible until you return, but we suggest that you make it a habit to review your files for completeness every year or two.

AFSA is representing increasing numbers of grievances involving agency administrative

errors—i.e., where the department made incomplete files available to the promotion panels. In some instances the latest EER—although duly completed and forwarded—was never placed in the employee's file; in others commendations and awards were missing. Sometimes the entire file doesn't make it. This may only be discovered when the employee—disappointed at not having been promoted—requests information on his or her ranking by the boards, as indicated on the so-called "score-card." In our experience, these administrative error cases are mainly a problem at State.

Bush praises FSOs in remarks to political ambassadors group

While bashing the Foreign Service may be a sure-fire crowd pleaser, Vice President Bush said in remarks delivered to an organization of retired non-career ambassadors last fall, he had developed the "highest respect" for professional diplomats during his ambassadorship in Peking and his other

years in government service.

Bush went on to tell the Council of American Ambassadors that the diplomats were doing "an excellent job" for their country, even though the nature of their work probably would never permit the public to adequately appreciate the important roles they play.

Psychologists association pans polygraph

In an effort "to inform the public about the real limitations of polygraph tests," the American Psychological Association adopted a resolution in February that states that evidence supporting the use of the polygraph "is still unsatisfactory." Because of the

"unacceptable number" of mistakes polygraph examiners make, the group said, some people will inevitably be incorrectly identified "as deceptors."

The resolution was passed unanimously by the organization's council. One result of the resolution is that persons adversely affected by a polygraph test administered by a member of the APA will be able to charge the tester with a violation of the profession's ethics.

AFSA action helps Dhaka change R&R point for safety reasons

When a TWA airliner was hijacked after stopping at the airport in Athens, the R&R point for many posts was changed from Athens to London. This presented problems for Dhaka, whose employees would be forced to make a stop in the volatile Middle East.

The embassy contacted

AFSA for assistance, suggesting that the R&R point be changed to Sidney. Not only would that be safer, the post pointed out, but it would better fulfill the R&R requirement for climatic change. AFSA concurred with the post in presenting the case to management, which ruled in favor of the change.

Some points to remember when preparing your EER

EER time is here again, and we would like to offer some suggestions for filling out Section VII, "Statement by Rated Employee." Here in the AFSA office we see a lot of Employee Evaluation Reports and hear many tales of woe. We would therefore like to inject a cautionary note or two that you may consider unnecessary. We can assure you that they're not.

Your statement in Section VII can be extremely valuable. It's one of the few places in the EER where the real you can shine through—minus all the gloss about water-walkers and so forth. In attempting to distinguish among several hundred supermen and women, Selection Boards tend to stress two points. First, they want examples. That is up to the rating and reviewing officers, although you are advised to insist on their inclusion. Second is the employee statement, and that is up to you.

The employee statement can be a double-edged sword. Do you want the real you to show through, or just selected parts? Read the statement out loud and imagine how it will sound when read in a small smoky room with five or six tired men and women who are trying to be fair to dozens of employees. Also check if

you followed the instructions (in small print—and often ignored). Promotion opportunities are few and EERs depressingly alike. Help these people decide on you.

If you need it, take the full 10 days allowed you under the regulations to prepare your statement—even if that makes the EER late. The penalty will go to the person who gave it to you late. Obviously, this is not the place for poor English but, more important, it is not the place for long philosophical diatribes or the filing of a grievance. Do not take your EER home and compose a 10-page rejoinder while you down a couple of drinks. Do not take the opportunity to digress on the shortcomings of the Service, your post, or your supervisor. If you disagree with your rating or feel something has been left out, however, put it in. But always be positive: build yourself up rather than tearing others down. On the other hand, try not to sound like you are accepting an Oscar, with praise for all those who helped you succeed. That doesn't read well back in that smoky room.

Remember, it's your career. Make your statement one you will be proud to read 10 or 20 years from now.

Help stamp out N/A on EER forms

For those secretaries and other support staff whose Employee Evaluation Reports are written by officers who may not understand the intricacies of their jobs, we advise firmness in pointing out omissions on the EER form.

