

FOREIGN SERVICE

J O U R N A L

\$2.00

December 1987



EMBASSIES AMIDST 'TURMOIL

Cuts Mean Decimation
AFSA NEWS: P.48

A world class design makes Taurus a very diplomatic solution to your transportation needs.



As you pull into the driveways of various consulates, you'll have them wondering where, exactly, did your new Ford Taurus come from. Some may even insist it's a product of their country—that is, until they see the familiar blue oval on the back.

Taurus: An American design philosophy.

Even as the first engineers began work, over 400 specific objectives were being established for Taurus.

The list was based on how you drive an automobile... what you want from it... what you need from it. The list included: How comfortable the seat belts are to wear; the effort required to open and close the doors; the convenience of checking the oil.

By designing each individual component and feature to be easier and better for you to use, the result is a better-designed vehicle overall.

The result is a line of front-wheel-drive sedans and wagons that combine advanced technology with human need. Even its aerodynamic shape is part of its dedication to function. Which means you can judge Taurus not only by how good it looks, but how well it works.

So if your aim is to please just about everyone, and still please yourself, consider the Ford Taurus. A very diplomatic solution to your transportation needs.

FORD INTERNATIONAL
EXPORT SALES



Please send me information to purchase a new _____

WRITE TO: DIPLOMATIC SALES
FORD MOTOR COMPANY
815 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Tel: (202) 785-6047

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
COUNTRY _____ ZIP _____

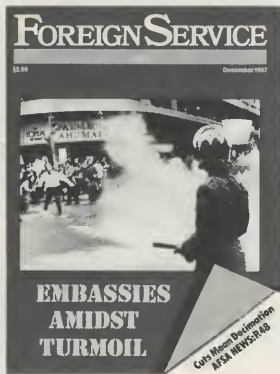
Happy Holidays
1987



M. Juanita Guess And Staff
Clements & Company

INSURANCE BROKERS WORLDWIDE

Washington, D.C.



Cover: Violent changes in political power accompanied by unrest, rioting, and turmoil pose challenges and risks for both American politics and Foreign Service employees in the host country. Two ambassadors, Marshall Green, who was in Indonesia during the 1965 coup, and Nathaniel Davis, in Chile during Allende's overthrow in 1973, tell about dealing with the old and the new during those pivotal times. Our special section on "Embassies Amidst Turmoil" begins on page 21.

Editor: STEPHEN R. DUJACK
Associate Editor: NANCY A. JOHNSON
Assistant Editor: WILLIAM E. WICKERT III

Editorial Board

Chair: STEPHEN EISENBRAUN
Vice Chair: ANDREW STEIGMAN
Members: JIM ANDERSON
GUY BURTON
THOMAS DOWLING
LINDA JEWELL
PATRICIA MALLON
WILLIAM B. NANCE
JOHN D. PIELEMEIER
BERNARD REICH
PERRY SHANKLE

International Advertising Representative

JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD.
46 Keyes House, Dolphin Square,
London SW1, 01-834-5566

C O N T E N T S

Embassies Amidst Turmoil 21

In Asia and Latin America, two ambassadors deal with abrupt changes in political power

Indonesia: Nudging the Tiller 22

Marshall Green

The embassy rides out the storm and follows a new tack during crisis and change in the late 1960s

Chile: Mixed Signals 28

Nathaniel Davis

In the early 1970s, Washington's two-level policy complicates the ambassador's role

Journal: An African Christmas 36

Mary Thomas Sargent

A donkey, a baby, and three wisemen create a perfect Christmas story

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|------------------------------|----|
| AWSA Views | 3 | 10-25-50 | 20 |
| Letters | 4 | People | 38 |
| Books | 8 | Foreign Exchange | 42 |
| Periodicals | 14 | Index | 43 |
| Clippings | 16 | AFSA News | 48 |
| Diplomacy | 18 | AFSA Annual Report | 53 |

"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the magazine for professionals in foreign affairs, published monthly except August by the American Foreign Service Association, a private non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the official views of the foreign affairs agencies, the U.S. government, or AFSA. The Editorial Board is responsible for general content, but statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 in the ASSOCIATION NEWS and the ASSOCIATION VIEWS, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

JOURNAL subscriptions: One year (11 issues), \$15. Overseas subscriptions (except Canada), add \$3 per year. Airmail not available.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional postoffice. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present). Indexed by PAIS.

The JOURNAL welcomes manuscripts of 1500-4000 words for consideration by the Editorial Board. Author queries are strongly urged, stamped envelope required for return. All authors are paid on publication.

The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply any endorsement of the services or goods offered.

© American Foreign Service Association, 1987. 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Phone 1(202)338-4045.

December 1987, Volume 64, number 11.
ISSN 0015-7279.

Seek Solutions, Not Blame

All during the spring and the summer, we saw the secretary of state appealing to Congress for adequate funding, and Congress telling him in turn to seek the monies from the White House. Dan Mica and Olympia Snowe, the chairman and minority leader of the House Overseas Operations Subcommittee, are saying that the "State Department created the fix it's in," as a recent *Washington Post* opinion piece by them was titled. And Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams, also in the *Post*, writes that "majorities in both houses of Congress have made clear their belief that a decently funded diplomatic establishment, with a well-run career Foreign Service, is a risk the nation cannot afford to face."

Our country's diplomatic capability is being starved to death while Congress and the administration argue over who is at fault. At AFSA, our concern has not been to cast blame but to find a solution.

The country desperately needs leadership, in both the executive and legislative branches, to grapple with the problem of how we can maintain our position as a world leader in a time of budget problems. Somehow, we must find the energy and imagination to solve the problem in a way that does not cripple our ability to conduct and administer foreign policy. Gutting the Foreign Service—the solution seemingly favored by the department—is not the answer.

AFSA has worked with the Congress, where as we went to press the Senate approved reprogramming of funds already appropriated for diplomatic security expenses to the general State account for salaries and expenses—without reducing needed protections. And we have worked with the department, where we have identified economies totalling \$44.2 million in the State budget and an additional savings of \$32.6 million if certain construction projects are postponed—without losing a job.

The leaders on both sides need to try again to resolve their differences and seek solutions. It is in the national interest to solve this crisis, and those in a position to do so should get at it instead of casting blame at each other.

—Perry Shankle, President



AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Governing Board

President: PERRY SHANKLE
State Vice President: EVANGELINE MONROE
AID Vice President: HENRY MERRILL
USIA Vice President: A. STEPHEN TELKINS
Secretary: JAMES A. DERRICK
Treasurer: SAMUEL MOK
State Representatives: WARD BARMON
 JONATHAN FARRAR
 BARBARA HUGHES
 SANDRA ODOR
 CHARLES SCHMITZ
AID Representatives: DAVID GARMIS
 MICHAEL ZAK
USIA Representative: JOHN WALSH
Retired Representatives: L. BRUCE LANGEN
 DAVID SCHNEIDER
 JOHN THOMAS

Staff

Director for Administration and Member Services: SABINE SISK
General Counsel: SUSAN Z. HOLIK
Member Services: NEAL M. CALLANDER
Representatives: DAVID COHEN
 ELLEN TENN
Controller: MYRIAM DUNCAN
Membership Coordinator: CHRIS BAZAR
Legal Assistant: JOSEPH RILEY
Law Clerk: BONITA CARROLL
Executive Secretaries: PAT REYNOSO HALL

Congressional Liaison

ROBERT M. BEERS
 RICK WEISS

Scholarship Programs

DAWN CUTHELL

Face-to-Face Program

PETER SWIERS

The American Foreign Service Association, founded in 1924, is the professional association of the Foreign Service and the official representative of all Foreign Service employees in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development under the terms of the Foreign Service Act of 1950. Active membership in AFSA is open to all current or retired professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in the United States. Associate membership is open to persons having an active interest in or close association with foreign affairs who are not employees or retirees of the foreign affairs agencies. Annual dues: Active Members—\$65-143; Retired Members—\$30-45; Associate Members—\$35. Dues include \$9.50 allocation for subscription to the JOURNAL and ASSOCIATION NEWS. All AFSA members are members of the Foreign Service Club.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION
 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037

Membership inquiries, controller, scholarship programs, insurance programs,
 JOURNAL offices: (202)338-4045
 Governing Board, standing committees,
 general counsel, labor-management relations,
 member services, grievances: (202)647-8160

Foreign Service Club: (202)333-8477

You owe it
to yourself
to try . . .

The Inn

AT FOGGY BOTTOM

824 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 337-6620 (800) 426-4455

- Metro, (Orange or Blue Line)
1 1/2 blocks away
- State Department within
walking distance
- Short or long term leasing
- Beautifully appointed suites
- Kitchenettes
- Nightly turndown service with
imported chocolates
- Daily maid service



- Ⓜ Metro
- * The Inn at Foggy Bottom
- Ⓢ State Department

Contact Sales Department
for special
State Department/
Foreign Service Institute
rates at
(202) 337-6620
(800) 426-4455

L E T T E R S

Officers of Distinction

Our ranks of dedicated and professional officers are sadly diminished by the demise of Leon Poulada. No officer was more devoted than he to the Foreign Service and its mission, and none gave them more unstinting of his heart and mind. Perceptive and far-sighted, he did not hesitate to analyze critically the Service's performance by professional criteria, thereby demonstrating that his loyalty to it, its mission, and the country whose needs it was designed to meet was of the highest quality.

I first met Leon in 1970 when organizing a conference on diplomacy and how to teach it as a political science on the university level. His lively intellect, imagination, and legally trained mind made him a stimulating participant. When a national Committee for the Study of Diplomacy emerged from the conference, Leon was a logical member and he took an active part in its work. Through articles for professional and popular journals, letters to the editors of newspapers, participation in panels at professional conventions, and other activities, he more than pulled his weight as a committee member. In another two-day conference at the University of Virginia in 1983, he again took an active part.

In all of this, Leon was unassuming and wholeheartedly cooperative, interested in no glory or position for himself but only, as a useful citizen and professional diplomat, in making a constructive contribution to a great cause. All who knew him were impressed by these solid qualities and will always remember him for them.

No tribute to one member of the Poulada team should be without a reference to the survivor. Leila Jackson Poulada was no mere individual, traveling around the world at government expense as a Foreign Service appendage. She had prepared for entry into the Service herself, and was an active partner in a joint mission; well-equipped intellectually, culturally, psychologically, and socially for this role. Our nation got two representatives for the price of one. Both, accordingly, contributed greatly and gracefully to the service of their country and the international community.

SMITH SIMPSON
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Annandale, Virginia

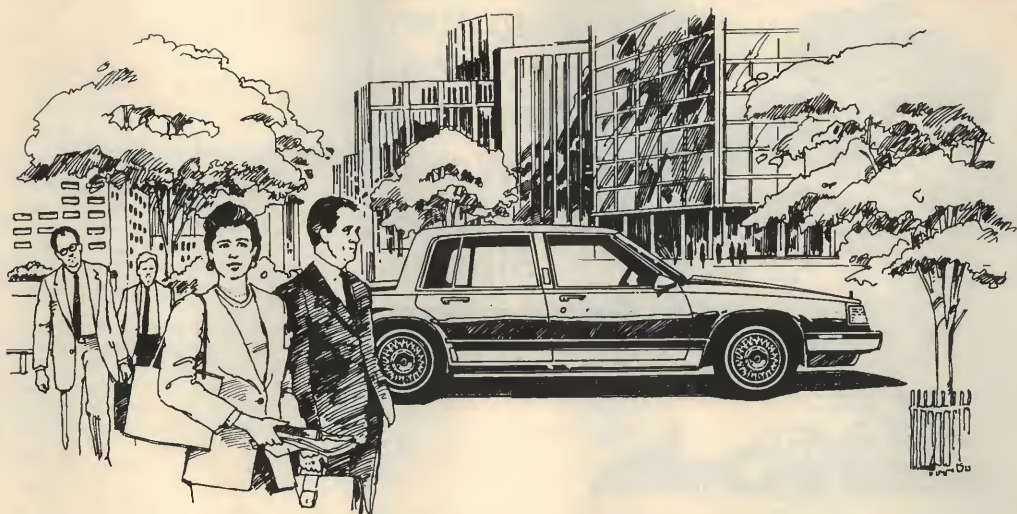
Thomas W. Smith, who died July 22 in Washington after a long and painful illness,

served the nation with distinction, capping a varied Foreign Service career with appointments as chief of mission to Ghana and Nigeria. His last contribution to the Service was as deputy inspector general. His humanity, dignity, and courage were widely admired. We will miss him.

JOURNAL readers may enjoy one of his last creative efforts. A senior inspector recently reviewed the department's administration of danger pay, and reached the conclusion—startling to Tom—that the award of danger pay should not be influenced by whether or not dependents had been evacuated from a high-risk post. After debating the point unsuccessfully, Tom wrote the following:

Lines for a Senior Inspector

Athena, grey eyed and most fair
Listen to my heartfelt prayer
From all the hazards of this life
Pestilence, plague, communal strife
From what we lately learned to fear
The terrorist's far-shadowing spear
From perils of the wine-dark sea
Goddess, pray deliver me
But if you cannot, right away
Grant me, please, some danger pay
Worry not that my dependent
Is not yet declared redundant
It's nicer not to reason why
With Molly Pitcher standing by
And any facile FSO
Can cite the rules of EEO
To prove the daughters of the nation
Oppose, as one, discrimination
Every hero, it must be seen
Could just as well be a heroine
We prefer to face "au pair"
The fallout from bombs burst in air
And in the red glare of the rockets
Allow us still to fill our pockets
It is the Congress' clear intent
That we should have a few percent
Above the pittance that we get
To pay the grocer, stave off debt
So let the following lines be graven
Upon the walls of each safe haven
"When the mob is at the door
Clamoring for loot and gore
Remember, back at ALS
They are seeking to assess
The precise degree of peril
By reason cold and logic sterile
You only lose a point at most
If your family's still at post"
And so, Athena, grey eyed, wise
Prove the truth of our surmise



GM GIVES VERY IMPORTANT PEOPLE VERY SPECIAL TREATMENT.

General Motors Diplomatic Sales is here to make sure every step in ordering and receiving your new 1988 GM product is as convenient and reliable as humanly possible. And there's more: • Rapid Response Time • Delivery Wherever Your Diplomatic Assignment Takes You (within the guidelines of this program) • One-Stop Shopping • Not Limited To Standardized Models • Price Protection Up to 180 Days (prior to new-model announcement) • Order By Mail.

Get GM behind you on your next new-car purchase. Plan to order your 1988 model early. For complete details just fill out and mail the coupon below.

Diplomatic Sales
General Motors Overseas Distribution Corporation
3044 West Grand Boulevard, Room 3-129
Detroit, MI 48202
Telephone: (313) 556-5615



**FEEL THE DIFFERENCE
GENERAL MOTORS MAKES**
CHEVROLET • PONTIAC • OLDSMOBILE
BUICK • CADILLAC • GMC TRUCK

Please send me information about the following GM cars(s):

CHEVROLET — Cavalier Celebrity Monte Carlo Caprice Camaro Corvette
 Corsica Beretta Light Duty Trucks. Please specify _____

PONTIAC — Fiero Sunbird Grand AM Firebird 6000 Grand Prix
 Bonneville Safari

OLDSMOBILE — Frenza Calais Cutlass Cutlass Supreme Delta 88
 Custom Cruiser Ninety-Eight Toronado

BUICK — Skyhawk Skylark/Somerset Century Regal LeSabre Electra
 LeSabre/Electra Wagon Riviera

CADILLAC — Cimarron DeVille Fleetwood Fleetwood Brougham Eldorado
 Seville

GMC — Light Duty Trucks. Please specify _____

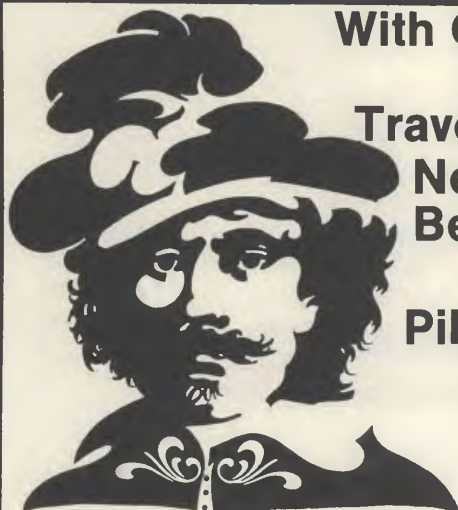
NAME _____

STREET ADDRESS* _____ APT. . _____

CITY* STATE/PROVINCE* _____

COUNTRY* _____

* (PLEASE INSERT ANY MAILING CODE REQUIRED BY YOUR LOCAL POSTAL REGULATIONS)



With Guardian Storage, Traveling to a New World Becomes a Simple Pilgrimage!

No matter where you're headed, Guardian Storage knows just what it takes to make sure all your personal possessions arrive intact, undamaged and ready for use.

If you're leaving personal belongings here at home, you can be sure they will be carefully stored in Guardian's protective containers. Guardian's experience, thoroughness and care ensure the most delicate handling of all your possessions.

So when you have to travel to a new world, leave your moving worries to Guardian Storage.



GUARDIAN STORAGE, INCORPORATED

OLD WASHINGTON ROAD, WALDORF, MARYLAND 20601 • TEL. (301) 845-4040 • (WASH. TOLL FREE) 843-8608

ORDER ANYTIME BY MAIL

and get our special 20% discount on all prescriptions

You have credit with us; order all your drug items from us and pay upon receipt

You can always rely on us for fast, efficient service

Satisfied customers all over the world.

We are anxious to service you

COLUMBIA PLAZA PHARMACY

516 23rd St., NW

Washington D.C. 20037 Telephone (202) 331-5800

Demonstrate what we hope is true
We can eat our cake and have it too.

WILLIAM C. HARROP
Director of Policy and Program Review
Department of State

Help for Asthmatics

We are a Foreign Service family with an asthmatic child. We have served in Melbourne, Addis Ababa, and Jakarta. Readers who have friends and family members with asthma know how much learning there is to be done to find an asthma management program that works. This is complicated further by our exciting but transient Foreign Service lifestyle and the lack of continuity in medical care that entails.

We have found a great resource which we would like to share with other families of asthmatics in the foreign affairs community. *The M.A. Report*, issued monthly by parents of asthmatic children, provides useful updates on advances in treatment, helpful strategies for handling the stress asthma episodes can cause, and information on other research and support organizations. The journal, which began just about two years ago, has grown and improved with each successive issue.

M.A. Report has allowed us to keep up with trends in asthma care in the United States and has given us reassurance and support in our battle to control asthma and not have it control us.

The subscription fee is \$10 a year. Requests for subscriptions can be sent to: *M.A. Report*, Mothers of Asthmatics, Inc. 5316 Summit Drive, Fairfax, Virginia 22030.

We hope others find this report useful.

CHARLES HEFFERNAN
ROBERTA NEWELL
Melbourne, Australia

Kudos

While the fortunes of our Service sink, the standards of the JOURNAL rise. Your latest issue was superb, especially the perceptions of Jim Anderson ["Standing at the Crossroads," October], which I'm apt to quote as shamelessly as Joe Biden was wont to do of others. My congratulations and best wishes.

MARSHALL GREEN
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

Just a note to say that I think that the content of the JOURNAL's articles are especially interesting and well written these days. I felt impelled to write to the Editorial Board so that it would know that its work is appreciated.

EDWARD LITTLE
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Alexandria, Virginia

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

FIRE. THEFT. EARTHQUAKES. FLOODS. MILDEW. MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE. CONTAMINATION. MARRING. CHIPPING.

The AFSA Plan basic personal property floater covers all of the above. No other protection is as comprehensive. And certainly not the Claims Act. The AFSA Plan is available only to members of the American Foreign Service Association. Read our policy for terms and conditions. (It's easy to read.) Call or write for a free brochure.

AFSA Desk
The Hirshorn Company
14 East Highland Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19118
Telephone: 215-242-8200*

Please send me your free brochure (with a built-in application form) that answers my questions about overseas insurance.

Name _____

Address _____

*In the Washington, D.C. area, call 202-457-0250.

AFSA

The AFSA Plan is underwritten by the International Department, Federal Insurance Company, one of the Chubb Group of Insurance Companies. This advertisement is descriptive, only. The precise coverage afforded is subject to the terms, conditions and exclusions of the policy as issued.

DISTRICT INTRODUCES INSTANT INFORMATION

To make your moving experience easier, simpler and more convenient you are invited to call District's new "Moving Abroad Telephone Information Service."

Questions about planning, scheduling, packing, air freight, accompanied baggage or any other problem that is troubling you will bring a friendly, polite answer when you call 420-3300 and ask for the "Information Service."

Let us put our more than 20 years experience making Department of State, USA, AID and Peace Corps moves to work for you - by giving you helpful information and making your moving experience the best ever.

DISTRICT
MOVING & STORAGE, INC.

3850 Penn Belt Place
Forestville, Maryland 20747
301 • 420 • 3300



B O O K S

Reviews

The Politics of United States Foreign Aid.
By George M. Guess. St. Martin's Press, 1987.

With Congress again beating foreign aid, its friends are mounting a counterattack. The latest salvo is fired by George Guess of Georgia State University, who presents a strong, though heavily written, defense of development assistance.

Guess acknowledges that foreign assistance is "everyone's clay pigeon . . . alternately blamed for both successes and failures." The fault lies in the competition for funds during the annual budget cycle, when AID falls victim to the National Security Council staff, the Department of Defense, and some members of Congress. The solution is to give the agency autonomy, thus distancing it from the foreign policy decision mill, Guess believes. In the short run perhaps "not much can be done about recipient country poverty and underdevelopment," but a lot can be done to revitalize AID through administrative consistency, program flexibility, and creative direction.

Guess proposes that AID coordinate all foreign assistance programs under the integrated budget system, with Congress becoming both participant and appropriator. Along with the secretary of state, those sullen enemies of AID, the NSC and Defense, would take a back seat.

Congress, if it had the wit, could turn the professor's proposals into a takeover of foreign policy direction by making AID the kingpin in the distribution of overseas goodies, and tying foreign aid policy even more closely to the congressional heartbeat. Move over NSC, here comes AID.

—WILLIAM SOMMERS

China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930s and 1940s. Edited by Stephen R. MacKinnon and Oris Friesen. University of California Press, 1987. \$20.

The refreshing and innovative recollections and introspections of a group of outstanding American China correspondents of the 1930s and 1940s have been skillfully selected and organized in this oral history. Virtually all of the important reporters in China during this time have contributed comments.

Half of the book is in rough chronological order, covering the different phases of

SAAB



International SALES

Contact

Thelma Koopman

International and Diplomatic Sales

EuroMotorcars



Saab

Order your 1988 Saab with confidence through an international dealer who has years of experience in international and diplomatic sales. Very advantageous for Diplomats and G-4 Nationals.

*Brochures & Information
available on request*

SUBMIT INQUIRIES TO

Thelma Koopman

International and Diplomatic Sales

Rolls-Royce / Saab

4800 Elm Street

Bethesda, Maryland 20814-2996

Tel. (301) 656-9220 / Telex 440155

Factory Authorized Dealer

A MEMBER OF THE
SEARS FINANCIAL NETWORK

COLDWELL BANKER

We Just Do It Better!
Top Quality Residential
PROPERTY MANAGEMENT
throughout the Washington metropolitan area
with an exclusive money-back Satisfaction Guarantee
(703) 556-6100

Coldwell Banker, America's largest full service real estate company, has provided superior management to absentee owners since 1933. Our full-time staff of expertly trained property managers is ready to serve *your* needs from seven convenient locations.

—Our Services Include—

- COMPLETE TENANT SCREENING
- ON-SITE PROPERTY INSPECTIONS
- MONTHLY STATEMENTS
- YEAR-END TAX STATEMENTS
- PROMPT DISBURSEMENT OF PROCEEDS TO OWNERS
- SUBSTANTIAL DISCOUNTS ON SEARS REPLACEMENT APPLIANCES

Call us today!

or mail the enclosed coupon

YES! I would like more information on Coldwell Banker's Property Management services and related fee structure.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

RENTAL PROPERTY: _____

TELEPHONE #: () _____

Mail to: Coldwell Banker Residential Property Management Department c/o Executive Offices, 1953 Gallows Road, Suite 650, Vienna, VA 22180

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL



ELECTRIC

U.S.A.

GENERAL ELECTRONICS INC.

REFRIGERATORS • FREEZERS
RANGES • MICROWAVE OVENS
AIR CONDITIONERS • DRYERS
WASHERS • SMALL APPLIANCES
AUDIO EQUIPMENT • TELEVISION
DISHWASHERS • TRANSFORMERS

Available for All Electric
Currents/Cycles

Immediate Shipping/Mailing
From our Local Warehouse

We Can Also Furnish
Replacement Parts for
Most Manufactures



SHOWROOM

General Electronics, Inc.
4513 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. (202) 362-8300
TWX 710-822-9450
GENELECINC WSH

SEND THIS COUPON FOR
FREE CATALOG

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

_____ ZIP _____

Our Catalog is Sent to Administrative Officers,
Embassies, and Consulates Throughout the World.

news gathering in a turbulent era. The various journalists deal bluntly with Chinese and American personalities, but with humor as well as exasperation. There is much soul-searching about what might have been. They explore divergent ideas on whether different ingredients in American relations with the Kuomintang could have brought about a different ending, for instance.

The other half consists of a broad look at the news profession. This section does much more than capture the attention of China hands; it also will be of interest to any government official who deals with the media, and vice versa. Here is debate over whether the participants actually had an impact on American policy (it is quite clear that most thought they should have had, but only a minority thought they did), as well as the advantages and difficulties inherent in the close relations between reporters and Foreign Service officers. The cooperative way in which journalists pooled information and exchanged views on the reliability of various sources is also discussed.

These verbatim views of a truly distinguished group of professionals have timelessness and immediacy. In all, the book is an interesting and thoughtful contribution to the annals of the sometimes stormy relations between media and governments.

—ARTHUR W. HUMMEL JR.

LOY W. HENDERSON. A Question of Trust: The Origins of U.S.-Soviet Diplomatic Relations. Edited by George W. Baer. Hoover Institution Press, 1986. \$44.95.

Loy Henderson, who served for 40 years as one of America's premier diplomats, wrote these memoirs covering his career to the beginning of World War II after retiring in 1961. Sadly, there will be no continuation; ill health prevented him from finishing a full autobiography before his death last year.

The central theme Henderson explores is the rocky road of early U.S.-Soviet relations. He is not given in these pages to deep reflection or ideological formulations. More in evidence, and possibly more valuable to students of the period than retrospective comments, are his recollections of embassy and department operations a half century and more ago, along with sketches of colleagues, American and foreign. [See JOURNAL, May 1987] Taken together, these provide useful insights into the diplomatic complexities of the times.

Henderson subscribed in some respects to what historian Daniel Yergin has called the "Riga Axioms," the conviction that the U.S.S.R. as a revolutionary state denies the possibility of coexistence and that it stresses ideology in a drive for world mastery. (The U.S. mission at Riga, Latvia, was for many years a listening post for Soviet specialists such as Henderson and George Kennan.) "It was my belief," Henderson writes in one passage on Moscow's policies of the

1930s, "that leaders of the Kremlin were intending to contribute eventually to the violent overthrow of all countries with which the Soviet Union maintained relations." The author, however, also came to see nationalism as an important element of Kremlin policy.

These fascinating memoirs explain how the ambassador formed his views on the Soviet Union. Equally important, they give illuminating glimpses of Foreign Service life in an early day.

—HENRY E. MATTOX

Eroding Empire: Western Relations with Eastern Europe. Edited by Lincoln Gordon. The Brookings Institution, 1987. \$11.95, paper.

Among the many books dealing with Eastern Europe, none has tried to bring together in one volume, as this one does, analyses of the varied policies of the West toward the Eastern Bloc during the last 40 years. Lincoln Gordon and the five contributors are able and respected experts who write well. Given a complex and convoluted subject, they have brought into sharp focus the political and policy attitudes of several key western states. In doing so, they probe the problems of Europe and Germany, review available policy options, and elucidate the significance of détente, of economic relations, and of the recent crisis in Poland.

J.F. Brown sets the stage in succinct and masterful chapters on Eastern Europe and the outlooks of its regimes and societies toward the West. Gordon describes the ebb and flow of U.S. interests and policies toward Eastern Europe in a comprehensive review. Pierre Hassner, Josef Joffe, and Edwina Moreton offer penetrating chapters on the French, German, and British points of view, while Brown briefly covers the Austrian and Italian (and Vatican) roles. Gordon concludes by reviewing the major problems and the factors of convergence and conflict in western aims and policies, stressing the crucial importance of the U.S.-Soviet relationship.

Eastern Europe may not be of primary importance to the West, but this incisive and stimulating volume shows that western politicians and diplomats, nonetheless, will face substantial policy dilemmas, dangers, and pitfalls over the next 40 years.

—NICHOLAS G. ANDREWS

Losing My Place. By Ann Ott. Peter Randall, Box 4726, Portsmouth, New Hampshire 03801. \$6.95.

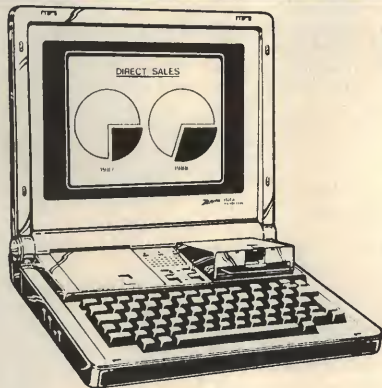
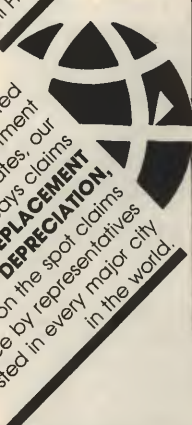
When Lucy's father accepts an educational consultancy to the government of Indonesia in 1961, she feels that leaving Indiana in her 14th year is out of the question. However, she accepts the inevitable, and the family arrives in Jakarta during the tense atmosphere of the 1960s.

FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL WORLDWIDE PERSONAL PROPERTY INSURANCE FLOATER

underwritten by
London insurers and
exclusively
administered by

HUNTINGTON T. BLOCK INSURANCE
2101 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
Telephone 202/223-0673
Toll Free 1-800/424-8830

Call toll free from anywhere in the United States, or write our Overseas Department for information about our low rates, our broad coverage which pays claims on the basis of **REPLACEMENT**, and our on the spot claims service by representatives posted in every major city in the world.



SPECIAL PRICES FOR FOREIGN SERVICE

- Any Make, Any Model
- Check Our Service And Prices
- Serving All Your Computer Needs
- Ask For Our Free 1987/88
174-Page Fall/Winter Catalog

The Zenith Data Systems
Z-181 Laptop PC


Also, The New D-2 from Leading Edge.
First Time Offered:
AT 10 mghz. Super-Fast, EGA, CGA, Mono
Graphics ports.
Complete Mono System with Printer (Pan 1080i)
Or a 2400 baud Modem
at the Lowest Foreign Service Discount Price.
Model D Still Rated BEST of all Compatibles.
From \$1095.
15-Month Guarantee
Telephone, Telex, and Mail Inquiries Invited.

SOFTGRAF USA
Computer Vendor to the Foreign Service



SOFTGRAF USA.

VAN DORN PLAZA, Alexandria, Virginia 22304
Hours: M-F: 10-9, Sat: 10-6, Sun: 12-5
Phone: (703) 370-5000 TELEX 904059.WASH



**"There was the
door to which I
found no key..."**

Edward Fitzgerald

ATTENTION... PEOPLE on the MOVE...

We specialize in sales
and property
management in the
Metropolitan
Washington area.

Cathie Gill has the key
to care-free services for
all your real estate
needs.

**Personal attention
gets results.**

Call

Cathie Gill, Inc.
REALTORS®

**4801 Massachusetts
Ave., N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C.
20016
(202) 364-3066**

This is Lucy's own story of living in the totally unfamiliar and unstable world of South Asia, and of her friendship with Niki, a savvy and adventurous Foreign Service daughter, and Bud, another American student. The teens explore the city's streets and bazaars where they witness a communist-led riot, anti-American demonstrations, and other world-shaking events. Undercover political intrigues against foreigners arouse their suspicions and entice Niki to pursue a course of detective work. She leads the trio from one escapade to another until the three are forced by events to leave for boarding schools outside the archipelago.

In his first novel, the author draws on her experiences as a Peace Corps volunteer and resident of Indonesia in the early 1960s to depict a poignant story of the confusion and malaise of maturing teenagers in a politically turbulent adult world. Her acute perceptiveness in describing the flavors of life's minutia in Jakarta, Bogor, and Singapore will make anyone who has lived in South Asia, or any developing country, feel at home. Little tjitjak lizards on the walls, eating sanitized salads, and "corrugated roofs that thunder in the rain" bring back many memories.

There is much appeal in this small book—parts of which appeared in the November 1983 JOURNAL—for both adults and teenagers in the Foreign Service and others who go abroad to live. It is a valuable account of the interaction between generations, of the vulnerability of foreigners, of the pleasures and inadequacies of the simpler life in the developing world. This reader wishes it were expanded to reveal even more about being uprooted, family life, other relationships overseas, returning to Bloomington, and how each teen survived after "losing her place" so far from home.

—MARY LOUISE WEISS

Duarte, My Story. By José Napoleon Duarte. G.P. Putnam Sons, 1986. \$18.95.

President Duarte of El Salvador has taken the unusual step of publishing his autobiography (or at least a first installment) while still in office. American readers—to whom the book is primarily addressed—will find in it ample reassurance that our interests are well-served by the U.S. assistance provided to Duarte's struggling democratic regime. That is no doubt the chief reason for its appearance at this time.

Duarte's image as an honest, unselfish, and courageous politician has held up extremely well in American public and congressional opinion, and this book should further strengthen that reputation. From his days at Notre Dame studying "Christian virtue," to his unexpected triumph in the 1972 Salvadoran presidential elections (quickly cut short by a vengeful military who beat him and sent him into a seven-year exile), to his reelection as president in 1984, his story is as exciting as it is inspir-

ing. The chapter devoted to his four-year effort to bring to justice those responsible for the murders of four American churchwomen makes especially compelling reading.

One hopes that Duarte is correct in claiming that the Salvadoran military has finally seen the folly of its opposition to democracy and today accepts the rule of the majority. Skeptics believe this unaccustomed support for democracy by the nation's top soldiers may last only as long as necessary to maintain American aid. On the other hand, four national elections (the last in 1985, when Duarte's Christian Democrats won an unprecedented majority in the legislative assembly) have tested the resolve of the military to abstain from interfering and to respect the will of the majority.

Only time will tell who is right, but Duarte's contention that the armed forces are giving their lives to stop a guerrilla movement, and that they want a popularly elected government to defend, deserves serious consideration, even from his critics.

—JOHN J. CROWLEY JR.

By Our Readers

Mark My Words. By Peggy Smith. Editorial Experts, Inc., Alexandria, Virginia, 1987. \$28. The author, a former Foreign Service spouse, is publications manager at Editorial Experts, Inc., and teaches proofreading at George Washington University. This book includes both instruction and practice and will point the reader toward a professional approach to proofreading.

They Changed Their Worlds: Nine Women of Asia. Edited by Mae Handy Estrelinc. University Press of America, Lanham, Maryland, 1987. \$12.50. This collection of biographies, edited by a Foreign Service spouse, tells of extraordinary women from seven countries who pioneered new roles in Asia. Their stories illustrate the problems faced during the course of their projects in social change.

The Vision of Anglo-America. The U.S.-U.K. Alliance and the Emerging Cold War 1943-1946. By Henry Butterfield Ryan. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1987. \$39.50. The author, a former Foreign Service officer with USIA, analyzes the loss of British power in the cold war and demonstrates the British need to forge a perpetual U.S. alliance to arrest this global decline.

BY OUR READERS is an occasional feature that highlights the published works of JOURNAL readers. If you have had a book published recently, send us a copy, including price, publisher, and the date of publication. Write to Book Review Editor, Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Readers interested in reviewing books should also write to the above address.

In Response to the Demand for Increased Language Proficiency LA REVISTA EN ESPAÑOL

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF LATIN AMERICA IN SPANISH



IN PRINT AND ON CASSETTE

- Articles selected from leading Latin American publications
- Sixty-minute cassette with excerpts of articles read and dramatized by Latin American professional broadcasters
- Topics include economics and business, politics, science, culture and style. Less familiar Spanish words and expressions are highlighted in the text. *The English translations are easily found in the margin.*

SEND FOR A FREE BROCHURE
OR CALL (202) 328-4524

La Revista En Español
1821 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

NAME _____
STREET _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____ PHONE _____

NOW CHARGE YOUR PHONE CALLS TO THE U.S.A.

American Express • Diners Club • Discover • MasterCard • Visa

Use Any Phone—Anytime

Have your major credit card at hand. Access rates and the U.S. operator by dialing the local number below for the country you are in.

From hotel rooms, first obtain an outside line for a local call.

From coin phones and in trains, insert coins for a local call to obtain a dial tone.

* = Wait for a second dial tone

FROM EUROPE

ANDORRA 19*0590-1800
BELGIUM 1800-11-5454
DENMARK 0434-1800
FRANCE 19*0590-1800
GERMANY & BERLIN (W) 01-302928+
GREAT BRITAIN 0800-89-1800
GUERNSEY 0800-89-1800
ITALY 167874-001
JERSEY 0800-89-1800
LIECHTENSTEIN 04605-1800

MONACO 19*0590-1800
NETHERLANDS 06*022-2928
SAN MARINO 167874-001
SWEDEN 020-795679
SWITZERLAND 04605-1800
VATICAN CITY 167874-001

FROM ASIA

AUSTRALIA 0014-800-125571
JAPAN 03-1111-025
SOUTH KOREA 011-800-907-8291

FROM THE CARIBBEAN BASIN

ANTIGUA 800-322-2928
BAHAMAS 800-522-2928
BERMUDA 800-522-2928
CAYMAN ISLANDS 800-322-2928
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC 800-322-2928
JAMAICA 800-322-2928
PANAMA 1800-322-2928
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO 800-322-2928
VIRGIN ISLANDS 800-322-2928

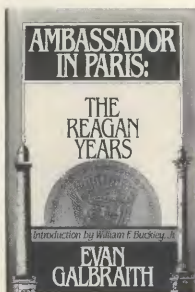
+ From U.S. military phones in W. Germany: In Frankfurt, dial 99*517932; In Nuremberg/Furth area, dial 99*232899; In Kaiserslautern area, dial 99*68950; In Stuttgart area, dial 99*225162; and in W. Berlin, dial 99*7864010.

- Calls to 800 numbers are allowed; from overseas, however, the cost of a long distance call applies.
- Billing is itemized in U.S. dollars, but extent of itemization depends upon credit card issuer.

- AT PAY PHONES: In a few countries, local calls are not of unlimited length. Deposit sufficient coins to cover the expected length of your call. Use small coins first; unused coins will be returned.

A service of
CREDIT CARD CALLING SYSTEMS, INC.
Suite 8817, One World Trade Center Postfach 100
New York, NY 10048 D-6000 Frankfurt/M 1

An insider's
look at one
of the world's
most glamorous
embassies:



Come to France with former Ambassador Evan Galbraith. This fast-paced diary offers a provocative look at how policy is conducted in one of the most exciting—and powerful—embassies in the world.

Outspoken and often controversial, Galbraith provides a critical analysis of issues that arose during his tenure, including the invasion of Grenada.

ORDER TODAY!

Use the coupon below
or call toll-free:

1-800-448-8311

REGNERY GATEWAY, INC.



950 North Shore Drive
Lake Bluff, IL 60044

Yes! Send me _____ copies of *Ambassador in Paris* at \$16.95 each, plus \$2.00 for postage and handling. Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.

Check enclosed VISA MasterCard

Card No. _____ Expires _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

By MICHELLE MAYNARD

Is Crisis Management Always Possible?

By Richard Neil Lebow, *Political Science Quarterly*, Summer 1987, Vol. 102, No. 2.

President Kennedy's success in avoiding war and getting the Soviets to back down during the Cuban missile crisis has encouraged the belief that this is a feasible objective in the future, argues Lebow. The missile-crisis model has also led to an exaggerated emphasis on not only the military capabilities that figured in the crisis but on analyses of the leaders' behavior.

The behavior of leaders is not irrelevant to a crisis's outcome but a narrow focus on crisis management is unlikely to improve performance significantly. It is more important to delineate clearly the nature of the links between leaders' performance and the underlying strategic, political, and psychological factors at work in the crisis.

Lebow believes that studies of command, control, and communications are necessary for an understanding of crisis instability. Moreover, the threat to peace can be overcome only by far-reaching changes in force structure, strategic doctrine, and targeting policy. But because the current political climate does not appear conducive to making these changes, it is also important to focus attention on the conceptual aspects of crises.

If there is another world war, it is likely to be the result of either miscalculation or an act of desperation during a crisis or a conventional war. Lebow identifies preemption, loss of control, and miscalculated escalation as three distinct sequences leading to war. Thus, better understanding of the dynamic behind miscalculation would help us manage adversarial relationships and the conflicts they spawn. Understanding these three sequences and their relative danger will be helpful in future crises.

Ethnocentrism and Third World Development.

By Howard J. Wiarda, *Society*, September/October 1987, Vol. 24, No. 6.

Political development theories are being attacked for various reasons, including that they have been conceived in almost exclusively western terms. Wiarda writes that this charge has major implications for the Third World, as well as for the social sciences and for donor nations.

Early development literature and practice were uniquely American phenomena that had direct and indirect policy impact,

especially in the 1960s. These programs relied on the U.S. experience and often had little relevance for the nations where they were implemented. They were also the products of our cold war strategies. Wiarda explores claims that agrarian reform, community development, law and development, and family planning programs suffer from this ethnocentrism. He concludes that the often misguided and misdirected developmentalist programs stem from naiveté and wrong assumptions rather than from venality, malevolence, or "imperialism." Since ethnocentrism is prevalent in virtually all aspects of our Third World development policy, U.S. policymakers must become aware of the consequences of the developing countries' inclination to reject western models and recommendations. Change will be difficult, but donor nations will have to re-orient their programs and learn the language, culture, and institutional procedures of Third World areas if they are to succeed.

The (Relative) Decline of America. By Paul Kennedy, *The Atlantic Monthly*, August 1987, Vol. 260, No. 2.

While U.S. commitments have steadily increased since 1945, the economic foundations of our power have been eroding. Kennedy suggests that, in one sense, the economic decline is irrelevant because U.S. citizens are better off in absolute terms than they were forty years ago. In another sense, the shrinking of the U.S. share of world production is alarming because of its implications for the country's grand strategy, which depends on economic as well as military, social, political, and diplomatic resources.

The United States has faced a relative decline in industry and agriculture, as well as great financial turbulence over the past few years. Thus, from the viewpoint of American grand strategy and of the economic base necessary for long-term foreign policy, the picture is not good. The United States' two greatest tests are whether it can preserve a balance between its perceived defense commitments and the maintenance of these commitments, and whether it can preserve its technological and economic foundations of power from erosion.

Ultimately, the United States can not preserve its world position because, historically, no one society has been able to remain permanently ahead of the others. The precedents suggest, however, that the United States' sheer size will prevent it from fading into obscurity.

American policymakers must recognize that new trends are underway and the United States must manage its affairs so that this erosion will take place slowly and smoothly. Kennedy adds that serious threats to the real U.S. interest can only come from a failure to recognize emerging multipolarity and to adjust to this new world order.

Exorcising Wilson's Ghost: Morality and Foreign Policy in America's Third Century. By George Weigel, *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 1987, Vol. 10, No. 4.

During the 1988 presidential campaign, Weigel predicts, the whole country will engage in a debate regarding morality and foreign policy. Moral arguments surface regularly in our public discourse partly because Americans have brought religious convictions into the public arena.

Our present difficulties with the morality and foreign policy debate derive largely from the U.S. involvement in World War I. When Woodrow Wilson first articulated the themes of the United States' entrance onto the world stage, his arguments introduced the concept of U.S. intentions—the sincerity of our motives—into the debate.

As we enter our third century, Weigel says, the country's central problem is not whether we shall apply commonly held moral values to foreign policy, but how. The real issues focus on the quality of the requisite ethical reasoning. We face a mixed picture—with Protestant, Catholic, Jewish,

and non-sectarian political analysts contributing to the discussion.

A new debate, focusing on the very meaning of "moral reasoning" and its application to the policy agenda, is afoot. Two areas in particular—the "just war" theory and liberation theologies—are receiving significant attention as analysts address the pressures of today's political violence and the concept of political freedom in the context of morality and foreign policy.

The Real Cause of Irangate. By Kenneth E. Sharpe, *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1987, No 68.

The secret bombing of Cambodia, Watergate, and the Iran-contra affair each had its genesis in a policy aimed at imposing U.S. political will on a Third World country. More important, according to Sharpe, each scandal demonstrates the chronic tension between our democratic political system and its non-democratic national security system.

The cold war created a rationale for the growth of a powerful security apparatus ruled by an "imperial presidency." Inherent in the 1947 National Security Act was a tacit agreement that checks and balances to ensure shared decision-making with Congress would sometimes be suspended, since the nation's security in the nuclear age seemed to demand secrecy, efficiency, and unity of action.

As the bipartisan foreign policy consensus broke down, these three scandals demonstrated the surfacing of tensions. Cam-

bodia dramatized how far a president faced with a strong domestic opposition was willing to go to free the national security system from constitutional and democratic controls. Together with the Vietnam war, Watergate reminded the American people about the dangers of an increasingly autonomous national security bureaucracy headed by an unaccountable president. The post-Vietnam formula was a commitment to open the foreign policymaking process and to alter its content. Little was done to restructure the national security apparatus, and the basic assumption of the U.S. postwar policy remained unaltered. In the 1980s the Reagan Doctrine has confronted the "no more Vietnams" consciousness of the 1970s. As such, the Iran-contra affair represents the administration's attempt to revive the fears of Soviet expansion that re-justified policies requiring an insulated security apparatus.

In each of these scandals we see the struggle between "aberrationists," who focus on human failures, and "legalists," who assume that abuses of power are inevitable unless checked by institutional restraints.

The dangerous struggle between the domestic and security considerations is likely to continue. Sharpe argues that in searching for a safer balance, we should not overlook new legislation. The Reagan administration's abuses demonstrate, however, that new laws are insufficient if the political will to enforce them is lacking.

Michelle Maynard is a State historian.

Merrill Lynch Realty Welcomes Roberta McLean



**Uptown Office
966-1000**

Roberta, a top producer with over \$5 million in sales last year, thanks the numerous friends within the Foreign Service who have provided a broad referral network. Her 25 years as a Foreign Service wife make Roberta particularly adept at helping families relocate. If you have any questions, write or call Roberta at Merrill Lynch Realty, 4114 River Road, NW, Washington, DC 20016, (202) 966-1000 or (202) 363-8854.

**Merrill Lynch
Realty**



**"A Hotel Alternative
For The Prudent Spender."**



There Is Only One Place To Stay In Washington YOUR PLACE

SHORT OR LONG TERM LUXURY APARTMENTS, TOWNHOUSES, PENTHOUSES.

All Suites Tastefully Furnished & Fully Equipped Kitchens • Telephone • Cable Television • Security Intercom System Complete Health Spa • Concierge • Parking Laundry and Valet • Maid Svc (optional) • Convenience Store

SPECIALIZING IN RELOCATIONS SERVING CORPORATIONS • PENTAGON THE STATE DEPARTMENT • INSURANCE INDUSTRY • EXTENDED TRAVEL CONVENIENT METRO LOCATIONS AT ROSSLYN CAPITOL HILL GEORGETOWN FOGGY BOTTOM DUPONT CIRCLE

* Visa and Master Card Honored

TLC Development Corporation
1700 N Moore St. Suite 714 Arl., Va. 22209

REAL ESTATE • SALES • RENTALS
MANAGEMENT

(703) 527-4441

OVERSEAS RELOCATION
FOR THE FAMILY PET
DOG, CAT, OR BIRD
IS NOW EASY.

CALL, WRITE, OR TELEX
THE PET RELOCATION
SPECIALISTS IN TAMPA,
USA/DOMESTIC SERVICES
ATTN: MILLIE WOOLF
OVERSEAS/INTERNATIONAL
ATTN: DR. WALTER WOOLF
STAFF VETERINARIAN



**Air
Animal**

PET TRAVEL AGENCY

4120 WEST CYPRESS STREET
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33607-2358

(813) 879-3210

TELEX 808857

SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL!

An ice cream soda is one of the few items we cannot mail. Drugs, cosmetics, sundries mailed to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. SEND NO MONEY — pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.



Morgan Pharmacy™

3001 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

C L I P P I N G S

The Cuts in State

"Unless Congress decrees otherwise, the United States will soon be closing 15 overseas diplomatic posts, including two embassies, and laying off 1300 employees from a State Department payroll of 22,000. Congress proposes to slash a crippling 23 percent, or \$767 million, from the department's budget. And this is being inflicted by the same lawmakers who piously bewail Washington's declining global influence and risky dependence on cheaper-to-hire foreign nationals.

"These prospective cuts represent the mentality of a banana republic, not a great power. Diplomacy is the first line of defense and the front line of peace.

"Congressional desire to reduce the federal deficit makes sense. But the cuts are far from equitable and sensible. The same Congress that begrudges diplomacy continues to approve by unrecorded voice votes billions for pork-barrel programs. And it's not just a matter of pouring money into vote-getting domestic programs. Congress has disproportionately cut State Department operations overseas compared with overseas missions of other departments that employ 70 percent of U.S. personnel abroad.

"The lawmakers are playing dice with the country's security: America's Foreign Service officers supply the bulk of political and economic intelligence. They often work under the worst and most dangerous conditions, as in Lebanon. Now they are asked to do more for less, and are blamed for failures to improve embassy security in Moscow—which is a bit much coming from legislators who for years showed so little interest in repeated appeals for needed security funds.

"No homeowner would sensibly economize by canceling fire insurance. That's what Congress proposes to do—unless the Senate rises above the House's banana-republic reflexes and reinstates money denied a federal department as vital as it is vulnerable."

Editorial in The New York Times, October 3

"If the State Department were a country, you could almost say it had fought a battle for national survival, and lost. Assorted parts of the government have taken their lumps in recent years . . . but none more than the agency that is supposed to conduct the country's foreign relations. The result is an institutional crisis and, worse, a degree of national self-crippling that is no less certain

and menacing for being hard to measure.

"The president set the stage by his single-minded emphasis on military power as the basic source of American strength—and by his readiness to turn to covert operations. Subtly and not so subtly he helped spread the notion that diplomacy is for sissies. New respectability, or at least new currency, was given the conspiratorial right's view that the State Department is the preserve of clits with their own suspect agenda. Other trends, meanwhile, were legitimizing congressional inroads on the executive branch's foreign policy prerogatives. . . .

"Last week was a bad week but a predictable one. The Senate approved 86 far-ranging foreign policy amendments, 26 in one hour, in what Senator John Danforth protested as 'a cacophony of confusion.' The ranking Republican on Foreign Relations, Jesse Helms, who detests the State Department, led the wrecking crew. . . . It was disclosed that the State Department is drawing up yet another budget-shrinking plan, whose gross dimensions—a permanent loss of eight percent of departmental jobs—scarcely hint at the further deterioration of efficiency, good planning, and morale that is likely to result. . . . Surely there are a few persons [in the administration and Congress] who could at least join to hold the line and keep matters from getting worse aren't there?"

*Editorial in The Washington Post,
October 13*

"Sharp budgetary restrictions, affecting an unprecedented number of positions scheduled for elimination, will severely damage the performance of the State Department in a critical period of the nation's history.

"Departmental officials would be well-advised to concentrate their economies on new construction and equipment, which can always be deferred, rather than on wholesale reductions in personnel which are sure to create an untimely effect on employee morale.

"Present plans . . . call for the elimination of some 1270 jobs, or about eight percent of the 15,800 Foreign Service and Civil Service positions. Far better, for instance, would be the deferment of a new campus in Virginia for the Foreign Service Institute and some of the embassy-building planned for overseas.

"Short-sighted also is the proposed closing of the United States consulates in key foreign cities. . . . Eliminating consulates and key service officers will have a crush-

ing impact at a time when the United States is struggling to maintain an international image of probity and diplomatic foreign relations."

Editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle, October 13

The Cut Ups in State

"A Career as a Foreign Service Economics Officer. An Extraordinary Opportunity to serve in the International Arena. Taking a small percent of your time by inventing the Foreign Service Written Exam. . . . Yield: High Job Satisfaction."

Advertisement in the Wall Street Journal, September 29

A Hard-corps Life

"A real threat to our future well-being is being prepared in Washington. . . . The \$1.6-billion budget State is planning on receiving for operations is about one-half of one percent of the defense budget. Diplomacy, once deemed an elite profession, now looks like a rust-belt industry. . . . If military morale fell to such a [low] level, we might have reason to worry about a coup. But, happily, State Department officers don't pull triggers, and they have no constituency. They push cookies, not bomb-releasing buttons. . . . Does this year's \$80 million shortfall—less than one month's protection for Kuwaiti tankers—add up to wisdom for the long-term? . . . The sense of a "profession" will be destroyed. . . . dissent will become non-existent in an insecure career. Vital skills will be lost. . . . Officers who spend years learning Russian, Chinese, Arabic, or other hard languages will be flushed out. Out will go the experienced trade promoters and negotiators. . . gone already is all language training for wives, the best (unpaid but highly motivated) bargain anywhere. A generation of promising diplomats will be lost forever. . . . The slashing of the Foreign Service now will also mean a heavy burden on the future. The future, we can be confident, will require:

- Efforts to defuse tensions and negotiate peaceful outcomes in an increasingly hostile world.
- Political and economic intelligence essential for keeping national policies on course.
- Responding to the threats of terrorism, slowing the drug trade, regulating immigration.
- Managing our overseas missions. . . .

"Those are State Department jobs. . . . International influence is not cheap. . . . We will get what we pay for."

Henry Precht in The Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 16

CLIPPINGS brings to the reader's attention statements about the Foreign Service or its agencies appearing in the media or in speeches. No endorsement of the views or facts expressed is implied.

The Intelligent Alternative to Overpriced Hotels.

Now you can enjoy more than twice the living space of an ordinary hotel room at less than one-half the cost.* And still have all the services and luxuries you need: 24-hour switchboard, maids and linens; outdoor swimming pool and whirlpool; indoor Health Club with sauna; Computer Room and Conference Room with catering kitchen. There's a complimentary Continental breakfast. Children and extra guests are welcomed and there is no charge for parking. All located off Washington Boulevard opposite Fort Myer and minutes from the District, the Pentagon, Crystal City and National Airport.

If you are transferring into the Washington area or are here temporarily on company or government business, call The Executive Club today. You can take advantage of our reduced Grand Opening rates while you enjoy a full sized apartment suite.

The Executive Club Arlington

108 South Courthouse Road
Arlington, Virginia 22204

(703) 522-C L U B

(800) 535-C L U B

Brokers Welcomed

*Based on minimum 30 day lease.



BARBARA HELD / CITY SITES
REAL ESTATE INCORPORATED

In Amsterdam, Munich, Bath, Istanbul and Seville, the Foreign Service made plans for your assignment. In Washington, D.C., BARBARA HELD/CITY SITES REAL ESTATE, INCORPORATED, will pave the way for your arrival.

BARBARA HELD/CITY SITES REAL ESTATE, INCORPORATED, has provided distinguished service to generations of discriminating Foreign Service families.

Let us know how we can attend to your real estate needs.
We'll earn your trust!

RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL SALES
PROPERTY MANAGEMENT AND RENTALS

705 D STREET, S.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • 202/546-7600

FOREIGN
VIDEO TAPE
CONVERSIONS

FAST SERVICE
REASONABLE RATES
PROFESSIONAL QUALITY

PAL/SECAM
(EUROPEAN)
TO NTSC (USA)
OR VICE VERSA

COMPUTERIZED
DIGITAL PROCESS
WITH IMAGE
ENHANCEMENT

DUPLICATIONS
VHS / BETA / U-MATIC(3/4")
1" HIGH BAND AND AUDIO



Blank Tape Supply

1323 Shepard Drive, Sterling, VA 22170 (USA)
Call (703) 450-6776 or (800) 722-3300

DIPLOMACY

The Toughest Dilemma

By STEPHEN R. DUJACK

A hostage situation is one of the toughest dilemmas a president can face. Either bargain with the terrorists and risk rewarding the kidnapers, or stand firm and place the lives of the captives in jeopardy. Many administrations have suffered political losses following either course, and Ronald Reagan is not the first chief executive to announce a policy of refusing to make concessions while secretly doing just that. Dating back to the beginning of the Republic, presidents have found political theory to be of little comfort when dealing with the harsh reality of human lives at risk.

When George Washington was in office, Congress voted to pay the equivalent of \$992,463 to the dey of Algiers to free 115 American sailors. The ransom included a 36-gun frigate complete with stores and ammunition. The United States also agreed to pay an annual bribe to the Barbary powers to protect American shipping, a practice that continued while John Adams was in office despite the cry of his minister to France, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, that the new nation would pay "millions for defense but not one cent for tribute." This humiliating situation persisted until Thomas Jefferson dispatched warships to face down the Barbary pirates at Tripoli—an event memorialized in the *Marine Hymn*.

In more recent times, Theodore Roosevelt won a cheer from the floor of the 1904 Republican convention with his ultimatum, "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Raisuli was a Moroccan bandit who was holding Ion H. Perdicaris for ransom. They were brave words from the former Rough Rider, but not only was the deal to free the captive already brokered when Roosevelt brought the convention to its feet, but it would have been enforced by Britain and France—not the United States—if it had been breached. Recent scholarship also suggests that Perdicaris was probably not even an American citizen, which would have made any political repercussions to the president minimal.

At times the United States has adhered to the hard-line approach. In 1972, American diplomats Cleo Noel Jr. and Curtis Moore ended up being executed when President Nixon refused to release Robert Kennedy's assassin and other prisoners to Arab terrorists in Sudan. Then, three years later, Secretary Kissinger removed Ambassador

Coming home—Going overseas?