When your rating officer puts "N/A" after technical skills, managerial skills, and leadership, point out gently but firmly that you have just dismantled and reassembled the Xerox for the fourth time this month, the outer office is working smoothly, and your new filing system is being used by the rest of the staff to

produce materials faster than ever before. Point out that the high morale and productivity just might be the result of your possession of the very qualities marked N/A.

Clearing a substantive cable in the department, for example, shows functional and area knowledge, effectiveness in oral communication, negotiating skill, conceptual ability, judgment, cultural sensitivity, interpersonal skills—and self control. Dealing with a congressional delegation, on the other hand, would involve all that plus operational effectiveness.

The competencies in the EER pertain to and are needed by every employee in the Foreign Service—not just officers. Insist on a little care and time in the preparation of your EER.

Legislative Alert

The FY '87 Budget and You

By Robert Beers, Congressional Liaison

Here is a quick rundown on the impact the president's proposed budget will have on the Foreign Service:

Foreign Service Pay Increase: While the final decision on a federal pay increase must await the recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Federal Pay next summer, the budget assumes a 3.0-percent federal pay increase effective in January 1987 and similar increases in both 1988 and 1989.

Retirement: For those already retired, the budget eliminates any cost-of-living adjustment for January 1987 (following

the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings cancellation of the COLA scheduled for January 1986). In subsequent years the COLA would be limited to the increase in the Consumer Price Index minus two percent.

Civil Service employees can retire at age 55 with 30 years' service. The budget would still permit this, but the employee's annuity would be reduced by two percent for each year short of age 62. Anyone already age 55 would not be affected, and this change would be phased in over a four-year period. The present Foreign Service

age/years-of-service requirement for retirement would not be changed.

There are two other important proposals: Annuity computations would be based on the high-five rather than the high-three salary years, but anyone within three years of retirement eligibility would not be affected. And employee (and employer) retirement contributions would be increased from seven percent to nine percent beginning in October 1986.

Health benefits: The current 75-percent limit on the government's contribution to an employee's health insurance premium would be dropped, to be replaced by a fixed dollar amount. An employee could select his coverage from an increased number of approved plans. If the premium were less

than the fixed amount contributed by the government, the employee could pocket the difference; correspondingly, if the premium were greater the employee would make it up.

Comment: These and similar proposals have been put forward in budgets submitted to Congress over the past several years and, except for legislation affecting federal pay and retiree COLAs, none has been enacted. Once again, given the budgetary tangle resulting from the enactment of and the court challenge to the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill, plus the fact that a new supplemental retirement program for post-1983 employees is in the works, these proposals face an uncertain future. With deficit reduction the name of the game, however, anything is possible.

Some additional points on filing your income tax forms

Home Leave Deductions: AFSA's 1985 FOREIGN SERVICE TAX GUIDE [February] omitted its usual section on the deductibility of home leave expenses because the controversy of years past over whether this was a legitimate business expense seems to have been laid to rest. In fact, no instances of the IRS's challenging *substantiated* home leave deductions have been reported to us for more than two years. For those of you who have questions on what expenses may be deducted, here is a recap from our previous articles:

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

It may be a good idea to record your travel in a diary. Write down where you stay and when, plus mileage, whether you rent a

car or use your own. Keep all receipts for lodging and food, as well as for travel expenses incurred within the United States, which may include air, rail, bus, taxi, car rental and mileage (21¢ per mile). Reasonable unsubstantiated daily food expenses are acceptable to the IRS as long as lodging receipts can be produced for those periods. The acceptable rate is \$14 a day for the first 30 days, \$9 a day thereafter.

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

No Taxes for Summer Jobs: With the end of the school year approaching, many Foreign Service teenagers are lining up summer jobs. The majority will not earn enough to create any

tax liability and can avoid unnecessary withholding as well as the need to file a tax return the following year to get their refund by following these simple steps:

If your anticipated income in 1986 is less than \$3,560 and you are a full-time student, get IRS Form W-4 from your employer, check Line 6C, sign and date it and return the W-4 to your boss. The W-4 determines the amount of income tax to be withheld each pay check. Depending on your state of residence, there may be a similar form you can sign to avoid state tax withholding as well.