Buy from the
Washington area's largest

Jeep • Eagle
Dealer



COURTESY
Jeep • Eagle

755 Rockville Pike, Rockville, Md. 20852

Choose from our complete line of 4-wheel drive Jeeps, and the all new Medallion and Premiere. Local or overseas delivery. Diplomatic corps discounts. Phone or write Christopher Zourdos (301) 424-1700

FREE SQUASH* MEMBERSHIPS FOR AFSA MEMBERS

CHSC
CAPITOL HILL SQUASH CLUB

AFSA members can now play squash at the Capitol Hill Squash Club without paying any membership or initiation fee. By simply showing your AFSA membership card, you will pay only the court fees at Capitol Hill's most luxurious fitness facility. Located only a block from the Capitol South Metro stop, the Club also offers free use of changing rooms, showers, and saunas before and after playing squash. *There is a \$20 annual processing fee; some restrictions apply.

Capitol Hill Squash & Nautilus Club
214 D Street, S.E. • (202) 547-2255

to Tanzania W. Beverly Carter because he had negotiated the release of several Americans held by a terrorist group.

The United States has, however, often bent to the exigencies of the moment. When Croatian partisans hijacked a U.S. jetliner in 1976, the Ford administration secured the release of their hostages by publishing the terrorists' manifesto. When President Carter won the freedom of the hostages held in Tehran in 1981, he returned several billion dollars in frozen assets to the revolutionary government. And when President Reagan sought the release of the Americans held by Arab gunmen on a TWA 747 jetliner in 1985, he sought help from the leader of a nation frequently identified as a sponsor of terrorism, Syria's President Asad. Thus, the current administration's outright ransom of three Americans held by Shiite fundamentalists in Lebanon—not to mention lower-level consideration of releasing the prisoners convicted in the 1983 bombing of the French and U.S. embassies in Kuwait for American hostages—although a blatant violation of the long-standing no-bargaining policy had recent precedents.

Other countries act similarly when they perceive their interests are at stake. France has paid cash ransoms and made other concessions to terrorists holding its nationals prisoner. (Not only states make concessions with terrorists. For many multinational corporations active in Latin America and the Middle East, ransom payments are a cost of doing business.) It was a significant victory for anti-terrorists, in fact, when a French judge recently ignored his government's plea for leniency and gave a life sentence to the man who had assassinated American military attaché Charles Ray in Paris in 1982. West Germany delayed for months the extradition of a suspect in the TWA hijacking because his comrades in arms held two Germans as hostages; Bonn finally decided to try him in Germany.

With the whole world watching, most leaders have found it difficult to refuse to deal when the lives of innocent people are at risk. But as Anthony Quainton, former director of the State Department's Office of Counterterrorism, wrote: "The fundamental dilemma is how to strike a balance between deterrence and saving lives. The government must be as concerned for the protection of life as any private group. But it has to think beyond the life of individual hostages to the safety and well-being of thousands of other official Americans whose lives would be threatened if the government were to give in to terrorist demands."

Despite its public pronouncements, history shows that the United States has often talked softly while offering a carrot rather than a big stick. As it and the other countries whose nationals have been kidnaped have learned, terrorism has nonetheless continued.

Stephen R. Dujack is editor of the JOURNAL. The opinions expressed are his own.

AMERICAN BOARDING SCHOOL IN SALZBURG



SALZBURG INTERNATIONAL PREPARATORY SCHOOL

Salzburg International Preparatory School is a co-educational American boarding school located in Europe's most beautiful city. The school program includes grades 7 to 12; A PG program for high school graduates and summer language courses are also available.

The school has years of experience in dealing with Department of State dependents. The highest academic standards are maintained in preparing students for entry to top American universities. The school program includes numerous Advanced Placement courses, ESL courses, extensive cultural excursions throughout Europe as well as competitive sports such as American football, alpine skiing and many others.

Write for catalog:

Salzburg International Preparatory School, Moosstrasse 106 - 7, A-5020 Salzburg, Austria,
Tel. (662) 844485, 846511, Telex 632476 saint a

WASHINGTON, D.C. BOUND? DRIVE A BARGAIN

RENT-A-NEW CAR

from \$19.95* per day

Ideal When Shipping POV or on Home Leave

*Economy car, subject to availability. Monthly rates lower.

FREE PICK UP AT NATIONAL AIRPORT & METROS

683-6400

2850 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Arlington, VA 22202

AFSA NEEDS YOUR HELP FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE SERVICE

If you would like to become involved in making your profession better, AFSA would like you to join its new Keyperson Network.

As a Keyperson, you would become the point of contact between the Association and the membership in your bureau or office. We need you to bring to our attention what AFSA needs to do for you and your colleagues. And we need you to help distribute special publications from time to time to your coworkers. The new Keyperson Network will work closely with the AFSA Governing Board and its Standing Committees for AID and State, fostering better communications and making sure that they flow in both directions.

GET INVOLVED!

Call Evangeline Monroe at 647-8160

Mothers Work

EXECUTIVE MATERNITY FASHIONS

Catalog with swatches and fit guide \$3, refundable with order. Visit our stores in: Atlanta, Arlington Hts., IL, Baltimore, Boston, Charlotte, NC, Chicago, Cleveland, Costa Mesa, CA, Dallas, Denver, Fair Oaks Mall, VA, Harrisburg, PA, W. Hartford, CT, Houston, King of Prussia, PA, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Diego, San Francisco, Stamford, CT, Washington, D.C., or inquire about opening a store. Phone 215-625-0151, 1309 Noble St., 5th Fl., Dept. FE7L, Phila., PA. 19123.



Call for any book

- Immediate shipment worldwide.
- Credit cards or check. • Ask about our overnight gift delivery nationwide. • Free monthly New Title Forecast. • Mail orders welcome.
- Open 24 hours every day. • Write or phone for free holiday catalog.

1-800-255-2665

In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470

59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840



10 • 25 • 50

Foreign Service Journal, December 1977: [The House and Senate foreign affairs committees] "reported favorably on Reorganization Plan No. 2—the consolidation of USIA and State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. . . . The name of the new agency was changed to the International Communication Agency for International Communication. Members of Congress had criticized the previous title as 'CIA backwards.' . . . The new agency director remains 'under the direction' of the secretary of state, but 'direction' is not further defined." —*Association News*

Foreign Service Journal: December 1962: "It is unfortunate that in our calling we have so few opportunities to explore America. For many of us the practical limits are Washington and Rehoboth, with perhaps an occasional visit to New York. Even on home leave there may be no grass-roots visit, whether because there are no ties, or because of logistical complications. A visit to Alabama, North Dakota, Arizona, or Iowa after Kabul, Copenhagen, or Cape Town—with time for talking, mixing, and reflecting—might make both us and the community the richer." —*Editorial*

Foreign Service Journal, December 1937: "The vast majority of Foreign Service officers are satisfied with the present scale of salaries as such, but feel that they are entitled to allowances sufficient to cover the important expenditures which they are called upon to make due to the exigencies of the Service. Expenditures for representation, for home leaves of absence . . . for damage to household effects in shipment or by climatic conditions are all items which have no counterpart in other walks of life. . . . It is well known that Washington is one of the most expensive cities in the United States and consequently in the world. It would seem only just, particularly if . . . all Foreign Service officers should in turn be ordered for at least temporary tours of duty in Washington, to make a serious attempt to obtain from Congress an appropriation allowing a reasonable allowance for Foreign Service officers which would permit them to serve in Washington without serious personal financial penalty." —*Selden Chapin*

10-25-50 records excerpts from previous issues with an eye toward how much things have changed—or how they have remained the same.

We keep your prescriptions coming. Worldwide.

With our worldwide prescription service, it's easy to have your prescriptions sent where you need them. Just bring or mail a prescription from your doctor to this store. We'll do the rest and mail them anywhere overseas or stateside.

- Orders filled and mailed promptly.
- Pay Peoples low prices plus postage and packing after receipt.
- Your doctor stateside can order a refill by phone.
- Complete lines of National Brand and Peoples Brand health and beauty aids, sundries, and cosmetics are also available.

Over 80 years of reliable service to the diplomatic community.



2125 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 338-6337

VOLVO

Factory-Set Discounts
To Diplomats
Here and Abroad

U.S., U.K., European, or
Overseas Specs
Overseas and Domestic
Deliveries

KELLY COGHILL
DIPLOMATIC SALES SPECIALIST

Don Beyer Volvo

1231 W. Broad Street
Falls Church, VA 22046

(703) 237-5020

BUY SELL INVEST

Ed Joyce
Retired FSIO

LICENSED IN
VIRGINIA

**MOUNT
VERNON
REALTY**
INC

6257 Old Dominion Dr.
McLean, Va. 22101
Off: 821-8300
Res: 821-2109





EMBASSIES AMIDST TURMOIL

Two Ambassadors Tell Their Stories

Ambassador Marshall Green arrived in Jakarta, Indonesia, in the summer of 1965 during a period of momentous change in the archipelago (top picture). His advent saw the closing days of President Sukarno's power and the venting of tremendous anti-American feelings. Shortly thereafter, an abortive Communist coup was foiled by the military, destroying in almost one blow the Indonesian Communist Party, and initiating the ascent of General Suharto and the beginnings of a more pluralistic government. Because of Green's quiet diplomacy and policy of restraint, these changes allowed a more positive and balanced relationship between Indonesia and the United States to develop.

Six years later, on the other side of the world, Ambassador Nathaniel Davis came to Santiago, Chile, at a time of tre-

mendous change for this resource-rich South American nation (bottom picture). Salvador Allende had been voted into authority, but his Marxist-led rule was punctuated by unrest and violent demonstrations. In 1973, a military coup brought General Augusto Pinochet's junta to power. Davis's role was complicated by the contradictory policies emanating from Washington, but he, too, pursued policies of restraint that resulted in a lessening of anti-American feelings at that time.

In an oral history interview beginning on page 22, Marshall Green recalls an embassy under attack that nonetheless maintained its cool. Nathaniel Davis's memoir, beginning on page 28, brings the reader inside the embassy during the months before the coup, discussing policies toward Allende, and the controversial role of covert action during that period.



NUDGING THE TILLER: INDONESIA REVERSES COURSE

THIS PAST SPRING retired *Foreign Service* officer Robert Martens, political officer in Jakarta from 1963–66, sat down with Marshall Green to discuss the many issues that confronted the ambassador to Indonesia during a pivotal period. Green arrived in Jakarta in the summer of 1965. In September, an aborted Communist coup started the ascent of General Suharto. In March 1966, after three weeks of student riots, President Sukarno transferred authority to Suharto, and one year later the congress appointed Suharto acting president. In March 1968, it conferred full presidential powers on him and he was sworn in as president for a five-year term. His rule was continued in subsequent elections, and Suharto has now been in power for more than 20 years.

Green spent most of his career in Asia, including stints in Korea and Hong Kong during the 1960s. Before going to Jakarta he was deputy assistant secretary of state for the Far East and during Nixon's first term, assistant secretary for East Asia and the Pacific. He was later ambassador to Australia. This interview, conducted under the auspices of the Foreign Service History Center at George Washington University, is part of the center's oral history project.

Green began by pointing out: "It's the Foreign Service officers with whom I dealt, who were—and are—the core strength of American diplomacy. We talk about this period in Indonesia, and I say, 'I did this, I did that.' The fact of the matter is, we all acted together in a collegial way. I drew heavily on the advice and expertise of an excellent staff. I don't think there were any basic differences amongst us. . . . We always came out to the same policy conclusions. They were a distillation of our collective wisdom. We also had great support from our bureau in the State Department."

You arrived in Indonesia in July 1965. Can you tell me your impressions of Indonesia's political orientation at that time and the state of our relations?

In 1965, Indonesia was under the control

of President Sukarno, who in turn depended very much on the support of the Communist Party of Indonesia, also known as the PKI, which was the dominant party at that time. Sukarno had totally neglected the economic issues that were threatening his country; he was virtually at war with Malaysia; he was moving toward expropriating foreign companies including CalTex and Goodyear. The state of our relations at that time was obviously bad, and getting worse. We were reducing our presence and our aid programs. Nevertheless, we were trying to get along with Sukarno; he was the only effective force in Indonesia. But by 1964 our government was split on how far we should go in playing up to Sukarno or opposing him. Our ambassador at that time was Howard Jones, rather a saint of a man, who tended to see the best in all people. He had a close friendship with the president. Although he was quite aware of Sukarno's shortcomings, and the dangers he posed to our country, he believed very firmly that we should just ride things out, continuing our aid programs and keeping in close touch with the president, until such time as the tidal currents changed.

Sukarno hated to see Jones go; he saw me as a young, no-nonsense type and decided to make my life uncomfortable. My arrival was attended by signs all over the streets saying, "Green go home." Under one of those signs someone had scrawled in lipstick, ". . . and take me with you." So I always had faith, especially in the students, who were always friendly toward us and later played a major role in Sukarno's fall. At one later demonstration at the embassy, in fact, a student leader told me in confidence that they had to demonstrate against us, otherwise they would not be allowed to attack the Chinese embassy. We all laughed, and I asked them to go easy on the Chinese.

Shortly after arrival, I presented my letters at a big affair at the palace. Thousands of guests were there. I and my principal officers were attired in white business suits. We lined up



Marshall Green, new U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, presents his credentials to Sukarno at the palace in Jakarta.

facing Sukarno and some of his I05 cabinet members in the *Istana* ("palace"). I then read my carefully prepared remarks that had been cleared in Washington, in which I said all the nice things I credibly could about Indonesia and its president. I stepped back. Sukarno then stood forward and delivered a terrific blast against American foreign policy. On occasions like that diplomats often leave the room, but I decided that I had no choice but to stay. When he finished, the president introduced me to the leading guests, including the third-ranking person in the Foreign Office, a very beautiful woman who reputedly was one of his many former mistresses. I said to her, very loud into the microphone, so that everybody could hear, "Madam Supeni, it's a great pleasure to meet you. You know with that beautiful raven hair, and flashing eyes, and green sari, I really couldn't keep my mind on what the president was saying. Could you tell me what he said?" Well, there was a ghastly silence, and Sukarno, who was flattered by the attention I gave to his mistress, slapped his thigh and laughed, and everybody laughed.

When that occasion was over, my wife and I went back to the embassy residence. En route we could see large mobs of student demonstrators forming in the streets. They looked to me like Sukarno's "goon squad"—*betjak* ("pedicab") drivers and the like—a mass of them, with banners screaming, "Green go home."

The Indonesian chief of protocol who accompanied us was very nervous. All the gates were locked, but the mobs began to swarm around the residence. I knew that on occasions like these the best thing to do is to receive a delegation of the protesters. So we admitted about a dozen of them, and they came in, rather sheepishly. We sat around on our porch, and they delivered themselves of tirades against the United States. I told them that I would take their points into consideration and inform my government, and we said good-bye. Well, they left, but I was embarrassed the next day to read in all the government-controlled press that Ambassador Green was cowering and trembling under the sofa while students read their declaration. This was typical of the kind of humiliations to which the embassy was daily subjected.

As deputy assistant secretary in the East Asia Bureau prior to your assignment as ambassador, what were your impressions of U.S. policy toward Sukarno?

We had started to cut back on our military assistance in September 1963. The flow of Military Assistance Program materiel was cut out, and we confined our aid to items that would not in any way enhance Indonesia's military capabilities. However, the Indonesian army had many members in it who were our friends. We regarded it as the force that might, in the long run, save the day, and we did not like to cut back our contacts. So we continued to give civic-action support to the military, and we continued to receive Indonesian officers in our advanced schools. This turned out to be a very good investment.

Back in Washington there was a growing rift between those who thought we should do nothing to risk our relations with Jakarta and those who very much opposed the appeasement line. In 1965, we sent Ellsworth Bunker to take a hard look at the situation. [See "The Art of Diplomacy," October] He had a very successful trip. He said something which I had long believed—that we had too large a presence in Indonesia. He told Sukarno that it would be in his interest if we reduced our presence, presenting a smaller target to the strong nationalistic emotions of the Indonesians. He said he would be recommending that there be a reduction in the size of our embassy. Commensurate with the reduction in size, he added, we would have to cut back some of our aid programs. In other words, he diplomatically advanced the whole idea of reducing our presence, standing back a bit from events. That was the same policy approach I pursued when

Sukarno planned to set up a Nasakom government. But the coup misfired very badly. The Communists were actually in control of Jakarta for less than a day.

There was absolutely no embassy or CIA involvement in the coup in any shape or form.

I was named ambassador. I knew from Ambassador Jones's letters that it was not going to be a bed of roses.

The "Gestapu" coup occurred on September 30, 1965, not long after you arrived. Can you tell us what happened?

The most important thing to bear in mind is that Sukarno had been pressing for a "Nasakom" government, which was a blending of nationalism, communism, and religion. Sukarno was strongly supported by the Communist party, and his principal opponents were in the army. That doesn't mean the army was not obeying his commands; they were. But most army officers were anti-communists. At this time Sukarno's health was deteriorating. The PKI was clearly fearful that, if Sukarno should suddenly leave the scene, the army would crush them. Hence the PKI, probably with Sukarno's connivance, raised charges that the army was plotting to move against them. This was clearly the setting for the Communist-attempted coup. They pulled the coup on the 30th of September—actually in the early hours of October. They succeeded in killing five top generals but they missed Defense Minister Nasution and General Suharto. Circumstantial evidence indicates that as soon as the PKI coup succeeded, Sukarno planned to set up a Nasakom government. But the coup misfired very badly. The Communists were actually in control of Jakarta for less than a day.

There have been charges that the embassy or the CIA was involved, that the United States was behind General Suharto and the army. What is your response to that?

There was absolutely no embassy or CIA involvement in the coup in any shape or form. One of the first things I did when I learned about the failed coup was to caution Washington about claiming credit, or saying that we anticipated this thing. We didn't. It was a time for us to be quiet. But by keeping quiet, the event never received the notice in our media that it deserved.

I myself remember that it was very difficult to understand what was going on at that time. We thought at first that Sukarno might have been assassinated.

We were just as puzzled as everybody else. The night of the coup my New Zealand colleague and I had been out watching *wayang* ("shadow puppet") shows. Coming back I heard and saw nothing unusual in the streets. That was about one a.m. The actual attack took place at two or three. I came to the office at

eight the following morning. There were some strange military stationed along the street. Even our military attaché could not identify them. Then rumors began to spread. Was it a real coup d'état, or what? We were puzzled, just as everybody else was.

There have been many reports of the thousands or even hundreds of thousands of people who died in the cataclysm that followed. There are some who believe that the numbers killed were probably much less than reported, but nobody really knows. What is your view?

Probably the figure was far less than we reported. In November 1965 we were beginning to receive reports of mass killings. The reports were vague; there were no photographs. Most of them were hearsay. No one in our embassy saw any bodies, nor did we meet anybody who had seen the killings. When I was called back to Washington in February 1966, I knew they were going to ask me how many people were killed. We didn't have any idea, so I asked everybody on our country team to guess, and I averaged it out. When I was asked in Washington how many were killed I said, "We don't know, but if we had to make a wild guess based on rumors, it was probably around 300,000." Our guess leaked out, and the figure was the one that came to be generally accepted.

How were conditions in the embassy during the week or so after the coup attempt? How did people react? How did you react? How did the embassy begin to understand what was taking place?

We did come gradually to understand events, partly through our own officers who were fanning out, partly from radio announcements, partly from communications with other officials and our diplomatic colleagues. It soon became apparent that the coup was over. The military moved swiftly to rout the attackers but refrained from arresting Sukarno. He continued to be president, albeit weakened and suspect. It was a very uncertain situation and potentially explosive.

The biggest problem I faced with Washington was over the order to evacuate Americans. Flanked by my principal officers, I discussed the situation through the telecommunications system that had been set up. Washington asked for our assessment, and they then urged evacuation of all dependents. We said that none of the other diplomats were leaving, and, as a matter of fact, that it was almost impossible to move around or get to the airport. Since

the city was under curfew, it would be very difficult to carry out any kind of evacuation. The best thing, and the safest, was just to stay home and off the streets. The few we needed in the office went there.

But a very nervous Washington refused to accept our advice, and we were told to evacuate our dependents as soon as possible. Although we did not agree with that order, we had to carry it out. I remember calling all the Americans together saying this is "The Declaration of No-dependents." My wife was very upset by the order, and a lot of the senior officers felt that the wives were playing an important role in the embassy and should stay. Nevertheless, we did evacuate all dependents over the next several weeks.

The struggle between the two sides continued to go on for some six or seven months after the evacuation, and the embassy was severely attacked in March 1966. All the automobiles were burned in front. Molotov cocktails were thrown. Do you think the American community was in severe danger at any point?

It's hard to say. At the time I worried a great deal, because I was receiving threatening telephone calls. I remember getting a call at two a.m., saying that within hours they were going to attack and burn American homes. Here it was in the middle of the night—what could I do about it? Very little. We were under a strict curfew from six p.m. to six a.m. Senior officers would stay overnight at the chancery on a rotating basis. In fact, I spent every night at the chancery for over a month, sleeping under the conference table, although there wasn't any real fighting going on. We were there because we wanted to be in touch with Washington in case anything happened—and we did have some occasional attacks on the embassy.

A strong attack occurred shortly before the March 11 order that transferred power to Suharto. It was probably led by some of Sukarno's old goon squads. They managed to get into the embassy premises, and broke a lot of windows. They forced people upstairs into the second floor strong area, where we had iron grills. We set about furiously burning all our records. That was the most serious attack. The attack was ended by the student groups known as KAMMI and KAPPI. They had been demonstrating at the Foreign Office when they heard of the attack on our embassy. They came over and lifted the siege.

Shortly after the coup attempt, back in September 1965, the army, particularly Gen-



eral Suharto, began taking charge. However, Suharto didn't assume full control until March 1966, some seven months after the September 30 affair. Why did it take so long? Was this an army coup to overthrow Sukarno?

The very fact that it took the army so long to get power substantiates my view, that this was not an army coup. The army was caught by surprise, and getting rid of Sukarno took a long time. Suharto was probably number two in the pecking order. As defense minister and the principal leader of the military, General Nasution was number one. He was also well-known internationally as a brilliant military thinker and author. However, he failed on a number of occasions to stand up against Sukarno. It was already clear by January 1, 1966, that Suharto overshadowed Nasution as the leading military figure. I recall a palace meeting in December 1965, in which Suharto wanted Nasution to take certain steps, but Nasution backed away from confronting Sukarno. Suharto then stepped forward and took responsibility, effectively taking power away from the military leader. That was a turning point. Shortly after that encounter, Suharto managed to reverse Sukarno's order to take over all foreign companies. As I heard the story there was a meeting of the economic ministers in Bogor. Su-

Riot police keep Indonesian demonstrators, protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam and "racial oppression" from getting too close to the American embassy days before the September 20 coup attempt.

A strong attack occurred shortly before March 11. They managed to get into the embassy premises, and forced a lot of people upstairs. We set about furiously burning all our records.

I was impressed with Suharto from the beginning. He was rational, perceptive, balanced, and objective.

harto arrived in his helicopter and strode into the conference room. He rapped the table with his marshal's baton and said in the name of the armed forces that there was not going to be any taking over of foreign companies. With that he marched out. It was an event that has received little notice, but I think it was a very important one, in which Suharto really asserted his authority over Sukarno, the old order, and anybody who might have been vying for the leadership of the country.

How soon after the coup did we have contact with Suharto and the Indonesian military?

I don't believe I had any talk with Suharto until May 29, 1966, which was about nine months later. I did see him at public functions, and we'd nod at each other, but I'm talking about meeting with him privately. From the beginning we recognized the importance of establishing contacts at top authoritative levels of the government, which meant Suharto and Adam Malik, who was in effect the foreign minister, and eventually became vice president. But it was mainly through our army attaché, who was a personal friend of Suharto's aide, that I was able to carry on a relationship with the president. Meanwhile, I developed a relationship with Malik and saw him from time to time, almost always in a clandestine setting in someone's house. In these meetings I gained a very clear impression of what Suharto thought, and what Malik thought, and what they were proposing to do. It all made a great deal of sense to me. In fact I was impressed with Suharto from the beginning. He was rational, perceptive, balanced, and objective. He had no pretensions. He was a professional soldier and a man of the people. He was not what you would call a sophisticated thinker, but he was ready to listen to the right people.

Meanwhile we began having contacts with other people in the government, particularly in the economic ministries. Many of these people had advanced training in the United States, most of them at the University of California's Berkeley campus, so they were called the "Berkeley Mafia." Thus we began to discuss issues with officials who had effective responsibilities in this new government.

To help develop a relationship with the new government, one of the first things that I did was to hand over all 14 of the walkie-talkies that we had in the embassy. This provided additional internal security for him and his top officers, and showed that we recognized that their safety was important to the United States. Another way we assisted Indonesia, which was in

terrible financial straits, was through an arrangement to give the country sizable amounts of medicines, as permitted by law. We realized that they were not going to need all those medicines, of course, and that they might sell some of them to earn critically needed foreign exchange.

Could you tell us what your instructions or guidance was during the long period of dual authority, from September 30 to March 11?

It was a baffling situation to all of us. In Washington they really didn't know what to do. We talk about getting instructions, but who originated the instructions? Well, we did. Thus, after October 1965, we pretty much received the instructions that we had recommended to Washington.

Back in August 1965, after an attack on the Indian embassy, I sent a telegram to Secretary Dean Rusk, saying that I had just seen it in ruins. I warned that the same fate would befall us unless we issued an ultimatum. I requested instructions to tell Sukarno or Foreign Minister Subandrio that if there was one more act of depredation against any American citizen or American installation, we would require the Indonesians to withdraw their embassy and consular personnel from the United States. If this resulted in the breaking of relations, so be it.

When I told this to Subandrio—I can remember every minute of that conversation—I was amazed that he seemed almost relieved. He smiled. He seemed to untense. He picked up the phone and called the chief of police and said he should meet with me tomorrow and be responsive to my security requests. The next day I went to police headquarters, where I was greeted with an honor guard and band. Our flags were displayed. I sat down and presented nine or ten requests of what we needed for protection. The police made good on their promises, and even removed the guards around our embassy whom we knew to be pro-Communist. This all occurred three weeks before the Communist coup.

Maintaining a low profile and my ultimatum on security were two instructions initiated from the embassy. Later on, it was also our policy to keep in touch with Suharto and Malik and the new economic ministers. We offered limited assistance, but we were not going to get ourselves involved in any resumption of aid programs until we had a green light from the Indonesian government. Our dominant theme was to maintain a low profile and let things mature.



Young Indonesians carry anti-Communist placards as they demonstrate in front of the Communist party headquarters shortly after the abortive coup. These signs reflect the changing trend in the political scene, with youths now shouting, "Long live America."

When did our assistance program resume?

I clearly remember resisting pressures from Washington and from some of my diplomatic colleagues in early 1966 to resume aid. I learned from Suharto and Malik that they did not want U.S. assistance prematurely, probably because it might strengthen the Sukarnoists by giving them the kind of relief needed to pursue their efforts to return to power. Malik's message to me was, "Wait until the time is ripe. Then we will let you know what we want in the way of aid. And we are certainly going to need it."

We in the embassy recognized that when

we did resume aid, the Indonesians were likely to ask for a lot of things that we couldn't provide, which would get us off on the wrong foot. So, I worked out with Malik and with Washington what kind of package we could provide. We didn't have any aid appropriation money and therefore wouldn't be able to provide regular aid until the following year, but we did have authority under PL 480, the agricultural trade development and assistance act, to give certain emergency commodity supplies. And so we worked up a package of \$26 million of food aid, which Washington permitted me to divulge privately to Malik, on the grounds that Malik would then ask for it. When the vice president finally called me to his office, in late May 1966, to ask for aid, I offered him the pre-arranged package. He accepted it gratefully in a public gathering, and we got off to a good start.

Meanwhile, others in Washington and other capitals had been working to establish the intergovernmental donor group, in which the United States gave one third of Indonesia's essential economic aid, Japan one third, and others the remaining third. Later deliveries of fairly generous aid packages by these donor groups still were not enough to satisfy certain people around Suharto. He was always gracious enough, but there were people on his staff who made it very difficult for me to see him. In a very dismaying experience, I was informed by certain generals that Suharto was displeased with our economic aid and that it was going to be very difficult for me to see him unless we were more generous. Well, we were doing all we could and I deeply resented such tactics. Meanwhile, certain Indonesians were doing all kinds of end runs, going to Washington and badmouthing the embassy, but the State Department and Vice President Humphrey gave us solid backing, putting an end to these pressure tactics.

You know, in many ways, life was much more complicated during the days when we were coming back into a friendly relationship with Indonesia than in the days when we were being harassed. Our responsibilities were now much greater, and the issues we had to contend with were legion. But it was quite clear we were dealing with a new government that would be congenial to our foreign policy aims. It was a great moment in history in which Indonesia, the world's fifth most populous country, strategically located at the juncture of two continents and two oceans, reversed its course 180 degrees. Indonesia today is prospering and playing a constructive role in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the world. □

Life was much more complicated during the days when we were coming back into a friendly relationship with Indonesia. But it was quite clear we were dealing with a new government that would be congenial to our foreign policy aims.



Chile's new president, Salvador Allende, waves the nation's flag as he rides in his inaugural procession (above). Two years later, a woman stands before a Chilean flag as anti-Marxist demonstrators rally in protest against Allende (right).



MIXED SIGNALS

*Contradictory policies from Washington
bedeviled the ambassador to Chile
during a time of tumultuous change*

NATHANIEL DAVIS

WHEN I PRESENTED my credentials to Salvador Allende in October 1971, the leftist Chilean newspaper *Clarín* fantasized in print that my chiefs in Washington had instructed me as follows: "Smile whenever you can; be as ingratiating as possible; talk with the journalists. . . . The gringo followed instructions to the letter." There had been no such instructions, of course, but *Clarín* put its finger on a central characteristic of my mission to Chile as I conceived it. I did consciously try to maintain a modest presence and operate in a low key, relying more on private talks than resounding polemics. I sought to be a reasonably amiable presence on the Santiago scene, rather than a public rallying point for the opposition and a lightning rod for the extremists of the left. Clearly, the United States needed to cool it in Chile, and that is what I tried to do.

Chile was a unique place in 1971. Salvador Allende had promised that he would lead his country to socialism along a peaceful, constitutional "Chilean Way." His power had been gained in free elections, held in September 1970, and the country's transformation was to be achieved institutionally, without a dictatorship of the proletariat, and with minimum human cost. Richard Nixon, however, saw the Allende experiment as a second bridgehead, along with Castro's Cuba, for the spread of communism throughout the hemisphere. National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger felt the same way.

U.S. policy had two levels: it maintained a correct outer posture, but at the same time it applied unacknowledged pressure against the government. This second level called for support to opposition forces in order to limit Allende's ability to carry out policies contrary to perceived U.S. interests. On the first level, President Nixon in his 1971 foreign policy

report to the Congress stated: "Our bilateral policy is to keep open the lines of communication between the United States and Chile. . . . In short, we are prepared to have the kind of relationship with the Chilean government that it is prepared to have with us." On the second level, National Security Defense Memorandum 93, promulgated secretly in 1970, mandated cessation of new U.S. credits to Chile, sharp reductions in economic assistance, the denial of new guarantees of private investment, the use of American influence to constrict international financial credits to Chile, and other reductions in economic ties.

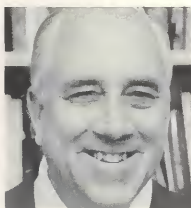
A difficulty with these inconsistent and somewhat contradictory policies was that they were hard to keep straight, hard to keep secret, and hard to make fully understood, even within the inner counsels of the American government. For example, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, chief of naval operations at the time, complained in his memoirs that "no one in Defense knew precisely what administration policy toward Chile was [in late 1970 and early 1971] because Henry Kissinger had made an elaborate point of not telling them." Zumwalt himself burned his fingers by encouraging Allende to invite the nuclear carrier U.S.S. *Enterprise* to visit Valparaiso in February 1971. Evidently such a visit was more of a public embrace than the White House desired, and Nixon and Kissinger thereupon repudiated Zumwalt, and rebuffed Allende.

Despite the difficulties which NSDM 93 produced, Henry Kissinger understood the danger of the United States' becoming an exposed foreign adversary. The two-level policy allowed many programs and contacts to continue. Educational and cultural exchanges, leader visits, travel of students and scholars, religious and missionary activities, news reporting and visits by journalists, and other such contacts went forward essentially undisturbed throughout the Allende time. American libraries, binational centers, and the teaching of English to Chileans continued. Contacts with Chilean media were easy and

Nathaniel Davis, ambassador to Chile from 1971-73, is Alexander and Adelide Hixson professor of humanities at Harvey Mudd College.

AN AMBASSADOR'S ROLE IS NEITHER

DIPLMACY IS A PROFESSION of communication, empathy, and perception, wherever its practitioners may reside. It is rooted in contacts and personal relationships. Eloquence, depth of knowledge, and force of personality do matter, both in representing one's country abroad and in interpreting realities to Washington.



But no matter how altruistic the motive or deep the conviction, a diplomat should not use his office to undermine or corrupt the president's policies. The only reservation

Every diplomat is by definition an instrument of the president, and an ambassador's actions cannot be disentangled from official government policy for many reasons. It is a continuing source of surprise to me how often high-ranking diplomats perceive their role as the articulation and pursuit of personal goals and views.

extensive. Binational boards for selecting grant recipients operated without hindrance.

The Peace Corps also continued operations throughout the Allende period, working in forestry science, animal husbandry, oceanography, and other technical fields. The tracking station of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration continued to track nonmilitary satellites and other vehicles without interruption or harassment. The American Institute for Free Labor Development carried on its Chilean program at a moderate level with no destructive political blowups.

AID conducted a shrinking activity but did not close down. The agency's most important continuing program, sustained through Allende's time, was the supply of nonfat dried milk to Chilean school children. The "half-liter" milk program was a major campaign plank of Allende's in 1970, and the United States maintained this program without interruption despite its obvious political utility to the government.

Salvador Allende himself wanted to keep lines of communication and cooperation open, and harbored little ill-will. Whatever his faults, he was essentially generous-minded and broad-spirited. Many of his colleagues were friendly and constructive in their attitudes. President Nixon and his national security adviser understood the advantages of an outwardly correct posture and a non-confrontational approach to programs like the Peace Corps and NASA, while State Department officers at all levels

is that an ambassador serves the president under law; the oath of office of any public servant is to the Constitution and the legal order, and only in that context is the officer committed to serve his constituted superiors.

Short of committing unlawful acts, however, an ambassador must faithfully advance the policy goals set by the president. A Foreign Service officer is trained to do this and, if one believes in professional diplomacy, it becomes necessary to accept this relationship and to be prepared to carry out policies with which one may not agree. In the process, the diplomat inevitably accepts a responsibility for both personal actions and U.S. policies. If the Foreign Service officer's disagreement with policy is profound and all-pervasive, then the appropriate recourse is to resign one's office. I did not resign as ambassador to Chile and, consequently I share responsibility for U.S. policy there during my incumbency.

Having acknowledged the inseparability of policy and ambassadorial action, I suggest that a diplomat still should be judged on the basis of his personal effectiveness in car-

were laboring to keep avenues of modest cooperation open. All these programs had my support and consistent advocacy. I also acted vigorously to ensure that programs and personnel presented as few targets as possible for those activists in the Chilean government and left-extremist parties who were looking for opportunities to roll up American activities and the American presence in Chile.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT inspectors who visited Santiago in early 1973 commented that "this is a tightly organized embassy in which the ambassador's policy and operational control over all U.S. agencies is about as complete as it ever can get." In light of subsequent controversy, and the accusations of coup plotting and other improper embassy activities, it was perhaps just as well that I asserted strong control over all elements of the mission. I took vigorous measures to ensure that there was no spirit of adventurism emanating from the embassy and its staff. My objective was a circumspect mission.

Within the embassy, there were substantial differences in outlook. Several officers believed to the virtual end that the political and economic slide in the country would not result in a generalized crisis. Others, including me, perceived a more fundamental deterioration, which would ultimately lead to a confrontation. I did not suppress these dissenting views,

COAT-HOLDER NOR HOTELIER

rying out the president's policies. Attitude also plays a big role in the effectiveness of an ambassador. I personally liked Salvador Allende and most of the key figures around him—a great deal better, in fact, than Richard Nixon or Henry Kissinger did. This was probably lucky. If one likes people or dislikes them, they generally know it. All too many diplomats, many of them professionals who should know better, think that they can denigrate and even detest the host country, its leaders, and its people and still be effective. A president of the United States may be able to work in spite of personal antipathy, but an ambassador generally cannot.

There are also those who think that an ambassador's background, personal qualities, skills, language competency, contacts, and judgment do not really matter any more, in Chile, or elsewhere. They seem to believe that in the current era of rapid communications and instant visits, the chief of an American diplomatic mission has sunk into the role of hotelier, plane-greeter, message-deliverer, and coat-holder. Having experienced the pro-

cess at both ends, I continue to believe that an ambassador's role is crucial, for better or for worse. After all, somebody has to try to understand what is going on in the country in question and make wise policy recommendations to the harassed officials back home.

A never-ceasing dialogue over policy goes on between an embassy and Washington. Effective reporting and analysis shape Washington's understanding of the reality with which it is dealing. In fact, an ambassador and his embassy colleagues speak from a pivotal vantage point because they are on the spot, reporting and interpreting reality. The ambassador's recommendations on a controversial issue almost always strike a divided, not unified, Washington policy community, and the weight of his opinion may tip the balance. Somebody must also act in the foreign capital between assistant secretaries' visits. Look around—for good or for ill, strong-minded U.S. ambassadors are cutting wide swaths today in embassies on all five continents.

—NATHANIEL DAVIS

but forwarded them to Washington with clear identification of their personal nature and of embassy differences.

Our perception of events mattered in Washington. In a funny, backward way, the advocates of more decisive interventionist steps tended to become quiescent, and certainly more cautious, whenever the signs multiplied that a crisis and showdown were coming, even without drastic action on our part. I did not tailor reporting to hush the madcaps on the Potomac, but I did make sure that the dynamic of Chilean events was clearly presented.

And Salvador Allende, referring to an "invisible blockade" in his celebrated speech to the U.N. General Assembly in December 1972, made sure the Chilean side of events was presented. The president's eloquence and his perception of the secret U.S. strategy contained in NSDM 93 was such that one might almost think he had read the document. It was not really an economic blockade, however, but more accurately a largely unsuccessful credit squeeze that the U.S. was promoting. Except for the Kennecott Copper Corporation's less-than-effective copper boycott, there were no embargoes. By and large, Chile could buy everything it could pay for. But there was no question that the Nixon administration did not wish to extend new loans, nor acquiesce in international lending institutions' doing so. U.S. private banks reduced and finally virtually discontinued the extension of new loans to Chile. However, Chile had declared a moratorium

on the payment of interest and principal on most of its foreign debt, and the balance between U.S. malevolence and Chile's bad credit rating is hard to measure as one looks for the cause of its difficulties. Moreover, Chile received a steady stream of credit from other Latin American countries, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the U.S.S.R., and other sources. Chile's indebtedness increased by almost \$2 billion during the three years Allende's government was in power, and it received more economic help and promises of help than any previous government in Santiago in an equivalent period. By September 1973, Chile had close to the highest per capita debt of any country in the world.

Chilean nationalization policy was another source of bitter dispute. The Allende government assumed ownership of the holdings in Chile of the great American copper companies, Kennecott and Anaconda, determining that it would pay no more compensation for these mines. Chile also intervened in the case of the Chilean Telephone Company, a subsidiary of ITT, and seized operational and financial control of this enterprise and a number of smaller American firms.

By the time I arrived in Chile, more than a year after the election, there was not the slightest chance of a resolution of these disputes. The objective of U.S. action had to be damage-limitation, if it was not to be revenge or stalemate. In a number of Latin American countries, cooperative relationships had become

U.S. policy maintained a correct outer posture, but at the same time it applied unacknowledged pressure against the government.

Neither the Church Committee, with its access to the most secret records, nor any investigators in the period since 1975, has produced evidence of U.S. complicity in the plotting or execution of the coup.

distorted and nationalization disputes all-absorbing. I was most anxious to prevent the nationalization dispute from propelling the U.S.-Chilean relationship onto the rocks. At several crucial points I think I had a considerable personal influence in this regard and helped to minimize the likelihood of a break in relations. In April 1972, I had a role in defusing Allende's ill-timed announcement of plans to expropriate ITT's holding. Six months later, I convinced the Foreign Ministry to withdraw a note charging U.S. "economic aggression." Both countries were subsequently able to initiate more constructive bilateral talks on the nationalization issue. We never pushed the dispute beyond the point of no return. As events ultimately unfolded, the post-coup Pinochet regime did compensate the U.S. copper companies and ITT.

As far as military policy was concerned, I supported the continuance of military cooperation between the countries while endeavoring to ensure at the same time that our MIL-GROUP representatives stopped short of political involvement of any kind. They had to walk a narrow path in maintaining collaborative programs and avoiding coup plotting. Accusations that the embassy, under my direction, engaged in the plotting which led to the toppling of the Allende regime, in my view, have been proven false. The verdict is straightforward, if less than universally believed. The Forty Committee, a regularly constituted covert-action oversight committee, never authorized CIA involvement in coup plotting. I instructed all members of the embassy staff to stay clear of that form of activity and, to the best of my knowledge, they did. In 1974, the Church Committee examined the evidence, with access granted to top-secret CIA, State Department, Pentagon, and White House documents. "Was the United States directly involved, covertly, in the 1973 coup in Chile? The committee has found no evidence that it was," it concluded.

The qualification "directly" is troublesome. The Church Committee report explains, however, that the qualification refers to three reservations the committee and its staff had. The first was a suspicion that Chilean military officers who were aware of CIA contacts with coup plotters in 1970 would assume they had U.S. support in 1973. The CIA was quite successful in concealing its contacts with Chilean military plotters in 1970, however, and I know of no evidence that the plotters of 1973 were aware of these actions. In point of fact, the leaders of the plot decided, in a considered and deliberate decision, not to consult U.S. representatives. The Church Committee's

second reservation was that President Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and other key Washington figures nurtured an ill-disguised hostility to Salvador Allende. They felt that this attitude might have left the plotters with a sense that the U.S. government supported their cause. This may have been true, but animosity toward Allende is not in itself complicity in the plot against him. If antipathy can be equated with guilt, culpability in international politics could be found almost everywhere.

Third, the committee knew that the CIA had penetrated the plot well enough to be able to report on its development with considerable accuracy. Therefore, it felt that some "signals" must have been given to the plotters. This line of reasoning was essentially speculative, and not based on any evidence that the intelligence-gathering actually transmitted signals of support. It constitutes an assertion that there cannot be an effective distinction between intelligence collection and covert action. In any case, neither the Church Committee, with its access to the most secret and highly sensitive U.S. government records, nor any investigators in the period of more than a decade since 1975, has produced a single piece of evidence of U.S. complicity in the plotting or execution of the coup.

THE QUESTION OF COVERT action in Chile has become central to any judgment of U.S. policy and action there and to an evaluation of the ambassadorial role. In fact, CIA-conducted activities can be divided into three phases: programs in 1970, before my arrival as ambassador; actions just prior to the September 1973 coup; and activities in between. In September 1970, President Nixon instructed CIA Director Richard Helms to mount a clandestine coup attempt in Chile, which came to be known as "Track II." He directed Helms to keep this effort secret from the secretaries of State and Defense, and from the ambassador to Chile, Edward Korry. The CIA station in Santiago and the Army attaché there, working behind the ambassador's back, passed money and arms to Chilean military plotters, and attempted to engineer the abduction of the commander-in-chief of the Chilean army, General Rene Schneider. Later, in an action related to the CIA-supported plan but not part of it, another Chilean group of plotters tried to kidnap the general and mortally wounded him in the ensuing shoot-out.

Under presidential order, the CIA action was carried out behind the ambassador's back. If the ambassador has an obligation to serve

the president faithfully, I think that a reciprocal obligation exists. The president should repose sufficient confidence in the ambassador to make his policies clear and to support the ambassador in carrying them out. In the case of Track II, Nixon and Kissinger left Korry blind, and his activities were short-circuited. When a president works behind the back of his own ambassador, it degrades the ambassador's duty and ability to be the intelligent instrument of the White House. An ambassador cannot be an effective agent for policies if he is not told about them, and it certainly undermines his authority if members of the ambassador's mission are set to working against him. The ambassador should stand in the same relationship to U.S. agency representatives abroad as the president himself stands with respect to his cabinet officers.

When the revelations about CIA activities in Chile came to public knowledge in 1974, a bill was introduced in Congress designed to ensure that the ambassador's right and responsibility to lead his mission was safeguarded in the future. It stated that he should have "full responsibility for the direction, coordination, and supervision of all U.S. government offices and employees in the country." The CIA leadership of 1974 was not pleased with this new development; neither was Henry Kissinger. In the negotiations between CIA representatives and Congress, a key phrase was introduced at the beginning of the bill: "Under the direction of the president." After passage, this phrase was interpreted by the CIA, with Kissinger's support, as meaning that the language of the new law would not become operative until the president issued implementing instructions. This was not done for more than a year, thereby effectively blocking the applicability of the law. The CIA also took the position that the agency's statutory responsibility to protect intelligence sources and methods created a conflict of laws. In 1976, with Senate prodding, implementing instructions were finally issued. This legislation, strengthening the ambassador's authority and responsibility for the CIA and other U.S. agencies abroad, was a direct legacy of what happened in Chile.

A number of ambassadors have told me over the years that they had expressed the preference to their CIA station chiefs not to be told of dirty tricks and the nitty-gritty details of covert operations. This attitude has always struck me as a dereliction of duty, quite aside from the fact that the ambassador will be held accountable for Agency activities, regardless of attempts on his part to preserve "plausible deniability." Most ambassadors who have taken



Salvador Allende addresses the U.N. General Assembly in 1972. In his speech he accused ITT of "attempting to bring about civil war in my country."

this position have been political appointees, and the need for experience, determination, alertness, and follow-through in establishing and maintaining control over CIA operations is an additional argument in favor of appointing experienced professionals to sensitive ambassadorial posts. However, my non-career predecessor was acute enough to suspect what was going on with Track II, and he ordered an investigation of the situation. But, fortified by a direct presidential order, the embassy officers conducting the covert actions apparently stonewalled the efforts of the top embassy leadership to get at the truth.

In 1970, there were additional undercover programs that were—unlike Track II—subject to consultation with the ambassador and the State and Defense departments. These proposals had the objective of blocking Allende's runoff election in the Chilean Congress in October 1970, seven weeks after the president had won a plurality, but not a majority, of the popular vote. The Forty Committee went so far as to authorize bribing Chilean congressmen to vote against Allende, but Korry says he vetoed that idea. Nonetheless, a scare campaign does seem to have been mounted at that time. The U.S. government also considered various elaborate strategies for circumventing the Chilean constitutional provision that prevented outgoing-president Eduardo Frei from succeeding himself. All of these ideas came to naught, as did

The arguments about U.S. motivations, and the necessity and ethics of financing Allende's opposition, reverberate to this day.

ITT's efforts to work out a cooperative program with the CIA to block Allende's confirmation.

These efforts were a total failure. When they ultimately were leaked or were made public by the Church Committee, the result was damaging to the U.S. government, the Christian Democrats, and other democratic forces in Chile. With the possible exception of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, these clandestine efforts have virtually no defenders.

THE FOREGOING IS PROLOGUE to a discussion of covert operations during my own tenure. By the time I came to Chile in October 1971, CIA operations behind the ambassador's back had faded into a few remnants. [For more specifics, see my book *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende*, Cornell University Press, pages 307-316.] The first information of any kind given to me about Agency operations was during my consultations in the State Department in August 1971, some weeks after my nomination had been formally transmitted to the Senate. By the time I was told about covert operations—even the less sensitive ones—it was a bit late for me to back out of the appointment. I am not suggesting that I would have. For a professional, going where ordered is part of the job, accepting the down-side of an assignment part of being in the Foreign Service. But what about distinguished private citizens recruited for diplomatic service? After Chile, I served as director general of the Foreign Service and tendered offers of ambassadorships to at least a hundred professionals and private citizens. In many cases I, myself, did not know the full nature of covert operations in the country in question, and I certainly did not make sure the candidate fully understood his exposure. But not one of these candidates—professional or otherwise—came back to me with a request to be fully briefed on covert programs before making a decision on whether to accept the nomination. Perhaps it shows that an ambassadorship still carries lustre, and we fallible mortals do not always reach out to confront tomorrow's moral choices.

Covert action in the period between 1970 and 1973, when I was ambassador, is explained in detail in the Church Committee report. In essence, the U.S. funded opposition parties and the conservative media with about \$2 million a year, or a little more than \$6 million in total. The parties that benefitted were the Christian Democrats, the National Party, and smaller Radical splinters. Santiago's dominant independent

newspaper, *El Mercurio*, was the principal recipient in the media. Several private sector organizations received smaller amounts of money, mostly to support voter-turnout campaigns.

While these facts are clear enough, the arguments about U.S. motivations, and the necessity and ethics of financing Allende's opposition, reverberate to this day. First, the purpose of financial aid to the opposition was to keep the democratic, non-Marxist forces in Chile afloat, not to destabilize and sink the Allende government part way through its term. Official policy on this question was unvarying throughout my time in Santiago, even in the most privileged and confidential policy documents. This is not to deny that some of the principal actors on the Washington scene, including both the president and his national security adviser, contemplated more radical measures to rid the hemisphere of Allende. Whatever inclinations there may have been in this regard, however, they were never turned into policy.

Then there is the question of the redundancy, as some have claimed, of aiding the opposition in order for it to survive. I believe it is unlikely that the opposition would have stayed afloat without our help. The Allende government was systematically using the power of the state to drive it, financially and economically, into the ground. There were times when the government came very close to succeeding, not only with respect to the democratic parties of the opposition, but also in the case of the media, and the suppliers to them of newsprint and other essential goods and services. At the same time, the government parties were receiving subventions from the Soviet Union and other Marxist regimes and were skimming off money from foreign trade and other government operations to finance their own political activities.

None of the foregoing, taken by itself, makes covert support to the Chilean opposition ethical. I greatly respect those who have concluded that covert operations abroad are a mistake in any and all situations. There are powerful arguments to be made in support of this position, and they may be right. However, I had no such choice when I became ambassador to Chile, as covert funding of Chilean political parties had been going on for the better part of a decade. It is also true that the abrupt cessation of such an activity can be political intervention of an opposite nature, with profound and possibly disastrous consequences. There are those who say, in fact, that this is what happened when President Carter ended the covert funding of the mullahs in Iran, thereby



consolidating Khomeini's following and accelerating the fall of the Shah. The dynamic force of withdrawn support can be as real as an initial extension of support.

A STUDY OF HISTORY shows that arguments against covert action are not consistently applied. Recently, U.S. liberals who opposed covert action in Chile have applauded concealed interventionist acts contributing to the ouster of President Duvalier in Haiti and President Marcos in the Philippines—grudgingly perhaps, and with cries of “too late,” but not with consistent opposition, in principle, to the intromission of influence in the political affairs of another state. If we regard all concealed or covert interventions as truly unethical and inadmissible, we should be consistent about it.

An additional aspect of covert action in Chile relates to actions that were proposed, but *not* taken. There were a number of them, but the two most important related to proposals to lend covert support to the strikes by Chilean truckers, professional people, shopkeepers, and others which brought the country to the brink of collapse both in October 1972 and in the pre-coup period in 1973. The CIA in Santiago favored financial support to the striking truckers, and I opposed it. In Senate testimony, one of the Church Committee's senior staff investigators commented, “Nathaniel Davis had strenuously objected to any funding of the strikers. . . . There's no question that the strikers were creating a climate in which a military coup appeared to be inevitable.” At about the same time, according to the Church Committee report, the Forty Committee “authorized support for private-sector groups, but with dis-

bursement contingent on the agreement of the ambassador and the State Department. That agreement was not forthcoming. . . .” So there you have it.

I wish I could point to a great array of positive accomplishments in Chile, but the real achievements seem more negative than otherwise. Bad things avoided rather than marvelous things achieved. The removal of an elected Marxist president fails to stir pride. I believe that the peaceful, constitutional, democratic road to socialism should be kept open, not blocked forever. Socialism may not be the best or even a good way to order a society's affairs, but the ability of free citizens to choose socialism, or capitalism, or some other economic system, is beyond price. For these reasons I believe that the ending of Allende's “Chilean Way” was a tragedy, not a triumph.

I take satisfaction that Chile did not become another Cuba, with U.S. economic sanctions and military hostility driving the country into an ever-tighter Soviet embrace. I am happy that nationalization disputes did not follow the Peruvian road of the mid-1960s, the Mexican road, earlier, or the road followed in so many other Latin countries. I am also gratified that we were less than eager to recognize the Chilean junta after the coup. I did not act alone in these matters, but I was on what I believe was the right side and kept open the lines of communication and influenced the outcome. I was fortunate to have been an actor in one of the great dramas of our time. □

Adapted with permission from Ambassadors and Foreign Policy: The Influence of Individuals on U.S.-Latin America Policy. Edited by Neale Ronning and Albert P. Vannucci. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1987.

Marxist and anti-Marxist youngsters clash in downtown Santiago in late 1971.

An African Christmas

IT WAS TO BE our first Christmas in our first Foreign Service post. Just above the equator in west Africa, Ghana was hot and steamy. It felt far from Wisconsin's snowy fields and small, white churches with resolute steeples set against a cold, dark sky. Then I reminded myself that the very first Christmas was in a land where palm trees stood over a little stable and its creche.

Christmas should be in one's heart, I told myself, as I set to work making our holiday cards. I folded the yellow construction paper into thirds. With a black crayon I drew three simple crowns on the top flap. I had chosen the color to go with the red, green, and gold of Ghana's new flag, and under the three crowns I wrote, "One of the wisemen was black." Now that we lived in Africa, I was often the only white face in the cathedral. Kind black faces helped me find the place in the hymn book. Certainly Balthazar played an important part in the Christmas story.

Nothing seemed very much like Christmas. People had parties in gardens that were lit with strings of colored lights all year long. There were no real pine trees to trim; I planned to use a big tree branch, dried and painted white, and string it with tiny white lights. But it didn't feel like Christmas. Something was missing.

When we learned that no one had planned a community Christian festi-

Mary Thomas Sargent, a member of the AAFSW Writers Group, is now working on her second book.

*Far from home,
the Christmas story
comes alive*

MARY THOMAS SARGENT

vity, my husband and I decided to have a pageant in our big back yard. We had no connection with the school, but we put out the word in the embassy bulletin: "Any child who would like to be in a Christmas Nativity pageant, come to our house on Saturday."

Come they did, 20 or 30 children. I perched on the edge of the porch looking down into their excited faces as they sat on the grass waiting to hear the plan. "This is going to be a very easy pageant. No one will have to worry about learning lines. We all know the Christmas story very well. We'll have the carols played on a tape recorder. We'll wear costumes and let the carols tell the story. All the little girls will be angels, all the little boys shepherds, and a few of the older children carolers. Then we will need Mary and Joseph, the wisemen, and some innkeepers to shake their heads to say, "No room."

Everyone liked the idea. One boy knew of someone who might lend us a real donkey. Wonderful! Even in Wisconsin we never had a real donkey. There were not many big boys in this group of grade school children. After choosing Joseph, the innkeepers, and the carolers, we had only two wisemen. Someone suggested Benji. "He's

ten, and he's tall." I agreed to call and ask his mother. We set our only rehearsal for the day before the performance. They were to ask their parents to provide costumes.

My husband, Sarge, set about recording the carols in the proper order. Friends help make sit-upons with layers of newspapers stapled into cushions for the guests who would be seated on the ground. We would cordon off a grassy aisle with clothesline tied to posts from the croquet set. When I reported to Sarge that President Nkrumah had three real camels in the field next to his office at Flagstaff House, his only comment was "Don't you dare."

The pageant was beginning to take shape. We borrowed a wooden manger from the church and taped a great tinsel star and candle behind the crib, which would be filled with straw.

The rehearsal went very well. Mary had a white silk Japanese kimono with a pale blue sash. The angels by now were a real throng swelled to a heavenly host—little four- and five-year-olds brought their friends to join in because "Mrs. Sargent won't mind." They would wear their own sheets and halos of aluminum foil.

Then came a phone call from friends who offered to let their two-week-old baby appear in the pageant. (What a wonderful way to make your first public appearance!) We decided not to tell the children about the baby, just in case.

We made a row of footlights with candles set into deep glasses; between



Woodcut by Magda French

them we put short fat bouquets of red cannas in peanut butter jars. We had a big songbook made of cardboard and a lantern for the carolers to hold. We had borrowed the guitar, baked the sugar cookies, and prepared the red punch for the reception. All was ready.

Dusk falls quickly near the equator, so by the time the guests were assembled on the lawn, it was dark. The red and white footlights twinkled in a wide arc dividing the grassy stage from the audience, which was much larger than we had expected. Lots of our African neighbors had come, even the bishop in what our servant called "his long white dress."

The crowd hushed as the music began. Sarge lay on the flat roof-top with the tape recorder and the big flashlights. *God Rest Ye Merry Gentlemen* filled the air. Down the aisle came our carolers, wearing leotards and tunics made from pillow cases, smiling to greet our guests, and trooping onto the stage to serenade the crowd. Then, led by our little drummer boy with my hat box taped to look like a drum, they went out through the whispering banana trees at the back of the garden, marching happily to *I Played on my Drum, Rum Ti Tum, Tum*.

Oh Little Town of Bethlehem saw Joseph leading the donkey as it carried Mary between the grim faced inkeepers who shook their heads "No." There was so much to see that few noticed as we put the real baby into the manger and lit the candle above his head. The star glittered and shone down on the sleeping child. Mary knelt in a saintly pose; Joseph looked careful and caring. By now our angels were banked on our small bleachers made of foot lockers, each holding a tiny kerosene fairy light under her chin.