FICA withholding is mandatory for any amount over \$400 and is shared by employer and employee. Make sure that your boss withholds your FICA portion regularly, even if no other taxes are withheld. We just heard from a Foreign Service teenager who received his 1985 summer earnings at the flat rate, i.e., his boss didn't deduct anything from gross salary. The upshot is that the teenager now has to pay his and his employer's share of FICA—or 12.3 percent of gross salary.

A note for parents: To be able to claim your child as a personal exemption, the IRS requires that a dependent has received less than \$1080 in taxable income during 1986. This income test is waived however, for a child who

was under the age of 19 at the end of the tax year, or who was a full-time student, regardless of age, during any five months in 1986.

Income Averaging: This may be the last time that you can use this provision to lower your income-tax liability. To qualify, your 1985 taxable income must exceed 1.4 times the average of your previous three years' taxable incomes plus \$3,000, and you must be a U.S. citizen or resident and have furnished at least 50 percent of your own support during the entire four-year period. If your marital status changed during this time period, you must do some off-form calculating and separately identify your and your former or present spouse's income. The calculations are tricky, but the savings can make the effort worthwhile. See Schedule G and IRS publication 506 for further details.

To complete Schedule G, you need your 1040s for 1982, 1983, and 1984. If you can't find them request copies by filing Form 4506 with IRS. Include \$4.25 for each complete return or \$2.25 each for a transcript of selected tax information from your 1040. Since it takes three to six months to get the copies, you should file for an extension or submit your 1985 federal tax return within the deadline and file for a refund later.



Interview participants, from top left: AFSA State Vice President Anthea S. de Rouville, then Deputy Director of the Office of Foreign Missions Douglas Langan, Member Services Director Sabine Sisk, Member Services Representative Gerald Kuncio, and current OFM Deputy Director Joseph Hulings III.

The Office of Foreign Missions: Reciprocity Leading to Equality

With the passage of the Foreign Missions Act of 1982, Congress sought to improve the U.S. negotiating position in discussions between our missions abroad and their host governments. The FMA created the Office of Foreign Missions in the State Department and empowered it to take reciprocal actions against foreign missions in the United States to remedy imbalances between treatment of American personnel overseas and that accorded foreign diplomats here. Under the FMA, reciprocity has become a useful lever to resolve issues before they reach a confrontational level.

To monitor the effectiveness of the FMA and the policy of reciprocity, AFSA interviewed then Deputy Director of OFM Douglas Langan one year after the act's passage and his successor, Joseph Hulings III, after one more year. The following is a compilation of their remarks.

Under the Foreign Missions Act, the OFM has the power to take reciprocal actions against other countries. How autonomous are you?

We work within the context of the Department of State, the Foreign Service, and the foreign affairs community. Our actions must be taken in coordination with the U.S. foreign policy process. We have been very successful in undertaking a number of programs, reciprocity negotiations, and reciprocity actions and coordinating those with our regional bureaus and posts overseas. There have been occasions when there were sensitive negotiations going on in other areas when we have taken up a reciprocity problem and been asked to defer it pending resolution of the other problem, but that usually isn't the case. The delays have usually been only temporary. Out in the field, ambassadors, DCMs, and admin counselors have been actually our biggest boosters in making the FMA work.

If the desk or the department did not want you to go ahead, could they veto your action?

They could not. When the law was passed, the department established what in effect is the Reciprocity Policy Committee,

consisting of three members, the under secretary for political affairs, the under secretary for management, and the director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, with the director of the Office of Foreign Missions in attendance as a kind of adviser. The committee provides policy direction in the implementation of the act.

What can you do when a country says it does not care about reciprocal actions?

There are limits to the effectiveness of the FMA in achieving the desired results. I can't tell you we have been 100-percent successful. Foreign ministries don't always prevail with their respective governments.

Does the OFM try to stay within the same context? For instance, if a dispute concerns a customs issue, does OFM seek to impose a reciprocal customs issue on that country's diplomats here?