Angels We have Heard on High—the spotlights found the shepherds lying

on the grass off to one side. *We Three Kings of Orient Are*—down the aisle came our wisemen, magnificent in their borrowed bathrobes, walking carefully under their cardboard crowns. One crown was painted red and gold with sharp points like tongues of fire. Another had a design of emerald green, and the third was silver with bands that arched up to the center over a puffy velvet cushion of dark blue. The frankincense, in a tiny gold pitcher, the myrrh, in a small wooden casket, and the gold, trailing in beaded strings from a jewelry box lined with shiny gold paper, were carried with reverence as the king knelt by the crib.

At my signal the little angels were to climb down from their places on the trunks, being careful of their sheets and tiny fairy lights, and then to walk quietly over to adore the baby, and to kneel to have a good look. They then were to come off the stage and down the aisle, far enough apart so as not to trip on the sheet ahead of them.

They did not forget. The first angel, trailing her sheet like "clouds of glory" walked slowly to the manger. Standing behind the candle-stand, she looked down as the real baby awakened and moved its tiny starlike hands in the candle's glow. The awe on the small angel's face was real. She didn't make a sound, but turned and motioned for the other angels. Her pantomime was clear. "Come, look, see, and adore."

DOWN THEY ALL trailed silently, clutching their sheets, their aluminum halos askew, their faces shining above their lamps. They fluttered like gentle white butterflies around the crib, marveling, pointing, and smiling with joy at their discovery. Like a Grecian frieze, they stood so long and so

still that finally I had to go on the stage and take them by the hand to lead them out down the aisle, just as the happy shepherd children came running toward the stage with their gifts for the Christ Child.

I had said to them, "Just bring a gift for the Baby Jesus," and they had. They had selected the gifts themselves. One carried a huge bouquet of white phlox. He carried it tightly against his brown terry robe, the colored streamers blowing. The next boy held a red tin box of candy, and the child who followed, trotting carefully in his beach thongs laced to his knees, brought a bright yellow toy dump truck. Every boy had his special present. The last little shepherd, his head draped with a tied tablecloth, carried a large wooden cage. It looked as if he and his father had made it. In the cage was a real, softly cooing, white dove.

No wonder the audience was so quiet. We were all dealing with big lumps in our throats; our heads were full of nostalgic thoughts and memories; our eyes were touched with tears.

Then across the African garden came the small steady voice of nine-year-old Peter reading, "And on this Christmas night, when we are all so far from home, bless us, dear Lord, and all who are dear to us but far away. Bind us all together in thy love. Amen."

Oh Come All Ye Faithful—The beloved carol broke the spell as the cast came down the aisle, Joseph leading the donkey, and Mary carrying the baby, followed by the three kings. Benji had agreed to be our third king. One of the children said to me later at the party, "Wasn't it good that we thought of Benji. The Bible story says that one of the wisemen was black."

Here, far from home, I realized our Christmas pageant had really been perfect. □

The Denial Defense: Coping with Stress

By PATRICIA WEBBINK, *Psychologist*

The Foreign Service family posted abroad has unique opportunities for cultural enrichment, new experiences, and shared enjoyment. Many find the challenge of living in another country contributes to developing strong, supportive internal ties and have little trouble in coping with this peripatetic life. However, some find their new lifestyles come at a great cost to themselves and to the cohesiveness of the family.

The pressures of a Foreign Service career are well-known: long hours, frequent moves, strange cultures, the perception of being judged not as an individual but as a representative of a foreign country. And more and more frequently, there is the possibility of physical danger. For personnel who have families with them, concerns about the quality of their children's education, friendships, and adjustment as they encounter constant changes add to normal family problems.

The most overwhelming challenge is the necessity to assimilate a wholly new environment. Difficulties in adjustment can result in emotional misery as well as potentially embarrassing and sometimes serious violations of a country's customs. A lack of understanding of the society may keep family members isolated in American communities and cut off from the culture around them. The advent of terrorism and widespread anti-Americanism makes adjustment more difficult, since security measures can limit a family's mobility and freedom of choice, separating them from the local culture and people.

Then, as soon as families begin to feel comfortable, they have to move on again. Coming back to the United States can be as difficult as moving to a new country, with reverse culture shock often occurring. Returnees may feel like strangers in their own country. Adolescents are usually the primary sufferers; the returning teen may be excluded from peer groups that tend to ridicule and ignore anyone different.

Family members have additional problems in dealing with the ambiguity of their undefined role as a spouse or child of a diplomat. They may feel that they are treated as though their value depends not on who they are, but on how well they present themselves to others as the "wife of" or "son/daughter of" the diplomat. The danger here

is the potential loss of the spouse's identity and the distorted development of the son's or daughter's sense of self.

In the not-too-distant past, Foreign Service spouses—primarily wives—would dedicate themselves to furthering their husbands' careers. Today, many have their own careers but find that the laws of the host country prohibit them from working. This factor, combined with the short tours of duty, leaves the spouse with little or no chance for career development. This "spouse problem" is so severe that it may change the face of the Foreign Service itself, as increasingly more posts are filled by unmarried professionals or personnel whose spouses have chosen to stay at home. This solution splits families and presents problems of its own.

The career demands of Foreign Service personnel can lead to insulated, numbed, and aborted personal interactions within the family. Although only a very small number return home for mental-health reasons, countless others remain in their posts abroad with one or more members suffering psychologically. When these families return, they leave behind the cultural difficulties but bring their interpersonal problems home.

In treating Foreign Service members and their families, I have noted that they tend to create defensive patterns of denial and repression that allow them to function despite feelings of rootlessness, alienation, inadequacy, and fear. When these defense mechanisms are operating, people do not face reality. They minimize a problem or simply deny that it exists. Many of the pressures of the Foreign Service environment contribute to the development of denial and repression. Like physicians in an emergency room, personnel become hardened to the unfortunate and sometimes catastrophic conditions of others. They are required to respond calmly to often disorienting, distressing, and even terrorizing elements in their lives. To survive, they must ignore or deny the violence around them in order to function. Some refer to this denial as "conditions to which you are willing to adjust." They are aware of the danger, but refuse to worry about it or assume it could not happen to them. Another part of the problem is a self-image as a bright, capable individual who deals decisively with issues of state and the problems of others. The employee may refuse to admit that someone who functions adequately at work may be incapable of handling his or her problems at home.

The selection process in the Foreign Service favors the "bright, capable" individual who responds "appropriately" to pressures. Strong intellectual capacities are admired more than warm interpersonal skills. Detachment is valued over empathy. With work pressures reinforcing their natural tendency toward detachment, some employees become accustomed to denying their feelings. Given the frequency with which this mechanism is associated with Foreign Service professionals, a provocative question arises: Are these personnel on the job because their defenses make them more suited for it, or does the job itself develop denial?

Although an employee can continue to work while denying or repressing difficulties, he or she will remain in a state of inner conflict and stress. In the long run, the results are debilitating. Feelings that are chronically ignored eventually either push to the



Dr. Patricia Webbink

surface in disruptive ways or lead to lives of self-alienation. Employees may become irritable, compulsive overeaters, drug abusers, insomniacs, workaholics, or develop psychosomatic complaints. Denial of one's own feelings also reduces the capacity to understand those of others. Foreign Service employees who harden themselves to cope with the demands of their jobs may become hardened in all aspects of their lives. They begin to consider the problems of family and friends unimportant compared with career demands. Spouses and children may feel they are "not heard," "don't matter," or are "secondary." In children, even serious psychological symptoms can be largely unrecognized or dismissed simply as "growing pains."

Insensitive to the true needs of their spouses, children, and friends, some Foreign Service employees shut themselves off from any real intimacy. The situation with its shallow personal interaction and emotional deprivation makes the employee ripe for burn-out. Eventually, they and their family members become isolated from each

other. The unit loses its ability to nurture and provide loving support and intimacy. One teenager who had been raped during a tour abroad repressed the incident for years because she felt her parents were cold and unsupportive. Without communication and intimacy, problems with drugs, including alcohol, can easily go unrecognized and unresolved. The deaths of eight American youngsters from heroin overdoses in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1972 offered a dramatic example of the potential danger. The more common occurrence is teenage addiction or habituation to drugs that are controlled in the United States but sold openly overseas.

Problems of Foreign Service family life can be so severe that they may result in divorce, extended family separation, and serious mental illness. The State Department has taken steps to respond to these concerns—creating the Family Liaison Office and the Employee Consultation Service. FLO's Spouse Employment Bank assists overseas job-hunters, yet careers will continue to suffer because of the lack of continuity. The Employee Consultation Service is available for problem assessment, brief counseling, crisis intervention, and referral services. A professional staff of three clinical social workers will help with any problems that affect an employee's personal well-being and job performance. The free, confidential service can provide support to persons experiencing re-entry concerns, job stress, depression, marital problems, parent-child problems, and school adjustment problems. It will assist in arranging educational, psychological, and psychiatric evaluations for children.

Foreign Service families who will live abroad must be prepared for the pressures. The Foreign Service Institute's Overseas Briefing Center provides information about posts and training for families preparing for an overseas assignment. The seminars cover logistical planning, as well as intercultural communication, career planning, community skills and re-entry programs. Unfortunately, many families do not use this service; families need to take advantage of such resources to minimize problems. Awareness of the pressures as well as the potential benefits of cultural transitions can help to strengthen the family unit, rather than weaken it.

People who know themselves and do not fear their thoughts and feelings are more open-minded and able to communicate more clearly. They can see all sides of each issue and be objective in a way that allows for a broad view of the situation, while also retaining the capacity to relate to the needs of others. Foreign Service employees need to be aware of how their job environment is affecting other areas of their lives, and they need to pursue activities that help them to relate to others in a positive and caring manner.

People can learn to help themselves by taking care of their needs for "space" or "quiet time" alone. They can learn to listen to their inner selves and the needs of family

members, instead of allowing the round-the-clock rhythms of crisis-oriented careers to dominate their lives. Employees in some cultures can benefit from the slower pace of the country and use the cycles in their environment to reduce their own pace. People must recognize and respond to psychological problems within themselves or their families, and, when necessary, be willing to consult with a counselor or therapist. Children can benefit from sessions with therapists who are experienced in dealing with the needs of Foreign Service families. Adolescence is an especially difficult time to be uprooted, so it is important that teenagers have access to help. Families should enter counseling as soon as problems develop in order to strengthen unity and prevent disintegration within the family. Specific techniques have been developed to reduce stress and teach people how to mobilize their own strengths, gain a positive perspective on their lives, and appreciate what is really important.

This kind of view is very important in a foreign environment, where one can easily feel alienated, lonely, and depressed. With strong internal ties and adequate outside support, the Foreign Service family can feel excited about all the new things to see and learn, and fully appreciate the rich experience of life in a foreign culture.

Dr. Patricia Webbink is a licensed psychologist in private practice in Bethesda. For the last 20 years she has specialized in intercultural adjustment. The author of numerous articles and the book The Power of the Eyes, she has conducted seminars and workshops here and abroad and has given talks in the State Department on stress reduction. For information on future workshops on stress, call Dr. Webbink's office at (301)229-8890.

AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Programs 1988-89

Who? For dependent students of Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served for the foreign affairs agencies covered by the Foreign Service Act.

What? Merit Awards for graduating high school students in 1988 only, based on academic merit. Financial Aid Grants to full-time undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

How? Apply immediately to AFSA Scholarship Programs, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, phone (202)338-4046. Specify type of scholarship and Foreign Service affiliation.

When? IMMEDIATELY. All applications must be completed and materials returned to AFSA by February 15, 1988.

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

AFSA Scholarship Applications Available

Eligible dependent children of career American Foreign Service personnel may now write for applications for the two scholarship programs offered by AFSA. Merit Awards—based on outstanding academic excellence—are for students who will be graduating from high school in 1988. Financial aid grants are for full-time undergraduate students studying in the United States and are based solely on need. To receive these applications write to Dawn Cuthell, Scholarships Administrator, AFSA, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Material must be returned to AFSA by the February 15, 1988, deadline.

David T. Jones, a former member of the AFSA Committee on Education, wrote the following letter explaining procedures for the Merit Awards. We reprint it each year because it gives sound advice to both students and parents regarding this academic competition.

DEAR PARENTS:

At a point where you are struggling with college applications and financial aid forms, it is a bit daunting to bring another topic before you. Nevertheless, if the high school senior in your household has not applied for the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards, it could be rewarding to encourage that application.

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

The first five categories will already have been established at the time of application. The final determinant—the essay—has not. A good essay is in itself a delight. The best capture and communicate with special freshness an experience or view of life unique to the writer. It is a crucial element in the scoring and can make the difference between a winner and just another applicant. We arrange for publication of the best of these essays (perhaps you have already enjoyed some of these selections) regardless of the final standing of the applicants. In recent years, however, we have noted a rather casual approach taken toward the essay that frequently affects final placement of the candidates. Many submissions are characterized by poor organization, elementary errors in spelling and punctuation, and hackneyed phraseology or comment. This is *not* to suggest heavy "parental guidance." (Adult authorship is fairly easy to identify.) Discussion with your student beforehand, however, could be rewarding for both of you in recalling shared Foreign Service experiences or gaining a fresh perspective of your child's reaction to changing school experiences. Urge your student to review carefully his or her submission for spelling and

grammar to present the best face to a judging panel. We hope the experience will be as interesting for your family in its creation as it will be for us to review.

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

Good luck to all your students.

DAVID T. JONES

(Former) State Member

AFSA Committee on Education

Deaths

HAMBLA BAUER, a former writer for the Voice of America and USIA's press service, died June 10 in LaJolla, California. She was 77.

Prior to joining USIA, Ms. Bauer was an early advocate of women's rights. At the age of 23 she became the second woman ever to be licensed as a race horse trainer in the United States. Her acceptance into this male-dominated field attracted national media attention. Ms. Bauer went on to successfully race her horses at some of the most prestigious tracks in the country.

In the 1940s, she began writing newspaper articles on horse racing, then switched to free-lancing for various magazines, most notably the *Saturday Evening Post*. Ms. Bauer then joined USIA and became a recognized expert in Chinese affairs, a skill she honed while posted to Hong Kong in the late 1950s.

HOMER M. BYINGTON, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador to Malaya, died November 1 after suffering a heart attack while aboard a cruise ship. He was 79.

Mr. Byington was born in Naples, where his father was vice consul. He grew up in Europe and the United States. He entered the Foreign Service after graduating from Yale University in 1930. He returned to Naples for an early assignment at the consulate there.

During World War II, Mr. Byington was a State Department press officer in Washington and was part of the U.S. delegation to the San Francisco conference that established the United Nations. After the war, he was deputy political adviser at allied headquarters in the Mediterranean theater, and for this work he received the medal of freedom. From 1948-50, he was DCM in Rome. For the next four years he headed the division of Western European affairs in the State Department. He was then assigned as second in command at the embassy in Spain. Mr. Byington became ambassador to Malaya in 1957, and remained at that post for four years. His last Foreign Service assignment was as consul general to Naples, where he worked until 1973,

when he retired to Soto Grande, Spain.

He is survived by his wife, the former Jane McHarg, of Washington; his son, Homer M. Byington III, of New York City; two sisters, Jean Grant, of Virginia, and Janice Hinkle, of New Canaan, Connecticut; two brothers, Ward Byington, of Norfolk, and James Byington, of Louisiana; and two grandchildren.

HARRY CONOVER, a former Foreign Service officer and retired vice president of Citibank, died October 2 in Darien, Connecticut. He was 74.

Born in Newark, New Jersey, he was graduated from New York University, and did post-graduate work at the University of California. Mr. Conover worked for six years as an economic adviser at the Justice Department and then joined the Foreign Service in 1945. During his career in the Service, he acted as economics adviser at embassies in Bern, Oslo, Paris, Bangkok, and Buenos Aires. Mr. Conover also served as deputy director of regional inter-American economic affairs at the department, and as State's senior adviser at the Department of Treasury.

In 1964, Mr. Conover joined Citibank, New York, and was vice president in charge of the Washington programs and regulations department. After his retirement in 1978, he moved to Washington where he was retained as a consultant to the bank.

Mr. Conover was married to the former Flora Hargrove, of Atlanta, and is survived by his daughter, Nancy Conover Perry, of Wilton, Connecticut; two sons, Henry Harrison Conover, of Westport, Connecticut, and William Edward Conover; and four grandchildren.

DOROTHY M. HESSMAN, retired Foreign Service secretary, died September 17 in Washington. She was 72.

Ms. Hessman began working for the State Department in 1943. She served overseas at the embassy in Moscow in the mid-1940s, and again in the mid-1950s. She was also posted to Warsaw, and was executive secretary to Ambassador George Kennan in Yugoslavia, in the early 1960s. She retired for reasons of health in 1969.

She is survived by her sister, Mildred Colberg, of Redwood Falls, Minnesota.

HARRY N. HOWARD, a retired State Department official and former professor of Middle East studies at American University, died of Parkinson's disease October 22 in Bethesda, Maryland. He was 85.

Mr. Howard was born in Excelsior Springs, Missouri, and was graduated from William Jewell College. He later earned a doctorate in history at the University of California at Berkeley. Before joining the State Department in 1942, he taught at the University of Miami in Ohio.

While at the State Department, Mr. Howard specialized in Middle East and Eastern European affairs. From 1956-62, he

was posted to Beirut as a representative to the advisory commission of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees. Mr. Howard remained in Beirut after retiring from the Service later that year and acted as special assistant to the commissioner general of the UN agency.

He returned to Washington to teach at American University until 1972. Mr. Howard wrote numerous articles and books on European and Middle Eastern history and diplomacy. He was a board member of the Middle Eastern Institute.

Survivors include his wife of 55 years, Virginia Brubaker Howard, of Bethesda; two sons, Robert and Norman Howard, both of Reston, Virginia; one brother, William Howard, of Houston; one sister, Florence Parks, of Overland Park, Kansas; and four grandchildren.

AMOS GARY JONES, a retired diplomatic courier with the State Department, died October 24 in Arlington, Virginia, after a heart attack. He was 72.

Mr. Jones was born in Newville, Alabama, and grew up in Orange, New Jersey. During World War II, he served in the Army in the South Pacific. After the war, he joined the State Department. During his career with the Service, he had been chief of diplomatic pouch operations in Paris and Manila. He also served in Germany and Thailand. Before retiring in 1976, Mr. Jones also served as president of the Diplomatic Couriers Organization.

His marriage to Adele Jones ended in divorce. There are no immediate survivors.

DOROTHY G. MAYALL, wife of retired Foreign Service Officer Kenneth Mayall, died October 5 at her home in Carmel, California. She was 63.

Ms. Mayall was born in Connecticut. She married her husband in Bangkok, Thailand, and accompanied him on assignments to Indochina, Israel, Iran, and Morocco.

She is survived by her husband, Kenneth, a daughter, Pamela Ann of Alexandria, Virginia, five sisters, and two brothers.

MARY LUDEKENS STUTESMAN, wife of retired Foreign Service Officer John Hale Stutesman, died of cancer September 1 at her home in San Francisco.

A graduate of Finch College, Ms. Stutesman was fashion editor of *Town and Country*, as well as a professional painter. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Tehran, Paris, La Paz, and Vancouver.

She is survived by her husband; a son, John, of Chicago; and a daughter, Drake Ellis, of London, England.

Announcement

Damien Atkins, a high school student, and son of Foreign Service Officer EDMUND ATKINS, was chosen to speak at the bicentennial celebration of the Constitution in Washington.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

REAL ESTATE

INTERESTED IN BUYING OR SELLING in Northern Va.? Contact Jerry Inman (FSO retired). Ask about free market analysis; guaranteed sales, and buyer/seller protection plan. ERA/VAN METRE PROPERTIES, 12704 Chapel Rd. PO Box 279, Clifton, VA 22024. Telephone: office (703)830-5666, home (703)830-4102.

THINKING OF A VACATION HOME or other property in coastal South Carolina? Now is the time. Call or write ERA Dozier Realty, 442 Main St. North Myrtle Beach, S.C. 29582. (803)249-4043.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

EXPERTS IN THE D.C. MARKETPLACE. Michelle Rucker, Jackson Realty, 409 Buter-nut St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20012 (202)723-8181 or (202)396-6644.

PEAKE PROPERTIES LTD.: Broker with experience in overseas living will give careful attention to the management of your home. Specializing in McLean, Vienna, N. Arlington, etc. 220B, 1350 Beverly Road, McLean, VA 22101. Tel: 448-0212.

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

EXECUTIVE HOUSING CONSULTANTS, INC. "We care for your home as if it were our own"...Join our "EXECUTIVE 100" Program! A select portfolio of houses and condominium properties suitable for rental to corporate executives. NW D.C., Bethesda, Chevy Chase, Potomac. Our corporate customers pay top rents for top properties. Call or write us about your lovely home. 7315 Wisconsin Ave., Suite 627 West, Bethesda, MD 20814. (301)951-4111. FS references.

WILLS

HAVE YOUR WILL REVIEWED and updated by an attorney who is a retired FSO. M. Bruce Hirshorn, Esquire, Suite D, 307 Maple Ave. West, Vienna, VA 22180. (703)938-3888.

BIOGRAPHIES

PRESIDENTIAL BIOGRAPHIES - Send \$5.22 stamp for monthly listings of available titles. American Political Biography, 39 Boggs Hill Rd. Newtown, CT 06470.

WRITING INSTRUMENTS

WORLDS FINEST BRAND NAMES in writing instruments. Quality fountain pens, ballpoints, rollerballs, and mechanical pencils from Mont Blanc, Pelikan, Waterman, S.T. Dupont, Lamy, and Cross. Repair service and accessories. Fast, dependable service all over the world. Send \$1 for catalog: Georgetown Tobacco, 3144 M St. NW, Wash. D.C. 20007, Box F.

LONG TERM RENTALS

RETIRING TO FLORIDA? FSO wishes to rent modern, spacious house in Orlando to long-term tenant. Located in exceptionally desirable neighborhood, 5 min. from Regional Medical Center, easy access to airport, I-4, and area attractions. The 4BR house has a 42' pool, large entertaining area, huge kitchen, and wonderful neighbors! Full lawn service, pool service and gardener provided. Enjoy carefree living in a house with privacy and beautiful surroundings. Available now. Contact Sandy Megica, 1013 Montcalm St., Orlando, FL 32806. (305)851-1964.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR for foundation supporting nuclear disarmament, managing grant-making process, and representing foundation to contributors and public. Requires knowledge of arms control issues and organizations, and management experience. Resume to Sally Lilienthal, President, Plowshares Fund, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123.

ATTORNEY

FIDELITY STORAGE LOSSES. If you had things missing from your goods stored at Fidelity Storage Co. and would like to help in a private investigation trying to put all these individual losses together to show a systematic pattern of loss and possible theft, please contact attorney Ronald Dwight, 4707 Conn. Ave. NW #502, Wash. D.C. 20008. Tel. (202)331-1020.

MAIL ORDER

Tired of inferior quality mail order cosmetics or drug store brands? We offer high quality hypo-allergenic cosmetics and skin care items at very reasonable prices. Compare with Clinique, Estee Lauder, or Lancome. Send for our free catalog. IMAGE OPTIONS, 10 WILLOW BEND, POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK 12601.

VIDEO ENTERTAINMENT

1 WILL TAPE TV programs for you. VHS only. Free information. BRITTON, 8703 S.E. Jardin, Hobe Sound, FL 33455.

TAX RETURNS

TAX PREPARATION BY AN ATTORNEY who is a retired Foreign Service officer and is familiar with Foreign Service problems. M. Bruce Hirshorn, Esquire, Suite D, 307 Maple Ave. West, Vienna, VA 22180. (703)938-3888.

TAX PREPARATION AND FINANCIAL PLANNING, Single source for all your money concerns. Preparation and representation by Enrolled Agents, fee average \$195 includes return and "TAX TRAX" unique mini-financial planning review with recommendations. Full planning by CFP available. Specialized overseas service with taped communications. Complete financial network and personalized service. Milton E. Carb, E.A., FINANCIAL FORECASTS, 833 S. Washington St. #8, Alexandria, VA 22314. (703)684-1040. METRO LOCATION, 933 N. Kenmore St. #217, Arlington, VA 22201, (703)841-1040.

AFSA TAX COUNSELING: Problems of Tax and Finance: Never a charge to AFSA members for telephone guidance. R.N. "Bob" Dussell (ex-AID) enrolled since 1973 to Tax Practice. At tax work since 1937 and now still in practice solely to assist Foreign Service employees and their families. Also lecture "Taxes" monthly at FSI in Rosslyn, VA. Office located across from Virginia Square Metro Station, 3601 N. Fairfax Dr., Arlington, VA 22201. (703)841-0158.

TAX PREPARATION AND ADVICE by T.R. McCartney (ex-FS) E.A., and Toni Cooper, E.A., and staff. Enrolled to practice before the IRS. Business Data Corp., P.O. Box 1040, Lanham, MD 20706-1040. (301)731-4114.

BOOKS

CURRENT PAPERBACKS airmailed within 5 days at reasonable prices. Send for monthly list to Circle Enterprises, Box 1051, Severna Park, MD 21146.

YOUR PERSONAL BOOKSTORE AWAY FROM HOME: You can order any U.S. book in print for your own reading pleasure or that special book sent as a gift for family and friends. Store credit available. Salmagundi Books Ltd. 66 Main Street, Cold Spring, NY 10516.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

SMILE! As you prepare for a new assignment, add three things to your "to-do" checklist: Stand in front of a mirror and smile. Consider how important your smile is to your work and social life. Call your dentist for an appointment. Keep your smile as healthy and attractive as possible! SIDNEY S. MARKOWITZ, D.D.S. (202)833-8240. Located near the State Department at Columbia Plaza.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

TOBACCOS & ACCESSORIES

COMRADES: State-run tobacco collective now allowing you to trade through the post. Offering generic tobaccos, cooperative-made cigars, and wood pipes. Write Unit TC Odessa, USSR, or better yet try Georgetown Tobacco and Pipe stores, keeping the tradition of friendly and personalized service, offering an outstanding line of pipe tobaccos, pipes, fine cigars, books, lighters, smoking accessories, and related items. Serving the Foreign Service community since 1964. We provide fast, dependable service all over the world. 30-page catalog \$1. 3144 M St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20007. Box F.

INVESTMENTS

INVESTMENTS, FINANCIAL PLANNING, Long Distance Management when necessary. Margaret M. Winkler, CFP, Assoc. V.P., Legg Mason Wood Walker, Inc., 1747 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20006. (202)452-4000, in U.S., (800)792-4411.

RETIREMENT FUNDING ANALYSIS, Investment Management: E.F. HUTTON & CO., INC. G. Claude Villarreal, Financial Management Advisor, 1825 Eye Street NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20006. (202)331-2528. Telex: 422230 NYC.

SHORT TERM RENTALS

WASHINGTON D.C. APARTMENTS. Short or long term. Decorator furnished, fully equipped: microwave, cable, phone, pool, spa. Two blocks FSI and Metro, 5 min. State, Georgetown. Photos. (703)522-2588 or write Adrian B.B. Templar, 1021 Arlington Blvd., PH 1214, Arlington, VA 22209. Member AFSA.

BACK FOR TRAINING? HOME LEAVE? D.C. TOUR? We are THE Washington Metro Area Short-Term Rental Specialists. Excellent locations. Wide price range. In Virginia - walk to FSI. In D.C. and Maryland - walk to metro. Large selection of furnished and equipped efficiencies, 1-bedrooms, 2-bedrooms and some furnished houses. Many welcome pets. EXECUTIVE HOUSING CONSULTANTS, INC., Short Term Rental Dept, 7315 Wisconsin Ave., Suite 627 West, Bethesda, MD 20814. (301)951-4111. Reserve early! Avoid disappointment!

FARA APARTMENT RENTALS: Fully furnished efficiency, one and two bedroom apartments. One blk. from State Department. Competitive rates. Call (202)462-3910. Write FARA Housing, Rm. 2928, Dept. of State, Wash. D.C. 20520.

COMPUTERS

COMPUTERS, COMPUTERS! At Un-Diplomatic Prices! Full service, training if needed while you are in Washington on leave. Any make or model configured. True portables. Toshiba, Zenith, HP. Programs for education, financial planning, real estate, word processing. Leading Edge from \$1295 complete. AT&T, Kaypro PC, Compaq, and IBM. Graphics for artists, programs for composers. Lowest prices, highest quality. Dozens of satisfied Foreign Service clients. Export licensing if necessary. SOFTGRAF USA, 10 minutes from the department. 291 S. Van Dorn, Alexandria, VA 22304. (703)370-5000 for an appointment. Telex 904 059 WASH.

SHOPPING SERVICE

Serving U.S. government employees assigned overseas. Whatever you want, let us find it for you. Automotive parts and supplies, household goods, hardware, cosmetics, toys, small appliances parts and repairs, etc. Buy at retail plus shipping and handling. Fast and reliable service. Just one place to contact. Write to us for prices: U.S. Military Buying Service, PO Box 7205, Gaithersburg, MD 20898-7205, Dave Wallace, Manager; Retired U.S. Park Police officer.

EXCHANGE RATES

Classified advertising in the FOREIGN EXCHANGE is open to any person who wishes to reach the professional diplomatic community. The rate is 75 cents per word per insertion. Telephone numbers and zip codes count as one word each. To place a classified ad or to receive our rate card for regular display advertising, write or call the Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037, (202)338-4045. Checks should accompany all classified insertion orders. The deadline for FOREIGN EXCHANGE ads is approximately 5 weeks before the publication date.

AN EXCELLENT MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

You can reach 20,00 Foreign Service readers each month with a classified ad in the JOURNAL. For just 75 cents a word you can sell your product or services to a select and influential audience. Just write your message in the space below or on a separate sheet (please specify the category heading you prefer), note the months you want the ad to run, and enclose a check for the first insertion. See the EXCHANGE RATES above for details.

Name

Billing address

Message

INDEX—VOLUME 63—1987

- An African Christmas*, by Mary Thomas Sargent.
AID. Assisting Africa, by James F. Enrwide.
AIDS A Job Hazard (Symposium).
Amazing Miss Able, by Theodore B. Dohbs.
 Anderson, Jim. *Standing at the Crossroads*.
The Art of Diplomacy, by Christopher J. McMullen.
 Arthur, Bill. *The Helms State Department*.
Assisting Africa, by James F. Entwistle.
 Brands, H.W. Jr. *Pre-war Moscow*.
 Buchanan, Thompson R. *A Hardship Post*
Bugs, Bugs, Bugs.
 BUNKER. *The Art of Diplomacy*, by Christopher J. McMullen.
 Burwell, Frances G. *Discent and Policy*.
 Callahan, David. *Policy Planning at its Pinnacle*.
 CHILE. *Mixed Signals*, by Marshall Green.
 Cizauskas, Arthur. *The Dilemma*.
A Closed Hearing, by Howard R. Simpson.
Cold War Moscow, by Walter L. Hixson.
 COMPUTERIZATION. *Information, Please*, by Alan Kotok.
 CONGRESS. *Money and Management (An interview with Daniel Mica)*.
 CONGRESS. *The Helms State Department*, by Bill Arthur.
 Cruik, Bette J. *The Last Flight Out*.
 Davies, R.T. *Moving from Mokhovaya Street*.
 Davis, Nathaniel. *Mixed Signals*.
The Dilemma, by Arthur Cizauskas.
 Dinan, Desmond. *Moroccan Bind*.
Dinner and Opium, by Mary Pettis Sanford.
Discent and Policy (Questionnaire results), by Frances G. Burwell.
 Dixon, Ben E. *Our Oldest Treaty*.
 Dohbs, Theodore B. *Amazing Miss Able*.
 Dur, Philip F. *A Moving Target*.
Eden's Folly, by D.F. Shaughnessy.
 Entwistle, James F. *Assisting Africa*.
 FOREIGN SERVICE. *The Art of Diplomacy*, by Christopher J. McMullen.
 FOREIGN SERVICE. *Foreign Service Funnies*.
 FOREIGN SERVICE. *Life and Love in the Foreign Service*.
 FOREIGN SERVICE. *Living with Risk*, by Caroline Meirs Osterling.
 FOREIGN SERVICE. *Messersmith's Big Fight*, by Jesse H. Stiller.
 FOREIGN SERVICE. *Moscow Today* (An interview with Arthur Hartman.)
 FOREIGN SERVICE. *Starting Over*, by Maurice Tanner.
 FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILIES. *Choosing a University* by Nancy Piet-Pellon.
 FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILIES. *Coping with Stress*, by Patricia Webbink.
 FOREIGN SERVICE. *Soviet. A Hardship Post*, by Thompson R. Buchanan.
Foreign Service Funnies.
 Green, Marshall. *Nudging the Tiller*.
 Godsey, Fred. *With No Regrets*.
 GORBACHEV. *The Perils of Perestroika*, by Daniel N. Nelson.
Handcutting Terrorism, by Charles Macchling Jr.
A Hardship Post, by Thompson R. Buchanan.
 Hartman, Arthur. *Moscow Today*.
 HEALTH. *AIDS A Job Hazard (a Symposium)*.
The Helms State Department, by Bill Arthur.
 Hixson, Walter L. *Cold War Moscow*.
The House that State Built, by Hans N. Tuch.
 HUMOR. *Bugs, Bugs, Bugs*.
 HUMOR. *Foreign Service Funnies*.
 HUMOR. *Life and Love in the Foreign Service*.
 HUMOR. *Starting Over*, by Maurice Tanner.
 HUMOR. *The U.S. Needs a World Bank Loan*, by Larry Thompson.
 INDONESIA. *Nudging the Tiller*. (An interview with Marshall Green.)
Information, Please, by Alan Kotok.
 JOURNAL. *An African Christmas*, by Mary Thomas Sargent.
 JOURNAL. *Amazing Miss Able*, by Theodore B. Dohbs.
 JOURNAL. *A Closed Hearing*, by Howard R. Simpson.
 JOURNAL. *The Dilemma*, by Arthur Cizauskas.
 JOURNAL. *Dinner and Opium*, by Mary Pettis Sanford.
 JOURNAL. *The Last Flight Out*, by Bette J. Cruik.
 JOURNAL. *Moroccan Bind*, by Desmond Dinan.
 JOURNAL. *Moving from Mokhovaya Street*, by R.T. Davies.
 JOURNAL. *A Moving Target*, by Philip F. Dur.
 JOURNAL. *Saying It with Flowers*, by Marjorie Smith.
 JOURNAL. *With No Regrets*, by Fred Godsey.
 Kotok, Alan. *Information, Please*.
The Last Flight Out, by Bette J. Cruik.
Life and Love in the Foreign Service.
 December
 April
 June
 June
 October
 October
 September
 April
 May
 June
 June
 October
 April
 December
 December
 November
 February
 May
 March
 April
 September
 May
 October
 December
 November
 January
 July/August
 April
 July/August
 June
 March
 January
 April
 October
 February
 April
 July/August
 September
 May
 January
 May
 December
 June
 February
 December
 April
 November
 January
 June
 May
 June
 September
 May
 July/August
 June
 February
 April
 January
 September
 December
 March
 December
 June
 November
 July/August
 May
 November
 April
 December
 April
 September
 March
 May
 June
 November
 July/August
 August
 September
 July/August
 September
 July/August
 July/August
 November
 December
 April
 May
 June
 May
 November
 May
- Living with Risk*, by Caroline Meirs Osterling.
 Macchling, Charles Jr. *Handcutting Terrorism*.
Managing Adversity. (An interview with Ronald I. Spiers.)
 McMullen, Christopher J. *The Art of Diplomacy*.
 MESSERSMITH. *Messersmith's Big Fight*, by Jesse H. Stiller.
Messersmith's Big Fight, by Jesse H. Stiller.
 Mica, Daniel. *Money and Management*.
Mixed Signals, by Nathaniel Davis.
Money and Management. (An interview with Representative Daniel Mica.)
 MOROCCO. *Our Oldest Treaty*, by Ben E. Dixon.
Moroccan Bind, by Desmond Dinan.
Moscow Today. (An interview with Arthur Hartman.)
Moving from Mokhovaya Street, by R.T. Davies.
A Moving Target, by Philip F. Dur.
 Nelson, Daniel N. *The Perils of Perestroika*.
Nudging the Tiller. (An interview with Marshall Green.)
On the Road Again, by David Mel Paul.
 Osterling, Caroline Meirs. *Living with Risk*
Our Oldest Treaty, by Ben E. Dixon.
 Paul, David Mel. *On the Road Again*.
People's Power, by Margaret Sullivan.
The Perils of Perestroika, by Daniel N. Nelson.
 PHILIPPINES. *People's Power*, by Margaret Sullivan.
 POETRY. *Prose and Cons*.
Policy Planning at its Pinnacle, by David Callahan.
POLICY PLANNING STAFF Policy Planning at its Pinnacle, by David Callahan.
Pre-war Moscow by H.W. Brands Jr.
Prose and Cons.
 Raum, Thomas. *An Undiplomatic Diplomat*.
 Sanford, Mary Pettis. *Dinner and Opium*.
 Sargent, Mary Thomas. *An African Christmas*.
Saying It with Flowers, by Marjorie Smith.
 Shaughnessy, D.F. *Eden's Folly*.
 SHULTZ. *Standing at the Crossroads*, by Jim Anderson.
 Simpson, Howard R. *A Closed Hearing*.
 Smith, Marjorie. *Saying It with Flowers*.
 Spiers, Ronald I. *Managing Adversity*.
Standing at the Crossroads, by Jim Anderson.
Starting Over, by Maurice Tanner.
 Stefan, Charles G. *The Ups and Downs of Summery*.
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Discent and Policy*, Frances G. Burwell.
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *The House that State Built*, by Hans N. Tuch.
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Information, Please*, by Alan Kotok.
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Managing Adversity*. (An interview with Ronald I. Spiers.)
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Policy Planning at its Pinnacle*, by David Callahan.
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Standing at the Crossroads*, by Jim Anderson.
 Stiller, Jesse H. *Messersmith's Big Fight*.
 SUEZ. *Eden's Folly*, by D.F. Shaughnessy.
 Sullivan, Margaret. *People's Power*.
 SUMMITS. *The Ups and Downs of Summery*, by Charles G. Stefan.
 Tanner, Maurice. *Starting Over*.
 TERRORISM. *Handcutting Terrorism*, by Charles Macchling Jr.
 TERRORISM. *Living with Risk*, by Caroline Meirs Osterling.
 TERRORISM. *The House that State Built*, by Hans N. Tuch.
 Thompson, Larry. *The U.S. Needs a World Bank Loan*.
 TRADE. *An Undiplomatic Diplomat*, Thomas Raum.
 TRADE. *The U.S. Needs a World Bank Loan*, by Larry Thompson.
 Tuch, Hans N. *The House that State Built*.
An Undiplomatic Diplomat, by Thomas Raum.
The Ups and Downs of Summery, by Charles G. Stefan.
 USIA. *On the Road Again*, by David Mel Paul.
The U.S. Needs a World Bank Loan, by Larry Thompson.
 Webbink, Patricia. *Coping with Stress*.
With No Regrets, by Fred Godsey.
 USSR. *Cold War Moscow*, by Walter L. Hixson.
 USSR. *A Hardship Post*, by Thompson R. Buchanan.
 USSR. *Moscow Today*. (An interview with Arthur Hartman.)
 USSR. *The Perils of Perestroika*, by Daniel N. Nelson.
 USSR. *Pre-war Moscow*, by H.W. Brands Jr.
- July/August
 January
 February
 October
 September
 September
 April
 December
 April
 July/August
 January
 May
 October
 March
 November
 December
 March
 July/August
 August
 March
 February
 November
 November
 May
 October
 July/August
 July/August
 December
 September
 January
 October
 February
 September
 February
 October
 January
 November
 April
 July/August
 March
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Managing Adversity*. (An interview with Ronald I. Spiers.)
 November
 October
 September
 January
 February
 November
 January
 February
 November
 April
 July/August
 March
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Managing Adversity*. (An interview with Ronald I. Spiers.)
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Policy Planning at its Pinnacle*, by David Callahan.
 STATE DEPARTMENT. *Standing at the Crossroads*, by Jim Anderson.
 Stiller, Jesse H. *Messersmith's Big Fight*.
 SUEZ. *Eden's Folly*, by D.F. Shaughnessy.
 Sullivan, Margaret. *People's Power*.
 SUMMITS. *The Ups and Downs of Summery*, by Charles G. Stefan.
 Tanner, Maurice. *Starting Over*.
 TERRORISM. *Handcutting Terrorism*, by Charles Macchling Jr.
 TERRORISM. *Living with Risk*, by Caroline Meirs Osterling.
 TERRORISM. *The House that State Built*, by Hans N. Tuch.
 Thompson, Larry. *The U.S. Needs a World Bank Loan*.
 TRADE. *An Undiplomatic Diplomat*, Thomas Raum.
 TRADE. *The U.S. Needs a World Bank Loan*, by Larry Thompson.
 Tuch, Hans N. *The House that State Built*.
An Undiplomatic Diplomat, by Thomas Raum.
The Ups and Downs of Summery, by Charles G. Stefan.
 USIA. *On the Road Again*, by David Mel Paul.
The U.S. Needs a World Bank Loan, by Larry Thompson.
 Webbink, Patricia. *Coping with Stress*.
With No Regrets, by Fred Godsey.
 USSR. *Cold War Moscow*, by Walter L. Hixson.
 USSR. *A Hardship Post*, by Thompson R. Buchanan.
 USSR. *Moscow Today*. (An interview with Arthur Hartman.)
 USSR. *The Perils of Perestroika*, by Daniel N. Nelson.
 USSR. *Pre-war Moscow*, by H.W. Brands Jr.



Linda Wilson Hurley

Call us
with your
real estate
questions...

we have
the answers.

Linda specializes in Foreign Service relocation. A Foreign Service wife herself for 15 years, Linda's expertise in overseas moves comes from the personal experience of having lived in The Philippines, Zambia, Malawi, Ghana, and Uganda. She is a member of the Association of American Foreign Service Women.



EVERS & COMPANY
REAL ESTATE INC.

4400 Jenifer Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20015
364-1700

DOMESTIC

SANDOZ & LAMBERTON

INCORPORATED



Specializing in the rental and care of fine residential property throughout the metropolitan area. Sandoz & Lambertson offers highly personalized service including:

- detailed semi-annual status reports
- frequent correspondence
- updated rent control information
(if it pertains)
- coordinated insurance protection.

For more details please contact Robert Mackall, Vice President and Manager, property management department.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT SINCE 1921

1720 Wisconsin Avenue, NW

Washington, DC 20007

202-363-9800 telex: Easy Link 62984387

POSTINGS

Specializing in
**PROPERTY
MANAGEMENT**



Property Specialists, Inc.

A professional and personal service tailored to meet your needs in:

- Property Management
- Sales and Rentals
- Multiple Listings
- Real Estate Investment Counseling

Donna Courtney
Broker

Fran Palmeri
Property Manager

4600-D Lee Highway Arlington, Virginia 22207
(703) 525-7010 (703) 247-3350

Serving Virginia, Maryland and D.C.

Allied Owners Are Serving at 32 Overseas Posts

- Highest rental value
- Staff of trained agents
- Qualified, responsible tenants
- Monthly computerized statements
- Skilled maintenance personnel for your home management needs



AARON DODEK, CPM
Property Manager

THEODORE ARTHUR, USIA Ret.
Associate Broker



7001 Wisconsin Avenue / Chevy Chase, MD 20815

657-8440 or 656-8600

**40 Years of Managing Foreign Service
Properties in the Washington Metropolitan Area**

New Homes — SALES — Brokerage
Property Management — Leasing

CALL US FOR A FREE HOME EVALUATION

W.C. & A.N. MILLER REALTORS

Established 1912

4910 MASSACHUSETTS AVE. FAX 4701 SANGAMORE RD.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 (301) 229-4015 BETHESDA, MD 20816
(202) 362-1300 (301) 229-4016



Experienced Real Estate Agent
With Well-Established Company

- Buying
- Selling
- Investing
- Refinancing
- Property Management

Please write or call Anita Murchie, Long & Foster,
5845 Richmond Highway #150, Alexandria, Virginia 22303
(703) 960-8900

25 years as a Foreign Service wife enable
me to understand your special needs.



Proficiency
is the key



PARDOE

Property Management
(202) 333-6530

Bill Conway (703) 356-1216

2828 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20007

ENCORE PROPERTIES, INC.

A Full Service Real Estate Company
Providing PERSONAL and EXPERIENCED Service in
Residential • Commercial
— Property Management —

4115 Wisconsin Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Office: (202)966-2002

Phyllis Herskovitz (202)363-3353
Nasser Zahedi (202)333-5144

LEASING AND PROPERTY MANAGEMENT BY
Stuart & Maury, Inc. Realtors

Results since 1956

For over 30 years we have professionally
MANAGED AND LEASED
thousands of residential & condominium properties.



Excellent references upon request

Our experience—Personal Inspections,
Monthly Statements and In-house Guidance—
TAKE THE WORRY OUT OF RENTING

If you are considering renting your
HOME OR APARTMENT
Call Susan Bader today for more information
(202) 244-1000

5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016



(703) 356-6520

Laughlin Inc., Realtor

For Personalized Property Management
Call the Experts.
We're in Business to be the Best!

Post Office Drawer 550
McLean, Virginia 22101

Statement of ownership, management, and circulation (required by 39 U.S.C. 3685) 1A.Title of Publication: Foreign Service Journal 1B.Publication no: 00157279. 2.Date of filing: October 1, 1987. 3.Frequency of issue: Monthly except August. 3A.No. of issues published annually: 11. 3B.Annual subscription price: \$15.00. 4.Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. 5.Complete mailing address of headquarters of general business offices of the publisher: 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. 6. Full names and complete mailing address of the publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher: American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. Editor: Stephen R. Dujack, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. 7. Owner: American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. 8. State Department known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: American Foreign Service Prot. Association: 515 22nd St. NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20037; AFSA Scholarship Fund, 2101 E St. NW, Washington DC20037. 9.For completion of non-profit organizations authorized to mail at special rates (1) has not changed during the preceding months. 10.Extent and nature of circulation: Ave. no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A.Total no. of copies:10,500. B.paid and/or requested circulation: Sales through dealers, etc.0. Mail subscription: 9,500. C.Total paid and/or requested circulation: 9,500.D.Free distribution: 500. E.Total distribution: 10,000. F.Copies not distributed: 500. G.Total: 10,500. Actual no. of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date:A.Total no. of copies:10,700. B.paid and/or requested circulation: Sales through dealers, etc.0. Mail subscription: 9,700. C.Total paid and/or requested circulation: 9,700.D.Free distribution: 500. E.Total distribution: 10,200. F.Copies not distributed: 500. G.Total: 10,700. I certify the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (signed) Stephen R. Dujack, editor.

BEGG Inc.

REALTORS®

Celebrating Our 36th Year

SALES • RENTALS • INSURANCE
• MANAGEMENT • INVESTMENT • COMMERCIAL •

Specializing in the management of:
Private residences and apartments. Condominium
complexes. Commercial sales and management.

Our sales staff of over 100 experienced agents
includes the following presently or formerly associated
with the Foreign Service.

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Mrs. Virginia Barlerin | Mrs. Pamela Jova |
| Mrs. Betty Battle | Mr. Ralph Lindstrom |
| Mrs. Efreem Calingaert | Mrs. Jeanne Livingston |
| Mr. Robert Campbell | Mrs. Margaret L. Miller |
| Mrs. Wendela Carwell | Mrs. Ellen Ozga |
| Mrs. Christine Gallehon | Mr. Warren Putnam |
| Mrs. Anne Hawkins | Mrs. Terry Walker |
| Mrs. Ilse Heintzen | Ms. Karin Wolman |
| Ms. Edrie Hough | |

Main Office

2121 Wisconsin Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007
202-387-2480

For Caribbean and European properties:
Begg International Inc. 202-338-9065

telex no: 440036



Chevy Chase Office
202-686-9556

McLean Office
703-893-2300

Potomac Office
301-299-6800



Sales, Rentals, Investments and Careful, Expert Property Management D.C., Maryland, and Virginia



BARBARA ABEILLE
MECHTHILD BIRZNIKS
PATRICIA GARRISON BOORMAN
BETTY GELORD
WENDY GUILLOU
MARY HANSTAO
LUCILLE HARRINGTON
CAROLE B. HERSMAN
JOSEPHINE HOLLOWAY*
ISABELLE MACKIE
LYNN MOFFELY MAGRUOER*
MARILYN J. MANGAN
JOHN Y. MILLAR*
MARGARET MOSELEY
DIANE NOBLE
SUZY H. NORTH
SUSAN RAHN
CAROLINE RAYFIELD
DOUG SCHOCKE
ROBERT W. SKIFF*
JOHN TURNER*
VERA WILLIAMS

MGMB, inc. Realtors

362-4480

Foxhall Square • 3301 New Mexico Avenue
Washington D.C. 20016

*Foreign Service

Associated firms in England and France



Notes on Real Estate

By Dorothy Clunan

In today's mortgage market most loans are calculated on a 30-year or a 15-year payoff rate. The current 30-year rate is 10⁷/₈%, and the current 15-year rate 10¹/₈% for a loan over \$150,000. Of course, the 15-year loan is paid off much faster, but the tax deductions are proportionally lower than with a 30-year loan. How would the monthly payments affect your cash flow? Suppose you were buying a \$250,000 house and putting \$50,000 down in cash: your loan amount would be \$200,000. At current rates, the monthly payment is \$2,165 on a 15-year loan, \$1,886 on a 30-year loan. However, the 15-year loan would be paid off in half the time and you could save almost \$390,000 in interest over the life of the two loans. That sounds incredible but remember that what you *can't* deduct in interest can cause a higher tax obligation to Uncle Sam. The difference of \$279 in monthly payments is only one calculation to make. Fifteen year loans are useful for parents of young children wanting to build up equity for future college costs. They are also useful for those close to retirement who want to own their home free and clear more quickly. With reduced income after retirement, interest deductions are not as useful, making 15-year loans look very attractive. On the other hand, the increased monthly payment can be a significant consideration after retirement. In short, discuss it with an expert before you take this or any other mortgage plan!

In the future, we can discuss relative adjustale rates and how to calculate the real cost of your loan. Meanwhile, if you are considering buying or selling, or need property management, just call or write us.



Lewis &
Silverman
REALTORS

4801 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-9100

AFSA NEWS

Annual Meeting: 10 percent cutback means 'decimation' of Service

"We want to meet our country's needs, and we want the resources to do that," said Perry Shankle at the AFSA Annual Meeting on October 16 before a record 300 attendees. "The Foreign Service has a proud history.... But we don't want to see it destroyed or made irrelevant because of our government's inability to deal with its fiscal or political problems." The event, which usually draws fewer than 50 persons, was held in the Dean Acheson Auditorium. The meeting concluded by unanimously passing a resolution introduced by former AFSA President Lars Hyde: "Resolved—That the Annual Meeting of the Washington Membership supports the reprogramming of funds authorized and appropriated for diplomatic security to any "salaries and expenses" purposes, to the extent necessary to avoid harsh reductions in personnel without unduly jeopardizing diplomatic security."

The meeting came four weeks after Secretary Shultz announced the elimination of 1269 positions in the department, the closing of 15 posts, and numerous other cutbacks [AFSA NEWS, November]. The cutbacks were the subject of an emergency open meeting held by AFSA, following which it developed a counter proposal and moved quickly to find legislative solutions while appealing for public support. AFSA was successful in getting language reprogramming certain security funds into the salaries and expenses account in the Senate version of the department's authorization bill, though at this writing the conference committee was still working on the measure. Both major wires carried AFSA's protests of the cuts, which also won a sympathetic ear in several editorials and opinion pieces appearing in major dailies. [See related story on this page.]

Shankle characterized the announced cutbacks in staffing and

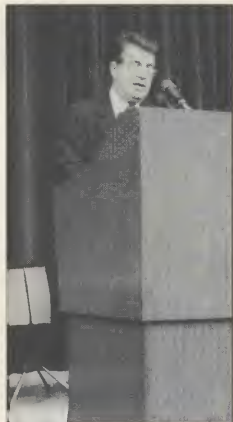
posts as "a no-fault situation, with the department's leadership and Congress blaming each other and denying their own responsibility."

The State Department has become a pawn in budget battles between the Congress and the White House. "In the meantime, the Foreign Service is going down the tubes," he said. "The crisis we are facing now means jobs. The department's proposal talk of positions, but it is the person in the position we are talking about. We are talking about 1269 jobs. That's 10 percent of the jobs. That's 10 percent of us. That's decimation."

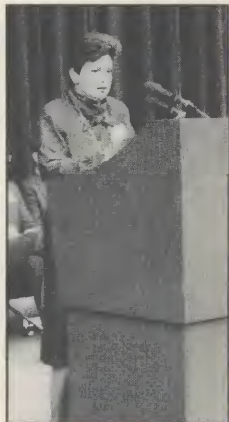
"Look around you—which of you will be gone next year? One of ten will. And equally important—maybe more so—who will do what we do? Who will meet our nation's needs for an effective diplomatic service? The CIA? DIA? NSC? There's a long list of people who are waiting."

Shankle was followed on the podium by State Vice President Evangeline Monroe, who won applause for her criticisms of how management has handled the budget shortfall. "Let those who inhabit the paneled, antique-furnished halls come down to the real world the 90 percent have to contend with," she said. She painted a comprehensive picture of Service ills as reflected in its State Department component, the most recent of which has been shown by the announced cutbacks. She endorsed the passage in the Foreign Service Act that states that a career Foreign Service "characterized by excellence and professionalism... is essential in the national interest." She declared that recent management policies, however, do not meet the act's requirement to "preserve, strengthen, and improve" the Service. The text of her remarks is reprinted in her column on page 50.

The officers presented a counter proposal "based on the funda-



Shankle: 'State caught in Washington budget battles.'



Monroe: "Cutbacks contradict 1980 act requirements."

mental assumption that what counts in the Foreign Service is people—not only because we are concerned for our jobs, which we are, but more important because we believe attracting and retain-

ing good people, thoroughly committed to the vocation of foreign affairs, is necessary to conduct and implement the foreign policy our country needs" [see related article].

Key papers call on State to stop cuts

Following are quotes from several editorials decrying the State Department cutbacks. For the full text, see the CLIPPINGS section (page 16):

"Assorted parts of the government have taken their lumps in recent years—years in which two presidents depicted the federal bureaucracy as an enemy—but none more than the agency that is supposed to conduct the country's foreign relations. The result is an institutional crisis and, worse, a degree of national self-crippling that is no less certain and menacing for being hard to measure." — "Down at the State Depart-

ment, Washington Post, October 13

"Sharp budgetary restrictions, affecting an unprecedented number of positions scheduled for elimination, will severely damage the performance of the State Department in a critical period of the nation's history." — "Foggy Thinking at Foggy Bottom," San Francisco Chronicle, October 13

"This is being inflicted by the same lawmakers who piously bewail Washington's declining global influence and risky dependence on cheaper-to-hire foreign nationals. These prospective cuts represent the mentality of a banana republic, not a great power. Diplomacy is the first line of defense and the front line of peace." — "The Front Line of Defense and Peace," New York Times, October 3

Counter proposal stresses saving jobs, making cuts elsewhere

"If we must choose between things and people, then AFSA will always choose people," reads the cover memo on the union's counter proposal to management's announced cutbacks. "We believe attracting and retaining good people, thoroughly committed to the vocation of foreign affairs, is necessary to conduct and implement the foreign policy our country needs."

AFSA would prefer reprogramming monies from the security program, which is growing at the expense of the department's core functions, the counter proposal states. After that, AFSA suggested, the department should instead make the following alternative cuts totaling \$7.63 million:

- \$1.2 million for the remodeling of the secretary of state's conference room;
- \$2.65 million for the expansion of the Foreign Affairs Information System to two more bureaus;
- \$3.15 million for new overseas administrative support positions;
- \$33 million for procurement officers and a new Office of Procurement;
- \$3 million for salaries at a new embassy in Western Samoa;

In addition, AFSA supports the following proposals from the State Department plan, totaling \$44.2 million:

- \$2 million from repeal of the Fly America Act;
- \$8 million from discontinuance of no-fee passports to other agencies;
- \$1.6 million from reducing costs of certain domestic security requirements, including security searches of department employees and their personal effects;
- \$7.8 million from reducing expenditures for consultants. This figure represents elimination of all monies allocated in this area, whereas State's plan only reduces it by half;
- \$24 million by reducing expenditures for contractual ser-

VICES. This represents a 15-percent reduction, rather than the five-percent in the department's plan; and

- \$.8 million by obtaining reimbursement for federal benefits programs.

The State Department's plan actually totals \$59.1 million (including some revenues), only three-fourths of the shortfall. AFSA's plan totals \$51.8 million and accounts for the rest through the reprogramming. In addition, AFSA also suggested examining a number of areas for possible savings or cost postponements; charging out expenses for services performed for other agencies not so threatened by cutbacks; and effecting economies through programs designed to reduce energy use.

Institutional grievance, ULP filed

At a time of crucial importance to Foreign Service employees, the State Department has repeatedly denied AFSA access to its telecommunications facilities. AFSA has objected strenuously to this treatment, but our protests have gone unheeded and management has continued to arbitrarily deny us access to our membership. As a result, AFSA has been forced to file an institutional grievance and an unfair labor practice charge against State.

The institutional grievance was filed as a result of the department's refusal to transmit several cables dealing with the AFSA congressional outreach program. Management's action was in violation of the AFSA/State Collective Bargaining Agreement, which allows AFSA to use the department's telecommunications facilities for any cables which deal with grievances or labor-management relations. The AFSA cables were clearly suitable for transmittal, as evidenced by the fact that management had previously approved numerous cables on the same subject without question. The department has not yet responded to the grievance.

The unfair labor practice charge resulted from a recent State Department Airgram which purported, among other things, to levy assessments on employee associations at posts abroad. AFSA learned of the Airgram via post representatives overseas, but when AFSA tried to cable responses to the posts, the department refused to transmit them. In addition to protesting this action, AFSA demanded that the department provide AFSA with a copy of the Airgram and suspend its implementation until negotiations had been concluded. The department refused to comply with AFSA's demands, and a charge was filed with the Federal Labor Relations Authority.

Difficulties with getting cables cleared by management have been a problem for AFSA for some time. The Governing Board hopes that these actions will clear up this annoying situation once and for all.

Officers meet with Pell on budget



AFSA State vice president Evangeline Monroe and President Perry Shankle (right) meet with Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell on reprogramming funds to avoid job losses.