The law does not require that we link like restraints, but we have found as a practical negotiating principle that it is better to

do so. It provides a much clearer signal to another government. We don't want to get into a situation where we are always escalating the restrictions. However, if we come to a situation where there is no leverage in a similar area here, then we consider going a little bit further. So far, with one or two exceptions, we have remained in the general field where the problem occurred.

We had a case with an eastern-bloc country where they established a duty on the export of artwork equal to 100 percent of the assessed value. We looked for an analogous situation here, but how many are going to take U.S. artwork? Well, we found an analogous category in high tech items, such as stereos, VCRs, televisions, home computers. We drew up a note and told them we would deliver it on such and such a day. They called us two days later and said that the duty had been dropped.

I must confess it was not our idea to use the high tech strategy. Two of our embassy people there suggested it as a good area for reciprocal action.

(Continued next page)

Do you try to resolve difficulties at the post level before enacting any reciprocal restraints?

As a matter of law, we are obliged to consider taking reciprocal steps, but we would much rather have the problem alleviated informally.

Let me give you an example. Last year our people in Santo Domingo raised the issue of restrictions on the importation of automobiles. Depending on your status, there was a dollar limitation on the value of a car you could import. We suggested they raise it with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs first. Though apparently this regulation remained on the books, it was not enforced. We think that was a direct result of the discussions our embassy had with the ministry. As long as the embassy is happy with an unofficial arrangement that does not disadvantage our people, we're quite prepared to do nothing.

If that arrangement falls through, though, we are prepared to act. For example, the Romanians had a tremendous heating oil shortage one winter, and our people really suffered. They would be giving dinner parties and the toilet water would be frozen, temperatures in the 30s inside the apartments. We refused to pay the heating bill. The Romanians are still trying to collect. If we have to pay the charges we'll institute a surcharge on the Romanian fuel bills here by the exact same amount. It would be a lot better if neither of us paid, but we are prepared to do the "tit for tat" arrangement.

We do not generally take unilateral actions. We almost always coordinate with the post, with the country desk, with the bureau executive office. The one exception is if a program is mandated by Congress, we inform countries worldwide what we are going to do. We'll shortly be informing countries that we are going to implement a driver licensing program, for instance. The OFM will become the issuer of drivers licenses, rather than relying on the states. In some countries this may have an effect, some local country may decide to put in reciprocal measures. We don't think this will

occur, but we cannot predict this in every case.

Can posts contact you directly?

Yes. They do, and we encourage posts to use the existence of the FMA to enter into direct negotiations with that government to alleviate problems on an informal basis before having to raise it to the attention of the department and make it a matter of bilateral diplomatic reciprocity negotiations. And to the extent posts are reporting to us, these negotiations have been very successful.

Since you know where the problems are, are you beginning to go after those countries, or are you waiting until somebody notifies you?

We try not to be reactive. To address some of the problems we had to develop major programs before we could even take actions to address the problems of our people overseas. The perfect example is the vehicle program. We discovered when we sent out questionnaires that problems relating to cars were all over the place. There were restrictions on sales, registration, color, style, left or right hand drive, emissions, etc.

In order to help our people we had to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Program on importing, title registration, license plates, sales. We issued plates and have all the thousands of diplomatic and staff vehicles registered under this program. It allowed us to develop a reciprocity package for each country, enabling us to emulate as best as we can here the situations faced by our people overseas.

Do you work closely with Customs?

Yes, we've added a second Customs official to our staff, and there is a possibility of a third.

Let me give you an example of how closely we work with Customs. We had some difficulty some months back getting some official material into a building we were doing in Paris. French Customs wanted to exact a duty on it. Shortly after this the French brought in a shipment for their U.N. delegation, which we

stopped. Within 48 hours the problem in Paris was ironed out, so we immediately released the shipment.

In addition to motor vehicle registration, aren't you also now interested in traffic offenses?

That's correct. We asked the states to notify us now when there are violations by the diplomats stationed here. We feel we owe this to the citizens of this country, and Congress is interested too. We do not fix driving tickets; we return the citations to the embassy suggesting they go directly to the local jurisdiction, pay the fine, and clear it up.

How many foreign missions pay their fines?