Last-minute amendments a grab-bag

In what the *Washington Post* called "an extraordinary outpouring of foreign policymaking by amendment [the Senate] sought last week to remake the world to its liking" by passing 86 amendments to the State Department authorization bill in a four-day period, many with no committee consideration and less than a minute or two of debate. Some of these could have a profound effect on foreign policy, others on the agencies that administer it.

The bill, whose funding shortfall has encouraged the department to eliminate 1269 jobs, cre-

ated a new under secretaryship for security, construction and foreign missions, a new ambassadorship-at-large for Afghanistan, ordered reams of new reporting requirements, and mandated VOA broadcasts in Slovenian.

In one minute the Senate closed the embassy in Antigua, an amendment proposed by Senator Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina), reportedly at the behest of Thomas H. Anderson, a Senate staffer who was ambassador to Barbados from 1984-86 "and often clashed with staff of the Antigua embassy," the *Post* reported. In six minutes, it voided the U.S.-Soviet embassy site agreements, which would force the Soviets to abandon their new building on Washington's Mount Alto.

Another Helms amendment

would subject Foreign Service officers resident in the District of Columbia but domiciled elsewhere to district taxes, which currently are waived for them and for military officers similarly situated. This amendment, in the view of the AFSA Governing Board, is intended solely for the purpose of inconveniencing the Service.

On the positive side, however, an amendment suggested by AFSA and supported by Senator Pell (D-Rhode Island) would permit the department to transfer funds from the security salaries-and-expenses account to the main State budget. In AFSA's counter proposal [see related story], these and alternative cutbacks would be used to save the jobs threatened by State's proposal to meet the budget shortfall.



State Standing Committee A Statement of Principles

By Evangeline Monroe, *State Vice President*

Today AFSA, your labor representative and your professional association, has been cast in an adversarial role with the management team of the department. Shortly after we were elected, Perry Shankle and I called on the department's managers and offered our cooperation in what we thought was a common goal—the preservation and strengthening of the Foreign Service. At our first courtesy call with Deputy Secretary Whitehead he asked us not to go outside the department with our criticism. We did not know what Secretary Whitehead must have known, that Secretary Shultz would announce on September 18 that the department would have to undergo a radical reorganization resulting in the largest cuts in thirty years. It is important that you understand what has been happening to the Foreign Service and what the future might hold for us as members of the Foreign Service and of AFSA.

The last year has seen a continuation of the process that is turning the Foreign Service of the United States into the equivalent of the diplomatic arm of a third-class power. Much of this weakening can be traced to the implementation of the Foreign Service Act, and the unwillingness of the department's managers to admit that mistakes have been made in that process.

In the face of this massive assault on the Foreign Service, it is important that we pause to consider what kind of Service we want, and what kind of Service our country needs:

■ **AFSA** does endorse the provision of the act that states "a career Foreign Service, characterized by excellence and professionalism, is essential in the national interest to assist the president and the secretary of state in conducting the foreign affairs of the United States." But we also believe that existing management practices and policies do not "preserve, strengthen, and improve" the Serv-

ice—as required by the act—and that the Service is consequently less able to "carry out its mission effectively in response to the complex challenges of modern diplomacy and international relations";

■ **AFSA** does not accept management's concept of the diplomatic profession as a 25-year career for most of us, although we do understand why many are discouraged and would welcome an early retirement incentive;

■ **AFSA** will not acquiesce quietly as management persists in the selection out of members whose talents and experience are needed if the Foreign Service is to remain a viable institution. In particular AFSA cannot endorse evaluation, promotion, and selection out policies that cannot accurately and fairly identify employees for promotion, retention, or selection out; and

■ **AFSA** cannot agree with management's efforts to reduce the Foreign Service to a service organization for other agencies.

We believe we have the membership's support in these areas: a poll conducted by AFSA in the fall of 1986 indicated that a majority of the Service desired major changes in the personnel system.

The involuntary retirement this fall of some 100 of our best officers at the senior and O-1 levels is the most dramatic evidence of a destructive personnel process. We believe that a personnel system should support the professional objectives of the institution it serves as well as provide a predictable environment for individual career development. Only through such a personnel system can the Service continue to recruit and retain the able membership it—and the nation—needs. Equally important, a majority of the Foreign Service should have confidence in the equity and effectiveness of the system so that its members are free to concentrate on furthering the Service's mission rather than on individual careers.

The State Department has invested hundreds of millions in security enhancement, and rightly so, but it has neglected to invest adequately in its most valuable asset—people. A properly functioning personnel system should produce a steady flow of talent to meet the requirements of the Service. Instead we have recurring gaps in the supply of people with the requisite skills while officers whose skills are still needed are prematurely selected out. Management's patchwork efforts to meet the linguistic and functional shortfalls make a mockery of career development. Junior officers are told to expect a career of no more than 25 years, and mid-level officers wonder when they will eventually be asked to leave even while the Service has need of their expertise. The secretary's recent announcements concerning budgetary shortfalls and the need to eliminate 1269 people from State's roster are fresh blows to an already weakened structure.

ASFA believes that management's misdirected actions and policies have accelerated a long-term trend toward declining Service cohesion. The pattern of reduced promotion opportunities and the stark realities of the six-year window and reduced time in class for seniors have had a corrosive and divisive effect—including a zero-sum mentality among Service components. FS-1s see increased attrition of seniors as the only solution to their immediate problems while senior officers limit their assignment choices so as to maximize their chances for limited career extensions. Mid-career and junior officers chafe under a perceived reduction in opportunities and base their own assignment preferences on short-term career considerations. The result is a move toward encouraging officers to concentrate on personal career agendas, with a consequent diminished recognition of the institutional mission—to provide advice to the president and

the secretary of state, and to plan and conduct an effective foreign policy—and preferably a bipartisan one.

In these circumstances, AFSA believes a new start is necessary. We need a new system of personnel evaluation, promotion, and selection out; a reexamination of the cone system; an open assignment system that is not half old-boy network and half a lottery; and meaningful and accurate job classification. Our aim is to reform the department's approach so as to undo as much as possible the damage that has been done to the institutional integrity of our Service and to prevent further harm.

AFSA is working to obtain support in Congress for a viable and effective Foreign Service that will serve the country's needs. We are discussing our problems frankly with the members and their staffs. We urge the secretary, the deputy secretary, and the Management Council to meet with AFSA so that together we can reverse the decline of the Service before it is too late.

I believe an effective personnel system must offer the following:

■ **Career-span.** The Foreign Service should be managed in the expectation that an incoming officer who reaches beyond the threshold and performs well can expect a full and rewarding 30-35-year career, with 50-75 percent reaching the Senior Foreign Service. Those who do not make the Senior Service but are still competitive at grade and who possess skills and experience needed by the Service should be retained. Retirement at 50 should remain an option for those who wish it;

■ **Cones.** The career system should not deny any segment of the Service access to career opportunity. Officers should develop expertise in their cones but not be penalized for serving outside them.

Officers should seek assignments in at least three cones. The system should be fair, in terms of benefits, training, and costs, to each grouping—officers and staff, juniors, mid-career, and seniors. Changes in policy should be grandfathered, and periods of transition should be permitted in which no group would be penalized;

■ **Evaluation.** There should be reasonable time-in-class provisions to ensure that every

member has the chance to be reviewed in a variety of jobs so that he or she may expect promotion for quality performance over time. Attributes required for successful performance should be realistically linked to the needs of the Service and should be clearly understood by rated, rating, and reviewing officers, specialists, and staff. Among the attributes the Service should seek to develop are commitment to the Service. Rating and reviewing officers should have a special leadership responsibility and be evaluated on their ability to promote professionalism and dedication in subordinates. Inspectors should be required to evaluate officers, and their reports should be part of the file considered by promotion panels;

■ **Promotion and selection out.** We should aim at a fairer and more predictable system rather than one that destroys the careers, lives, and hopes of many of our most able and dedicated members.

Consistent, sub-standard, and documented poor performance would be subject to selection out under a fair review procedure. All officers within the career system should be able to compete for promotion throughout their career except for the standard one-year wait after the last promotion. The window for promotion into the Senior Service should be extended. Revisions should be made in the LCE and TIC provisions for the Senior Service that would permit a more normal and predictable career. Fewer LCEs would be available but the length of TIC or total senior service would be extended;

■ **Compensation for slower promotions.** Under conditions of current retrenchment, we would expect under a fairer system that promotion would be slower for all except the water walkers than in some periods in the past. In return there should be a revamping of in-step salary increases that would enable more junior officers to meet personal and family obligations. Members facing slower promotions should be rewarded by increasingly responsible jobs.

Such a system would reward excellence of performance by providing career enhancing job opportunities and higher levels of challenge for its outstanding officers;

■ **Training.** Training should be designed not only to meet the special needs of the Service but to develop a sense of commitment, service identity, and purpose.

■ **Service outside the department.** Additional positions and career opportunities within the Foreign Service should be created and expanded at all levels to take into account that the Service is for the entire government and that we do not only serve the Department of State. In particular senior officers should be placed in other agencies as foreign affairs advisers and as liaison between the department and other agencies; and

■ **Women and minorities.** Special efforts should be undertaken to promote minorities and women within the Service. Our goal should remain to attract the most able candidates in the country.

Training opportunities should be available to ensure that all officers are able to achieve their full professional potential.

It is difficult to focus on improving the personnel system when the Foreign Service is being gutted. Yet even as cuts are threatened management demands more "Service discipline" in the name of "the needs of the Service." These needs have been defined for the convenience of management to solve short-term problems that are largely the creation of management itself. Under the current system policies are not designed to strengthen the Service or to improve its morale or efficiency.

The consequences are being felt in the budget process and in our declining role in the foreign affairs function. Recent events have underscored the country's need for a cohesive and vital Foreign Service dedicated to providing the highest level of professionalism obtainable. We have a membership with the talent and experience necessary to do the job. We need an enhanced recognition of our mission and the kind of leadership that can restore our belief in the profession of diplomacy and in the foreign affairs corps.

The next year will be difficult for management and for the Foreign Service. AFSA would like to build a partnership with management in order to solve the many problems that face us both in ways that will strengthen the Service and not

further weaken it.

It is important however that we recognize the current system for what it is—a very bad one.

Never before have we seen a leadership so isolated from the concerns of the rest of the building. Never before has the management staff been so set apart by their own convictions and self-assurances that their personnel policies are the correct ones.

Let those who inhabit the paneled, antique-furnished halls come down to the real world the 90 percent have to contend with; a building with trash in its corridors, and until this week daily searches of our possessions before we could enter the building; discussions of plans for the future that include the date when you will be thrown out of the Service; and always, always, the incos-

sistent search for the right job, working for the right boss, in order to win the only security the Service can offer these days, a powerful godfather. Current personnel policies have destroyed the concept of "honorable retirement"; have encouraged a divisiveness that pits class against class; and have forced officers to consider their own personal and family positions first and the good of the Service second.

It is time for management to leave the ivory tower and find out what the real world in the Foreign Service is like. And if management continues to think that the Seventh Floor represents the real world for all of us, if management has abandoned us, then it is up to all of us to use our talents to shape the Foreign Service we need.



AID Standing EER Revisited

By Hank Merrill, AID Vice Pres.

No year seems to be complete without a discussion of the Foreign Service evaluation system. After a protracted negotiation last year on a modified evaluation format, AFSA and AID management agreed upon a reasonable design. It still requires that the rating officer have literary talents slightly higher than a turnip; compared with the alternative, however, we feel it is satisfactory.

Despite having just agreed to the new EER form with the adjectival ratings, AID management is now interested in eliminating the adjectival performance ratings (known as the boxes to normal people). The argument for the removal of the boxes is that over 95 percent are rated superior or better, with over 50 percent rated outstanding. In other words, the ratings mean nothing.

While not all members of the AID Standing Committee share my view, I personally agree with management's position that these boxes are a complete waste of time. (In fact I believe that one might even be at an advantage being in one of the bottom two cat-

egories as you would at least be unique. I'll bet those review panels really read those ratings!) Furthermore, I think that the boxes do a disservice to the employee, as a reviewer can check a high box and then proceed with a mediocre rating, thus defusing the arguments of the rated employee. If we put the true emphasis of the evaluation on the narrative portion of the review, we can focus future improvements of the system toward improving the clarity of employee assessments as well as upgrading writing skills.

While on the subject of EERs, in the future, I think we should consider reversing the review process for Senior Foreign Service employees serving in administrative and supervisory capacities. Instead of having reviews and awards based on questionably objective reviews completed by one's peers, let's open up the review process to those people who are subject to the supervision. If you want to know about one's ability to supervise, then ask the persons who are familiar with it on a day-to-day basis.

AFSA's insurance programs: a benefit overlooked by many

With more than 9,200 members now enrolled in AFSA, the association's Trustees for Insurance Programs are wondering why so few are participating in our group insurance programs. AFSA sponsors three major plans, each with special features designed to meet the needs of Foreign Service personnel. These programs and the appropriate number of members currently enrolled in each are as follows:

| Program | Policies In Force |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Accidental Death & Dismemberment | 1,200 |
| In-Hospital Income Plan | 450 |
| Personal Insurance Plan | 625 |

Among these programs the Personal Insurance Plan, with only 625 subscribers, appears to be a poor second to the AD&D plan. But it is available only to members serving abroad, and since that group constitutes no more than 40 percent of the membership at any one time, 625 participants represents about the same proportion (12.5 percent of eligible members) as does 1200 in the case of the AD&D program (13.3 percent).

For those who might be interested, a brief description of each program follows, with special emphasis on those features that set AFSA contracts apart from other available plans.

Accidental Death & Dismemberment. This plan provides worldwide coverage against accidental death and specified injuries in amounts up to \$300,000 for the named insured and spouse and \$50,000 for each dependent child up to age 26. It pays 50 percent of the selected benefit for claims arising from acts of war or terrorism, a special feature applicable to all insured family members. Most insurance companies make a substantial extra charge for war-risk coverage, and no other AD&D plan, to our knowledge, offers this protection for dependents. Furthermore, most competing plans require that insurance on the spouse be limited to half the amount purchased for the named insured and that benefits for dependent children not exceed 10 percent of the principal sum of the

policy. Most important, the cost for family coverage under the AFSA plan is lower than that charged by competing plans that offer less comprehensive coverage. Our plan is available to all AFSA members under age 70, with no limitations as to health, occupation, or overseas assignment. For active-duty members it is a type of insurance that warrants careful consideration.

In-Hospital Income Plan. This

plan is intended to supplement the benefits provided under the Federal Employees Health Plan, whether the primary insurance is the Foreign Service Health Plan, the Aetna plan, or whatever. With hospital costs continuing to rise at a rapid rate, there is a need for low-cost coverage that pays cash benefits for each day of hospitalization. Our plan offers \$30, \$50, or \$100 per day for the named insured and spouse and either \$30 or \$50 for dependent children up to age 26. The latter is at a very reasonable flat rate regardless of the number of children in the family. Coverage applies either from the first day of hospitalization or, at a reduced rate, from the fourth day. Benefit payments are doubled for days spent in an intensive care unit.

No medical examination is required to qualify for this insurance, and the restrictions relating to pre-existing illness are more favorable than in most plans of this type. Such illnesses are covered after the insurance has been in force for three months during which no treatment has been received for that condition. After two years the limitation is removed completely. All members and spouses under age 70 are eligible for this program, but for those over age 65 benefits do not begin until the eighth day of hospitalization and are reduced by 50 percent until the 90th day.

The rates are lower than those of other comparable plans of this

type, and we believe that it is an excellent buy for AFSA members, especially those with dependent children.

Personal Insurance Plan. For members serving abroad this plan provides "all-risk" coverage on personal property and, as an option, worldwide protection at agreed values for scheduled items of jewelry, furs, fine arts, cameras, silverware, etc. Comprehensive personal liability and insurance of household property, including automobiles, while in transit overseas are additional options. An important feature is that your household effects are insured for their full replacement value. This is a significant point. Most property insurance claims are settled on the basis of the actual cash value of the property that has been damaged or destroyed. In the case of household effects this is likely to be a fraction of the cost to replace those items. Due to inflation the difference between actual cost and replacement value in case of the loss of your entire shipment of household effects could be a staggering burden. A comparable risk exists if you bought furniture, appliances, or other personal property for bargain prices in one country and later have a severe loss while assigned to another where the cost of replacing the lost property

is far greater. Some insurers provide replacement value coverage only at an extra premium of, say, 25 percent of the regular premium. The AFSA Plan has it at the same low cost as the regular coverage, only 75 cents per \$100 of value. However, in the event of a loss, you must insure such property for its replacement value.

Claims are usually adjusted on the basis of a simple honor system with a minimum of red tape. A recent poll of AFSA post representatives elicited a number of favorable comments on this plan. The fact that the number of subscribers has increased steadily over the years is a further indication that we have a good product here.

If you want additional information about any of these programs, speak to your AFSA representative or write directly to the Program Administrator, The Hirshorn Company, 14 East Highland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19118.

Note: In addition to members of the Foreign Service who belong to AFSA, others with an interest in foreign affairs—including employees of other organizations overseas—may become associate members of AFSA and qualify for insurance coverage under the above plans.

Department attempts to deny special differential pay

AFSA recently was ready to file an unfair labor practice charge against the State Department in response to a September 28 department memorandum to all executive directors instructing them not to certify any positions for special differential pay. Affected employees were informed that they would no longer receive the differential, and many of them contacted AFSA to see if they had any recourse. AFSA contacted the executive directors involved and informed them that AFSA would take legal action to oppose the withdrawal of the differential. The ULP charge was in the process of being filed when the department had reversed its position.

AFSA has since learned that the department may still go ahead with the decertification process in the near future. AFSA is updating

the ULP charge, should we need to file it. In the meantime, employees should be wary of other possible moves by State to cope with the current budget crisis. Please contact AFSA immediately if you become aware of similar changes in your terms or conditions of employment.

Redtop updates

AFSA's main vehicle for communicating with its bargaining unit as a whole is the REDTOP. We have recently learned that many are not reaching their destinations.

If you had been receiving REDTOPS but have changed your address—or wish to be added to the list—please phone or write our membership coordinator.

Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1986-87

President's Overview

Unlike in most recent years, this ANNUAL REPORT brings bad news along with the good. The good news concerns AFSA as an institution: Our membership is at a record level and our finances are on their healthiest footing in years. The bad news concerns the Foreign Service AFSA exists to serve. Never in history has the Service faced such severe problems.

As a labor union and professional association, we are concerned of course about the Service and the State Department, where nearly 1300 jobs will be lost, two embassies and 13 consulates closed, and

numerous functions reduced, eliminated, or farmed out to other agencies. We are concerned at the reductions in language incentives, hardship differentials, and Pearson positions. We are concerned that management policies are forcing out some of our best officers as the only means it can come up with to achieve a healthy personnel flow through. And we are concerned that the public image of the Service has suffered from recent problems with security.

But we are most concerned as American citizens, for it appears that our nation is in the process of a significant retreat from its role as a world power. While we are devoting increasing billions to military defense, we are closing diplomatic missions, closing our eyes and ears. The entire foreign affairs budget has already been reduced by one-fifth in the last two years—a time when we face major challenges in the Middle East, in Central America, the Philippines, etc. That portion devoted to State operations is so small that it is exceeded by what we spent on building obsolete B1 bombers last year. The revenue shortfall that is producing this unprecedented reduction of more than 10 percent in our diplomatic corps is exceeded by what the Defense Department spends on xeroxing and printing.

Our task as an association, as a labor union, as a group of concerned professionals has never been clearer: we must bring to the attention of all citizens the fact that a well-funded first line of defense is in the national interest. It provides the bulk of information concerning overseas developments needed by our decisionmakers, it helps our businesses expand abroad, it helps spare the lives of our men and women in uniform. It is an investment in peace, prosperity, and stability that returns countless dividends. We already know that. It's time to make sure everyone else does, too.

—Perry Shankle, President

State Standing Committee

The State Standing Committee faced two major challenges from management in the past year: the selection out of FS-1s for time in class and the six-year window, and the announcement of a radical reorganization of the State Department leading to a substantial loss of jobs. Despite intense efforts by AFSA, both of these issues have remained unresolved.

Management refused to sit down with us to discuss changes in policies on the six-year window, limited career extensions, and time in class. The department claimed that we were not united on the issue of the FS-1s and refused to consider our recommendations. Recently, however, management has said it will listen to our proposals. As a result, the State Standing Committee is working to develop a comprehensive proposal on personnel issues that will receive the support of all sectors of the bargaining unit.

The plan announced by the secretary on September 18 to reorganize the department and reduce personnel by 1267 positions is arbitrary and capricious, and suggests management may be using the budget crisis as an excuse to further reduce the pool of experienced officers in the Foreign Service. The State Standing Committee is in the process of developing an alternate proposal that would recognize the budget crisis but not involve loss of jobs.

Subcommittees. Beginning August 3, the State Standing Committee formed the following sub-committees: Promotion and Selection Out, Personnel Evaluations, Cone System, Assignments, Public Relations, Tandems, and Staff Issues. The purpose of the subcommittees is to develop a broad understanding of personnel issues that would enable AFSA to make counterproposals to management and develop congressional and public support for its proposals. Subjects covered by the subcommittees overlap, which will make possible a comprehensive approach to avoid factional rivalry by grade or cone.

The Promotions and Selection Out Committee is responsible for developing a statement of general principles identifying personnel goals that are consistent with the Foreign Service Act. Consensus on general principles is a necessary step to avoid a repetition of management's claim that AFSA is divided on personnel issues. The committee will

make recommendations on tenure, flow through, time in class, selection out, and expected length of career.

The Personnel Evaluations subcommittee will develop material to help members understand and control the content of their evaluation files.

Minority Issues. The State Standing Committee recommended to management that it develop a training seminar that would help women and minorities understand informal factors that affect their careers.

Negotiations. *Three-year collective bargaining agreement.* This agreement brings together all of the individual agreements that AFSA had negotiated earlier, provides protection against challenge from another union during the period of the pact, and confirms a second full-time Foreign Service position to work on AFSA affairs. Initially viewed as a major accomplishment, the agreement has been disappointing because of management's unreasonably strict interpretation of how it should be implemented.

Open assignments. AFSA negotiated some minor modifications to the open assignments agreement that included extending the hard-to-fill exercise to certain domestic positions.

Obstetrical travel. We have held discussions with management concerning medical evacuation travel of pregnant employees and dependents. The department has proposed permitting expectant mothers overseas to return to the United States to deliver their babies. AFSA plans to propose that expectant mothers be permitted the choice of returning, or having their babies in neighboring countries if there are U.S. military facilities available or in the native country of the expectant mother.

AIDS. We held several discussions with management on the issue of testing for AIDS. As a result of our discussions, management eased a number of our concerns and agreed that routine testing would be extended to all dependents over the age of 11.

Grievance procedures. Management proposed several changes to grievance procedures that would limit an employee's right to grieve, limit a grievant's access to his or her file, and generally restrict the right to grieve as a result of lack of information about investigations being carried out by the department. AFSA presented counterproposals that would expand employee rights. Negotiations are still underway.

Diplomatic Immunity. The State Standing Committee responded with its own proposals to an amendment proposed by Senator Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina) that would have the effect of eliminating diplomatic immunity for families and staff members if other countries apply reciprocity. AFSA's alternative language, which was adopted in part by the Foreign Relations Committee, contains registration/departure procedures for individuals with diplomatic immunity; provides for the request by the secretary of state for a mission to waive immunity or for the declaration by the secretary of persona non grata status when a diplomat is charged with a serious crime; provides authority to institute and maintain criminal prosecutions provided it is not in derogation of individual's immune status; and requires liability insurance to be carried by diplomatic missions.

Diplomatic Security. The Standing Committee met with Robert Lamb, assistant secretary for diplomatic security, to discuss its concern at the possibility of the department's losing control over diplomatic security operations to another agency.

Plan to Reorganize and Reduce Positions. Since the secretary's announcement on September 18 that budget shortfalls are forcing a major reorganization of the department and reduction in positions in Washington, the standing committee has met several times in emergency session to plan a constructive response that would preserve positions while still meeting the challenge of a budget shortfall. Four members of the committee met with Deputy Secretary John C. Whitehead and other management officials involved in the reorganization on October 1. The deputy secretary claimed that the cuts in personnel were the only way to meet the budget shortfall. He agreed to consider suggestions from AFSA. An emergency open membership meeting was held October 2 to provide further details to members about the proposed reorganization and to elicit suggestions and active partici-

pation from members. Some 400 employees attended.

The standing committee will develop a public and congressional outreach program to generate opposition to personnel cuts. The proposed reorganization and personnel cuts are the most serious threat to the Foreign Service since the McCarthy period. It is more important than ever that members actively work together to meet the challenge posed by the plan.

The members of the State Standing Committee are: Evangeline Monroe (chairman), Perry Shankle, Ward Barmon, Jim Bean, Harry Blaney, Matt Daly, Robert Downey, Jonathan Farrar, Barbara Hughes, Shelley Johnson, Jim Leader, Chuck Schmitz, Dave Smith, Ted Wilkinson, and Harry Fornoff. The committee meets every Monday at 12:30. All members in State are encouraged to participate.

—Evangeline Monroe, State Vice President

AID Standing Committee

The AID Standing Committee has had a busy year, monitoring and negotiating several issues of concern to our membership:

Open Assignments Agreement. With valuable feedback from our members, we were able to work with AID management to reach an agreement on the open assignments system. We will continue, however, to work on improving the system.

IDI Program Handbook Chapter: We pushed for and got reactivation of the International Development Interns program and were able to maintain its character as an entry-level training program.

New Evaluation Form: We were instrumental in getting AID management to back away from an initial proposal to radically change the AID Personnel Evaluation Report form and, instead, to work with us in improving the existing one. An important factor in our success here was that we were able to state that we had strong support from the AID membership to preserve the current form.

Delinquent EERs: During the last year we have examined this longstanding problem in detail and found that much of the problem with late EERs was in Washington. We expressed our concerns and periodically consulted with management on how to change the situation. We are, therefore, pleased to see that management has now put teeth in the system: those responsible for late EERs will receive letters of reprimand or will not receive any cash bonuses or step increases.

Travel: We negotiated with management regarding implementation of city-pair fares and the inclusion of a business class provision.

Standardization of Grievance Procedures: We have proposed to management that the language used in its responses to grievants be standardized to the maximum extent possible. The objective here is to not leave the wording on such sensitive matters to the total discretion of the personnel official given the task of drafting a reply to a grievance.

Obey Amendment: We have recently received information that management may be moving away from the spirit if not the letter of the Obey Amendment. This is of great concern to us, and we have written letters to management on this and also raised it verbally in meetings. We are continuing efforts to retain AID positions in Washington for Foreign Service members.

Separation Travel: We successfully resisted management attempts to impose new repayment burdens on employees in connection with separation travel.

No-Smoking Policy: We negotiated a fair no-smoking policy with management.

Full-Time AID-Funded AFSA Position: We have raised with management the possibility of a full-time AID-funded position to handle AFSA affairs concerning the agency. (At this time, the standing committee consists only of volunteers.) This will parallel similar arrangements in State and USIA (where the official works with AFGE). It will allow us to give better and more timely support to the bargaining unit. Management has not categorically said no, so we plan to continue to pursue the issue.

Much was accomplished this past year, but much remains to be done.

We need your feedback and support if we are to be successful in representing and negotiating with management on behalf of AID Foreign Service employees. We look forward to hearing from members on a regular basis and getting your support.

—Hank Merrill, AID Vice President

USIA Standing Committee

The Standing Committee staged two successful events in its continuing Dialogues on Public Diplomacy lecture series this year. The first discussed the preparation of Officer Evaluation Reports and featured three agency officers with experience on selection boards. The second, attended by an overflow crowd, brought a senior Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer to speak on the future of USIA. Of particular benefit to agency officers on assignment to Washington, the sessions also enhance AFSA's image as an organization concerned with professional Foreign Service issues in USIA.

Standing Committee members hosted three separate classes of incoming USIA Foreign Service officers to lunch at the Foreign Service Club. The goals, functions, and activities of AFSA were discussed informally with them, and as a result new members were signed up.

Through a membership-wide mailing, the committee clarified for its USIA constituency the legal aspects of a challenge election to AFGE, currently the exclusive bargaining agent, or union, for USIA officers. Questionnaire responses from our members on this question and other issues are being received from the field. When tallied, they will help the committee determine when AFSA will issue a challenge.

As a result of the 1987 Governing Board election, Steve Telkins was re-elected the USIA vice president and John Quintus the USIA representative, both to serve on the board for two years. With John's departure on a new overseas assignment (public affairs officer in Mauritius), however, the standing committee nominated John Walsh from among its members as the new representative. John also serves on AFSA's Finance Committee. Steve Telkins completed a three-year term on the JOURNAL Editorial Board, the last two as its chairman. Guy Burton has replaced Steve on the Editorial Board, and serves there with USIA's other member, Linda Jewell. Bill Weinhold was recently named the USIA representative on AFSA's Committee on Education, which runs AFSA's scholarship programs. Sheldon Avenius worked many hours representing USIA on the AFSA Elections Committee this spring, which established procedures, organized candidate debates, and tallied votes.