Very many. We've just instituted a new system where we ourselves will assign points for driving or parking violations, with varying offenses having different values. When a driver has accumulated eight or more points we review the individual's driving record and make a determination if that person should continue to have driving privileges in the United States.

Have you made any determinations to discontinue?

No, we have not. However, we have had seven or so cases in the last year and a half where drivers have voluntarily surrendered their drivers licenses after it had been determined that they had been driving under the influence of alcohol. These people have in each case left the country.

Our people overseas have to realize that if we become stricter with diplomats driving in this country, we have to expect that other countries will become just as strict.

What is the status of the program OFM is considering for third-party liability automobile insurance for foreign diplomats?

Insurance companies were just not as anxious to insure diplomats as we had thought they would be. Their driving records really are not that bad, but the companies have no real recourse against them due to their immunity. So we found a differ-

ent way to insure them. We set a minimum amount of insurance individuals should have and allowed them to choose their own insurance companies. We had originally specified \$300,000 full coverage, but many insurance companies do not write that, and many states do not permit that to be written; since we are dealing with consulates in 28 states, we had to tailor our program to something that would be accepted nationwide. In certain states we accepted \$100,000-300,000-100,000 coverage, which ended up being about the same cost, but it enabled us to include more insurers in our program. That seems to have been very successful so far; we're down to about 600 cases out of originally 12,000 who were either under insured or not insured at all. The companies, and the diplomats, are required to notify us as to any change in coverage. We have a duty to the states and local municipalities to see that the coverage is there, and the only way to do that honestly is to get the certification from the companies.

Is there anything you can do to assure reciprocity on the value-added tax?

We have established a major program to address that problem. We invalidated all tax-exempt cards the Office of Protocol had issued to date and replaced them with a series of cards that had different gradations of tax treatment. We issued whatever gradation was appropriate to that country's representative.

The tax-card program has been very successful, especially in relation to the VAT overseas, which in many countries is almost a hidden charge yet is definitely a tax on our people. Few countries have a tax system similar to ours, but we equate the VAT to our sales tax.

What has been the reaction to the tax cards?

Generally, the states have been favorable because of the additional revenue they receive, although in certain cases they are not so anxious because they're interested in drawing investments from certain foreign countries. Overseas, we can't

put a dollar value on the tax program because as the tax is withdrawn, purchasing patterns change—we may be spending the same but receiving more. We have had a number of countries with which we have had successful negotiations, the Netherlands probably being the most important one. Israel has just established a tax program. Mexico came through with a new plan for reimbursement of VAT that we are going to try for six months. We are currently negotiating with Portugal and Turkey, and there have been a number of other countries where we have established new systems. We've had negotiations with Canada for some time; Canada is one of those places where diplomats were exempt while staff people were not. We've been able to extend duty-free importation for our staff people from six months to two years.

These things save us thousands, even hundreds of thousands of dollars a year, depending on the country, in what we pay for official purchases. We don't even make an estimate on what our diplomats are saving.

Now that your office has been established for three years, have inquiries lessened, increased, or stayed the same?

If anything, increased. Demands from posts overseas have moved us into more areas. Almost all of our subfunctions, the motor vehicles program, the customs program, the tax program, or the construction program we're into now, are expanding. In addition, we're looking to whole new areas we haven't gotten into before. I don't want to be too specific but we have already begun looking into banking practices.

What concerns you about banking practices?

The question of artificial exchange rates. Our accounts' not earning interest in certain countries. Practices such as pre-dating our transfers from our finance centers into the host country, then holding the money for a set period of time so that they can earn the interest themselves. Or debiting the account on the date the checks were written, while it may take a num-

ber of weeks, due to the mail system, for that to get cashed by the creditor. We lose thousands of dollars.

Does the U.S. government set any such restrictions for foreign missions here?

No. It's a very ticklish issue. We don't want to alarm the U.S. banking system, or upset the arrangement Treasury and the Federal Reserve have with the central banks of the various countries. However, we view this as an area where the United States is operating at a severe disadvantage, and we have the mandate to investigate it. We will be proceeding, albeit fairly slowly.

Are we able to get any reciprocity for our missions in China?

We do not have the degree of reciprocity we would like to. However, there have been policy reasons why this is so. It's not a question of OFM and a post's being opposed by the bureau—as a matter of fact the China Bureau has been one of our biggest supporters. We have all gotten together, we have identified the areas where we wished to press for reciprocity and, substantially, have achieved our goals. The process is the same for almost all countries. Practicality often required moderation in our approach to reciprocity.

There are a number of countries where staff treatment is a real problem. Have you had any success in that area?

We have recently returned from Brazil, where staff personnel are subject to more rigorous restrictions than diplomats on the importation of automobiles. We are optimistic that a means has been found, informally, to alleviate the problem. More and more we are finding that the distinction that other countries make between diplomats and staff personnel is a fertile area for our intervention, but on an informal basis, not through official agreements.

Does the United States differentiate between diplomatic and staff personnel posted here?

Yes we do, on a case by case

basis depending on the privileges our staff receive there. However, we try to offer reciprocity as a logical method to remove the distinctions whenever possible.

Has the OFM begun extending controls against eastern-bloc countries for travel in the United States?

Yes, we have recently expanded travel controls to include U.N. Secretariat members from eastern-bloc countries as well as missions and consulates.

Does that mean they must go through you for all their travel arrangements?

Yes. The exact procedures are fairly complicated, as different requirements are in effect depending on whether the travel is official or personal, lodging is required, or whether the trip is sponsored by a host organization. Embassies and consulates have different booking requirements than secretariat members.

That, in effect, mirrors the situation for our people at post in the eastern bloc?

Not necessarily. In most eastern-bloc countries our staff are more or less free to travel. The conditions for eastern-bloc travelers here have been imposed as a result of legislation, not solely to enforce reciprocity. Soviet diplomats and staff, on the other hand, face essentially similar restrictions to our people in Moscow or Leningrad.

You have also recently begun a construction service.

That's right, we have a construction staff, which acts as a contracting agent, and subcontracts the work. Right now we're doing things for the Chinese and the Soviets. As a result of a tax dispute with the Canadians the OFM is monitoring construction of the new Canadian Chancery as well. We may be expanding that program to other countries, when we feel that reciprocity might be a factor in achieving post goals.

This deals with the construction of buildings?

Yes, we oversee the Mount Alto Soviet site; they also want to

construct some recreational housing out in Pioneer Point, and we have offered to do the foundation for them. We're mirroring what they require in the Soviet Union.

You also provide housing?

Yes. We're now providing housing for the Bulgarians, and at their request, for the Czechs. They come to us, tell us what they want, and we get it for them. The Soviets notify us that they have someone coming in and where they want him to stay, and they have to have our permission. We have turned down a couple of them, on the grounds that it was inappropriate for them to be there. This has a counterintelligence connection, but it also mirrors conditions overseas.

In one small success we identified a place for the Bulgarians because we consider our staff housing in Bulgaria to be of such poor quality. To mirror the situation, we refused to allow two of their staff people here to occupy any housing but two apartments we have designated. They weren't bad, not as bad as we face in Sofia, but the Bulgarians didn't want their people there. As a result, our embassy was able to engage the foreign ministry in a constructive dialogue about our needs. Within a short period, additional apartments were received and warehouse space obtained. At the request of our embassy we dropped our restriction on Bulgarian housing here. So you see, although the embassy did all the work, we feel we were helpful in bringing matters to the appropriate authorities.

In a society like ours, which is not controlled, how can you make some of these things stick?

All I can tell you is that compliance with requirements that we have levied within the diplomatic community, on the foreign missions, has been extremely high across the board.

Interviews were conducted by AFSA State Vice President Anthea S. de Rouville, Member Services Director Sabine Sisk, and Member Services Representative Gerald Kuncio.

- 1. War, expropriation, nuclear reaction.**
- 2. Wear, tear and mechanical breakdown.**
- 3. Under certain conditions, breakage of fragile articles.**

These are the basic perils the AFSA Personal Property Floater doesn't cover.

We don't exclude marring, denting, chipping, unexplained or mysterious disappearance, theft, breakage of non-fragile articles, contamination, flood or earthquake.

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14 East Highland Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19118
Telephone: 215-242-8200*

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AFSA

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