—Stephen Telkins, USIA Vice President

Finance Committee

Fiscal Year 1987 was a very significant year for the Finance Committee and the treasurership of AFSA. As the treasurer on my second term, I am very grateful for the opportunity to serve again and I will continue to provide AFSA with the best financial management and controls available within our means.

I am happy to report the following major achievements since July 1986, when I became treasurer:

■ We hired a full-time controller, Ellen Tenn, with no additional salary cost. Ellen is a certified public accountant and has had many years of accounting experience with major national companies before joining AFSA.

■ We successfully installed a main-house computer system for our accounting, budget, and financial reporting functions. The total cost of the system (hardware and software) was paid back in less than a year through the avoidance of outside service bureau charges.

■ The AFSA investment policy for the scholarship fund is reviewed by the Committee on Education, the Finance Committee, and the Governing Board on an annual basis. This year, some revisions were made to establish additional benchmarks for the investment custodian, Shearson Lehman, to help improve performance.

■ We realigned our banking relationship and chose the Riggs National Bank as our lead bank. Riggs Bank, being one of the largest and oldest

in the nation's capital, has provided several state-of-the-art cash-management tools to AFSA (i.e., lockbox for direct cash deposit, faster availability of cash and eliminating the opportunity for cash theft, etc.) with no overall additional costs.

■ We stopped the losses incurred by the Foreign Service Club. Up to September 1986, the Foreign Service Club was losing about \$10,000 a month. The funds made available to sustain the club's operations were not available to pursue other more important AFSA objectives. With the installation of better financial controls and a new management, the loss was stopped. Since July 1, the Club is returning several thousand dollars a month to the AFSA coffers. We were able to effect a renovation of the first floor dining room area and installed a new and modern bar at no cost to AFSA. All these were made possible through a new contract relationship, new club management, and daily close supervision by the AFSA treasurer and controller.

■ The new contract arrangement with the club also resulted in a significant reduction of overall administrative expenses for AFSA in the areas of insurance premiums, utilities, general staff costs, membership service costs, workers compensation, payroll, FICA taxes, etc. This is in addition to the positive cash flow we are experiencing with the club.

■ The Finance Committee played a key role in assisting the JOURNAL in its selection and acquisition of Superpage, a desktop publishing computer software that helped the JOURNAL to become more productive and efficient.

■ Through better accounting, financial control, budgeting and cash forecasting, we were able to fund the complete renovation of the office of AFSA Labor Relations Department and put a fresh coat of paint on the walls of the AFSA administrative offices on 21st & E streets.

■ The Finance Committee was instrumental in assisting the membership coordinator in acquiring the first AFSA on-line membership service processing system. AFSA is now in a position to manage its own membership data base and provide better support services to other AFSA departments and activities.

I am very proud of these achievements during the past year. However, it is very important to point out that these goals would not have been accomplished but for the full support of the Finance Committee and the Governing Board. I am very appreciative of the faith they collectively placed on me and the unyielding support they gave me unhesitatingly in moments of need. Most of these committee members and board directors have since stepped down and moved on with their own careers. I do want to acknowledge their contribution to these accomplishments. Moving forward, I am very pleased with the composition of the new Governing Board and the Finance Committee. I look forward to striving for greater accomplishments with these distinguished ladies and gentlemen. There is still much to be done. The following items are high on my priority list of things to do in the next two years:

■ The JOURNAL is one of the finest magazines in this country on the editorial side. Its business side has not realized its full potential for a combination of reasons. It is my intention to put a focus on the publishing side of the JOURNAL in the very near future. It is my objective to stop its operating loss and turn the JOURNAL into a financially self-sustaining unit. I have over 10 years of financial management experience with national publishing concerns and I look forward to this challenge.

■ The AFSA personnel salary administration has not been a high priority item with previous AFSA administrations. As a result, our hiring, promotion, and compensation processes have not kept up with time. AFSA as a union and a professional association for the "very best" should be at the cutting edge in these areas. I plan to assist the current AFSA administration in bringing these areas up to date. A better-managed AFSA staff will result in a better AFSA for you.

With the new accounting and budget system in place, I plan to initiate a monthly financial operations report to the Governing Board. This will allow the board to make better decisions with up to date analytical financial management information.

The fiscal year 1987 audit by Coopers & Lybrand, certified public

accountants, should be completed in a few weeks. We expect to get a clean bill of health this year. As usual, the complete audited statements and the auditors report will be published in the AFSA NEWS as soon as available.

Looking ahead in the next few months, there are several major capital expenditures that may require a substantial reduction of the AFSA operating fund balance. They are:

■ The central air conditioning units for the 21st & E Street building are almost 15 years old. This summer, two floors went without air conditioning for a month. Replacement of these units will cost about \$30,000.

■ The roof of the same building has been leaking during this particularly rainy summer in Washington. We may have to do major repair work on the roof, which is over two decades old.

■ The general maintenance of the same building needs some "serious" catch up to prolong the life of the fixtures and equipment. We do not know the cost at this point.

These items will be addressed on an as-needed basis. Timely and accurate information on our cash flow position is critical to ensure a proper deployment of our resources. With our controller on board and our new financial system, we are in a position to ensure that you get the most benefit from your dues.

In closing, I want to welcome the following AFSA governors who joined the Finance Committee recently: Perry Shankle, Evangeline Monroe (State vice president), Hank Merrill (AID vice president), John Walsh (USIA), John Thomas (retired). And a welcome back to Jim Derrick (State) and Claude Ross (Committee on Education).

As the chairman of the Finance Committee, I look forward to a very productive two years serving with my committee.

—Sam Mok, Treasurer

Legal Affairs

The AFSA Legal Department has been active on a number of fronts this year. Among the areas of involvement are the following:

Employee Allowances. AFSA won its long-standing dispute with AID over implementation of the consumables allowances for employees at hardship posts. The consumables agreement, negotiated at AFSA's insistence in 1985, allows employees 2500 pounds of consumables per tour, an increase of 1500 pounds over the old regulations. The agreement also authorizes an additional consumables allowance for employees who serve extensions or second tours at post.

AFSA maintained that the regulations should apply to any employees who arrived at post on or after the effective date of the agreement, regardless of the date of issuance of their travel orders. AID argued that the regulations were applicable only to those employees whose travel orders were issued subsequent to the agreement's effective date. AFSA filed an institutional grievance with the Foreign Service Grievance Board, which ruled in AFSA's favor.

Although State had officially supported AFSA's position in the grievance, the department's Office of the Comptroller refused to honor this position until after the resolution of the grievance. As recently as September, AFSA learned that the department had failed to notify some of its personnel technicians responsible for processing consumables claims of the Grievance Board's decision. AFSA has protested to management, but affected employees should continue to monitor the department's actions.

Secretarial Pay. AFSA has filed a grievance on behalf of members of the February 1986 class of Foreign Service secretaries. The secretaries had been informed by the State Department throughout their recruitment that the department would match their salaries upon entry into the Service. They made irreversible decisions to leave their previous jobs based on these statements, and were never appropriately informed of a November 1985 decision to establish lower limits on salaries for Foreign Service secretarial candidates. By the time they learned of the department's decision not to honor its promises, they had no choice but to accept the department's reduced salary offer.

AFSA repeatedly protested the lack of appropriate notification to these

secretaries, but the department failed to remedy the situation. The department has since issued a decision letter denying the remedy sought in the grievance, which AFSA has appealed to the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

Legal Rights. AFSA won a lawsuit in which a State Department employee's position was reclassified without his knowledge, preventing him from receiving any promotions over a 10-year period. The employee originally filed a grievance in 1980, but the department denied the grievance. On appeal, the Foreign Service Grievance Board found that the employee had been misled and misinformed by the department, despite his diligent efforts to discover the reason for his lack of promotion. However, the board concluded that the employee would not have been promoted anyway and refused to grant him any retroactive promotions or back pay. AFSA then filed a complaint with the U.S. District Court.

The court's decision overturned the Grievance Board's determination that the employee was not entitled to any relief. The court found that the board had used an unacceptable method in determining that the employee would not have received any promotions over the 10-year period. The court ordered the department to either reconstitute Selection Boards for the 10 years in question, or retroactively grant the employee the average number of promotions received by members of his class with comparable records.

The department initially misread the court's order and attempted to reconvene only three Selection Boards. AFSA was forced to return to court to seek enforcement of its order. The department has since agreed to grant the employee two retroactive promotions. The department will pay AFSA over \$11,000 in attorney's fees for its representation of the employee.

Legislative Issues. As part of the fiscal year 1988 State Department authorization bill, various members of Congress attempted to amend the Foreign Service Act to reduce employee benefits; deny entitlement to AFSA representation; and fundamentally alter the extent to which diplomatic privilege is extended to foreign diplomats in the United States (see the State Standing Committee report). AFSA was largely responsible for a Senate amendment which allows the department to reprogram funds to pay employee salaries and expenses and avoid drastic personnel actions such as reduction in force.

Additionally, AFSA supported a bill to amend the Hatch Act, and restore government employees' rights to participate in partisan political activity, while still protecting them from improper political solicitations. At the same time, AFSA has supported legislation that would forbid political endorsements by chiefs of mission.

Security Investigations. The legal staff has provided counsel for a growing number of employees under investigation by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. The increase in security activity has been accompanied by a number of procedural lapses and stalled investigations. The lack of adherence to departmental guidelines has resulted in violations of employee rights, which AFSA has protested to Department officials.

AFSA is addressing some of the abuses of employee rights through negotiations on the agencies' grievance regulations which govern the grievability of DSS determinations. In the meantime, the legal staff has attempted to ensure that employees are fully informed of their rights during every stage of an investigation.

Utility Surcharges. AFSA has been battling the department in recent months over the decision of the Panama embassy to unilaterally establish a new utility policy. The proposal requires that employees in government-leased quarters personally pay all electricity costs exceeding a specific ceiling. This would greatly reduce the net pay of Foreign Service employees stationed in the country.

The new utility policy was originally intended to go into effect on July 1. Employees were not informed of the change until June 16, however, and no consultations were held with the AFSA chapter at post. In late July, after the intervention of AFSA/Washington, the chief of mission announced that implementation of the new policy would be postponed until the new fiscal year, but it was emphasized that this

is only a temporary reprieve. As of this writing, embassy officials have shown no signs of abandoning the surcharge proposal on a permanent basis, and AFSA is continuing its efforts to prevent its implementation.

Health Concerns. The department and AFSA have failed to reach an understanding regarding the assignment of bargaining unit employees to offices in State Annex 1 at Columbia Plaza. AFSA was informed of substandard environmental conditions in this building in memoranda from the Office of Medical Services in 1984 and 1985. Both documents state that no additional personnel should be moved to Columbia Plaza until these environmental inadequacies have been corrected.

This past spring, AFSA learned of plans to move employees from their current offices in Main State to Columbia Plaza. AFSA immediately sent a letter of protest to State management. The department maintains that it has addressed the environmental issues at SA-1. AFSA remains concerned and is continuing discussions with the department.

Unfair Labor Practices. AFSA recently prepared two Unfair Labor Practice charges against the State Department. The first was in response to a September 28 department memorandum to all executive directors instructing them not to certify any positions for special differential pay. Affected employees were informed that they would no longer be compensated for the substantial amounts of work they were asked to perform on a regular basis. AFSA contacted the directors involved and informed them that AFSA would take legal action to oppose the withdrawal of the differential. AFSA then prepared the charge, and as it was being filed, word arrived that the department had reversed its position.

The second charge was occasioned by a recent State Department Airgram which purported, among other things, to levy assessments on employee associations at posts abroad. AFSA learned of the Airgram via post representatives, but when AFSA tried to cable responses to the posts, the department refused to transmit them. In addition to protesting this action, AFSA demanded that the department provide AFSA with a copy of the Airgram and suspend its implementation until negotiations had been concluded. The department refused to comply with AFSA's demands, and a charge was filed with the Federal Labor Relations Authority.

Institutional Grievances. AFSA recently filed an institutional grievance resulting from the department's refusal to transmit several cables dealing with the AFSA Congressional Outreach Program. State's action is a violation of the AFSA-State Collective Bargaining Agreement. AFSA is entitled to use the department's telecommunications facilities for any cables which deal with grievances or labor-management relations, as long as they are not "libelous, scurrilous, or scandalous." Given these criteria, the AFSA cables were clearly suitable for transmittal, as evidenced by the fact that management had previously approved numerous cables on the same subject without question. The department has not yet responded to the grievance.

Drug Testing. AFSA has attempted to limit the negative effects of a 1986 Executive Order allowing agencies to impose mandatory drug tests on employees in "sensitive" positions. AFSA has argued that mandatory drug testing without probable cause is a violation of employees' Fourth Amendment protections from unreasonable search and seizure. AFSA has also decried the notorious unreliability of drug-testing methods. These concerns provided the focus of both an *amicus curiae* brief filed with the FLRA urging that implementation of any drug-testing procedures should be subject to negotiation, and comments filed with the National Institute of Drug Abuse.

Family Advocacy Program. AFSA filed a negotiability dispute over aspects of the department's proposal to establish a family advocacy program. The program is intended to discover and treat child and spouse abuse at post. AFSA supports the program, but insists that there be safeguards against injury to career and reputation due to false accusations of abuse.

AFSA maintains that an employee under investigation overseas should have a right to repatriation, so that he or she may obtain union representation or legal counsel, and the family may benefit from com-

munity support. The department charged that the AFSA proposal was non-negotiable, and AFSA appealed to the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board. We await a decision.

Tax Issues. AFSA filed an *amicus curiae* brief in a suit filed by the American Federation of Government Employees concerning retroactive provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1986. Prior to the Reform Act, employees could recover their contributions to the retirement system in a lump sum, or in installments during the first three years of retirement. Regardless of the option chosen, no taxes were assessed on the money. The Tax Reform Act repealed these provisions for all employees retiring after July 1, 1986. AFSA argued that these new provisions effectively deny Foreign Service employees access to their property. The court ruled that the amendments were proper, notwithstanding their retroactive effect.

State Tax Inequities. During the past year, AFSA continued its efforts to remedy tax law inequities affecting certain Foreign Service retirees. There are currently four states (Alabama, Iowa, Kansas, and North Dakota) which tax Foreign Service annuities while exempting Civil Service annuities. AFSA has been in contact with officials in each of these states, lobbying for legislation that will redress this unreasonable inequity.

For the second year in a row, corrective legislation was introduced in Alabama; although the bill failed to come up for a floor vote, AFSA will work to have it re-introduced during next year's session. A remedial bill reached the voting stage in North Dakota, but was defeated. The situation in Iowa has improved markedly thanks to the involvement of interested Foreign Service employees; a member of the Iowa House, together with the state's Department of Revenue, is examining the issue and considering possible remedies.

—Susan Z. Holik, General Counsel

Member Services

The Member Services Department had another busy and challenging year monitoring management compliance with negotiated agreements and regulations on benefits and allowances. That was no small task, either, in view of continuing budget cuts and increasingly difficult hazards of overseas service.

Especially affected by the budget climate have been travel benefits. Every year Foreign Service employees are subjected to new restrictions. First, posts were instructed to schedule travel via "cheapest mode." Next, management discovered that more savings could be obtained by mandating excursion-fare travel, which was again topped this year by the adoption of the infamous city-pair contracts.

Following is a list of examples in this and other areas that we have been active in over the past year:

City Pair. Despite AFSA's vigorous opposition, the foreign affairs agencies adopted mandatory travel under city-pair contracts. Posts are only too familiar with the resultant confusion over routing, loss of free upgrades, and potential threats to personal security, which further eroded morale over continued cuts in travel benefits. While minor cost savings to the U.S. government may have resulted, the irritation factor and effect on staff morale cannot be translated into dollars. AFSA would like to see the establishment of a discount fare structure across the board. Airline response to a proposal along these lines so far has been slow, and the contract has been extended for another three months.

Travel Advances. AFSA is monitoring the department's experiment with personal Diners Club cards issued in lieu of travel advances for employees going on temporary duty. While this might be a very worthwhile program, AFSA is concerned that an employee's credit rating may be effected if billing complications such as missing the payment deadline occur.

Workers Compensation. AFSA assisted several employees who incurred injuries on the job in processing their medical and compensation claims. In trying to find our way through the maze of laws and regulations, AFSA discovered that very few individuals, including responsible agency officials, are familiar with them. A crucial factor, for exam-

ple, is that claims for compensation must be filed within 30 days of the injury or—as recently happened—the employee may lose some or all entitlements to compensation and leave reimbursement.

Tandem Couples. With the increase in Foreign Service tandem couples, new problems of eligibility for allowances and compliance with the open assignments policy have arisen. AFSA has urged that regulations for two-employee couples be developed immediately to address these. For example, the department denied travel allowances to a tandem employee after her return to active duty from leave without pay, which had been forced on her due to the lack of appropriate assignment at the other spouse's post. In another case, payment of an education allowance to a Foreign Service child continues to be delayed while the department decides which of the tandem employees, who are assigned to different posts, should claim the child as a dependent.

Pouch. Several hardship posts have recently reported delays of pouches to and from Washington. AFSA's investigation showed that delays were due to transit problems, the low priority the department and airlines place on pouch service, and chronic flight delays. Another concern is the lack of insurance on parcels despite frequent loss and damage cases. The United States Postal Service refuses to insure packages bound for overseas posts, so AFSA is urging the department to establish its own registration system.

Unhealthful Working Conditions. Several members overseas and in Washington have contacted AFSA concerning health and safety conditions. At one hardship post, only one bathroom has been provided for all American employees. A second bathroom exists exclusively for use by senior management. After consulting with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, we have demanded that additional facilities be made available immediately.

Payroll Problems. AFSA recently resolved several cases where employees did not receive paychecks—in two cases for five pay periods, involving 400 hours of work.

Cost-of-living Adjustments. Single employees have complained about discrimination in the cost-of-living allowance. The COLA is based on a post's retail price schedule, which monitors foreign living costs for a "typical" family of four. The allowances branch agrees with AFSA that its method of calculating the adjustment may be unrealistic, especially for single persons, and will take this into consideration in future COLA determinations.

Retiree Privileges Overseas. AFSA continues to push for post privileges for annuitants living abroad. Four major areas—identification cards, check-cashing privileges, commissary access, and pouch services—are still at issue.

Post Differential. AFSA intervened on behalf of several posts whose differentials were cut. In one instance the cut was due to the mission's failure to submit an updated differential report for several years.

Language Training. As a result of budget cuts, language training at a number of posts was suspended last summer. AFSA intervened and was able to obtain guarantees that cuts would be temporary and that training would resume when the new fiscal year began.

Federal Holidays. Many posts in Islamic regions are experiencing difficulty reconciling American Monday holiday laws with customary weekend observations at posts. Since this is a matter of law, AFSA has approached Congress about moving Monday holidays to the day following the designated weekend in countries where the weekend falls on a day other than Saturday or Sunday.

Household Effects/Fidelity Storage Claims. For years AFSA has urged the department to drop Fidelity Storage from its contracts. AFSA intervened after hearing numerous horror stories of mishandled household effects either shipped or in storage. The department finally dropped the company from its list, but the problems will nevertheless be with us for many years, since effects in storage cannot be reviewed by many employees until their return from overseas. AFSA negotiated that all employee will have two years from the time they take physical possession of their goods to file claims. AFSA also assisted a few unfortunate employees whose effects were—unbeknownst to them—actioned due to the department's failure to pay authorized storage

costs.

Grievances. Our grievance counselors represented employees in over 200 complaints, grievances, and mediations at the agency and Grievance Board level. We were successful in settling a good number of these cases informally, sparing employees the lengthy grievance process as well as grief and trouble. While not suitable in many cases, the informal process works well in time-sensitive situations, cutting the average time for resolution from many months to a few days or weeks.

We continue to be concerned about the large number of cases involving administrative error, for example where the department does not maintain a performance file properly. As we have done in the past, we urge State employees to review their files periodically to ascertain that they are complete and provide selection boards with accurate and up-to-date information. AID's record-keeping system seems to be working smoothly; we are unaware of any complaints involving improper maintenance of PER folders.

Confidentiality prevents us from giving many details, but AFSA assisted a good number of members facing selection out because of time in class. We negotiated settlement language enabling employees to get immediate relief and allowing them to benefit from the group grievance that was recently filed by FS-1s whose window closed in 1986.

The majority of grievances concern performance evaluations, closely followed by alleged denial of authorized benefits and allowances. One particularly egregious case involved a communicator who was denied standby-duty pay during his two-year tour at a hardship post despite strong embassy support that he receive the pay. As the only communicator at post, in a mountainous terrain which made radio contact impossible, he was restricted to his residence. His only absence from his 24-hour, 7-days-a-week duty was a short R&R with his wife for the birth of their first child. After a long and bitter grievance action, the employee was awarded retroactive standby pay.

New Tax Law. The Member Services department keeps abreast of tax changes and Internal Revenue Service rules affecting the Foreign Service. The impact of the 1986 tax-reform law will soon be felt by members who incurred home leave and other unreimbursed business expenses this year. Other areas affected by the new tax law:

Official Residence Expenses. AFSA has been battling management over its failure to implement a 1984 IRS rule mandating exclusion of salary deductions for official residence expenses from gross income. The department recently responded that it is unable to implement the necessary payroll changes until 1988. This severely disadvantages employees this year, who as the result of the new tax law will no longer be able to receive full credit for the mandatory deduction. AFSA has requested that the IRS issue a ruling authorizing eligible employees to deduct their share of ORE expenses from gross income.

Ownership of Residences Overseas. The IRS maintains that Foreign Service employees who use their tax-free housing allowance to offset mortgage and real estate expenses for a personally owned residence may not claim a deduction for those expenses. Under the new tax law, only military personnel and ministers may specifically continue to do so. The IRS has informed AFSA that deductions may again be claimed as soon as the housing allowance at the post where the employee occupied and owned the residence is discontinued—upon transfer and reassignment, for instance.

—Sabine Sisk, Director of Member Services

Communications Department

JOURNAL. 1987 was a year of transition for the JOURNAL, on several fronts.

The most significant change was the departure of Senior Editor Frances G. Burwell, who left after six years to head the University of Maryland's Women in International Security Project. She has been replaced by Nancy Johnson, an experienced editor who has worked for both USIA and AID. She is a Foreign Service spouse.

Assistant Editor William Wickert was appointed advertising director following a year in which he led advertising sales to a record \$124,000—

an increase of 33 percent.

The magazine installed an inhouse electronic publishing system based on a program called Superpage. The system was phased in over five issues, concluding with October. It is projected to save AFSA more than \$30,000 over its five-year system life, while lessening the lead time of the magazine by two weeks.

At the same time, the editors effected a minor redesign of the magazine to enhance its legibility and attractiveness. The staff also redesigned the AFSA NEWS section to give it a higher profile and, in conjunction with the Communications Committee, which runs that section, added several new features to increase member awareness of AFSA activities in its dual roles as professional association and labor union.

As a result of the sharply increased revenues and the new technology, the magazine completed the year \$18,000 under budget, and the cost to provide each member with an annual subscription dropped from \$15.10 to \$13.70. This is a bargain, especially when compared to other professional magazines in the field: Development International (\$25), Defense & Diplomacy (\$42), Armed Forces Journal (\$19), Foreign Policy (\$21), and Foreign Affairs (\$28). Over the last three years, the JOURNAL has returned more than \$50,000 to the AFSA treasury for other projects by staying under budget through revenue development and cost controls.

Editorially, the magazine has been right on top of the news with special issues or features on "Life in the USSR" (May), "AIDS" (June), "Shultz Speaks Out" (October), and last month's issue on the upcoming summit. The principal topic of concern to the editors has been the effect on the Foreign Service of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction legislation. This was tracked from the start through our CONGRESS, CLIPPINGS, and DESPATCH columns as well as interviews with the under secretary for management (February), the director of management operations (November), and the chairman of the House foreign operations subcommittee (April). As a result, JOURNAL readers were well-prepared—though obviously not pleased—when the cutbacks were announced in September.

Press Relations. The JOURNAL continued to receive considerable media attention. The *New York Times* called both our November article on Pakistan and our September feature on congressional relations "Required Reading" and the *Washington Post* honored the magazine in its "For the Record" feature by excerpting an article on anti-Americanism in Latin America that was also distributed to each senator by Lawton Chiles (D-Florida). The *Baltimore Sun* and *San Francisco Chronicle* reprinted entire articles, and the *Boston Globe* favorably commented on an AFSA editorial on diplomatic immunity in an editorial of its own supporting our position. Our survey on career satisfaction made the *New York Times* and our special issue on ACDA's 25th anniversary was cited by the *Post*.

AFSA itself has remained consistently in the news due to its fights against State Department personnel policies. President Perry Shankle, for instance, appeared on Washington's Channel 5 last month to protest the recently announced personnel cuts. Our position against ransoming hostages generated considerable media attention when the Iran arms sales were revealed, including network television and big-city dailies.

—Stephen R. Dujack, Director of Communications

Retirement Interests

Several events dominated developments in the Foreign Service retirement area during the past year.

Following the cancellation of the 1986 cost-of-living adjustment, AFSA, working in coalition with other federal employee and retiree organizations, helped secure the enactment of legislation exempting the annual COLAs for federal retirement annuities from automatic sequestration (translate "cancellation") under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction act. Annual Foreign Service retirement COLAs again parallel those applicable to Social Security, and budgetary provision has been made for a Foreign Service retiree COLA for 1987, to be reflected in the January 1988 annuity checks. It is estimated that

the increase will be somewhere between 3.5-4 percent.

On January 1, the new Foreign Service Pension System began operation. Enacted in 1986, the new system automatically covers employees entering the Foreign Service after 1983. Those recruited earlier remained enrolled under the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System.

The law provides, however, that those enrolled under FSRDS, if they elect to do so, can transfer their coverage to the new FSPS during a six-month period beginning ending December 31. Because of the numerous variables and assumptions involved, for individual employees to estimate which system would produce the most favorable post-retirement benefits for them involves a series of fairly complex analyses. Accordingly, AFSA devoted considerable time to explaining the new system and assisting members in determining which system would be most advantageous for them.

Collaterally, several legislative initiatives modifying the conditions of retirement were introduced for consideration by Congress. While final action on these matters is still pending, AFSA continues its efforts to prevent any further erosion of the present provisions of the retirement system.

Finally, the administration's fiscal year 1988 budget proposed a one-percent reduction in retirement COLAs whenever the increase exceeds two percent. Also proposed was a change in the method of computing the government's share in the payment of federal employee health-benefit premiums. This would have resulted in additional costs to federal workers. In the face of opposition from AFSA and other employee organizations, neither of these proposals was formally considered by Congress.

—Robert Beers, Congressional Liaison Officer

AFSA Scholarship Programs

A delightful new dimension was added to the AFSA Scholarship Programs this past academic year. For the first time, the top winner in the Merit Award Program was publically honored on Foreign Service Day, held on May 1 in the Department of State. Director General George Vest presented Lisa Jones with a check for \$500 and a citation in recognition of the other 21 winners who received similar awards for their academic excellence during high school. The audience of active and retired Foreign Service personnel enjoyed the inclusion of the youngest members of the Foreign Service family in this annual awards ceremony when the Director General's Cup and the DACOR Cup are presented.

The Financial Aid scholarships, first offered by AFSA in 1927, are for full-time undergraduate study in U.S. colleges and universities and are determined solely on need. In academic year 1986-87, approximately \$95,000 was awarded to 71 dependent children of career Foreign Service personnel. These grants range from \$200-2000, depending on need and allowability by the individual schools. More than 90 percent of the AFSA Scholarship Funds distributed for 1986-87 were used for these aid grants.

The Merit Awards, created by AFSA and AAFSW in 1976, are limited to graduating high school seniors and are given for outstanding academic achievement. The \$500 awards to 22 winners each year are determined by volunteer review panelists from State, AAFSW, AID, USIA, and members of the retired Foreign Service community. In 1987, the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards were named in honor of Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, a long-time supporter of the career Foreign Service. Of the 22 winners who received \$11,000 in merit grants, 14 students graduated from high schools in the United States, and the 8 winners overseas graduated from schools in sBarbados, Canada, Ecuador, Germany, Ireland, Kenya, Spain, and Taiwan.

Contributions to the AFSA Scholarship Programs are always voluntary—they are never solicited. They come as memorial donations, contributions with dues, bequests, royalties, and honoraria, as well as from AAFSW Bookfair receipts. As education costs rise, our grants are keeping pace due to the generous support of the Foreign Service community, continuing income from the AFSA Scholarship Fund, and the increasingly large annual donation from AAFSW.

The Honorable Claude G. Ross is the chairman of the AFSA Committee on Education. Members include William R. Ford, AID; Monica N. Greeley, AAFSW; Mark E. Mohr, State; David W. Smith, State; and William J. Weinhold, USIA.

—Dawn Cuthell, Scholarship Programs Administrator

Insurance Programs

An interesting development during the past year was an approach by the Foreign Service Protective Association, indicating its interest in purchasing AFSA's group insurance program. The protective association was considering marketing a new personal property insurance program. AFSA had been offering such coverage for overseas members and AFSPA said it would prefer to cooperate in such a program rather than compete.

AFSA rejected the proposal in October 1986 on the grounds that our programs constituted a commitment that we were not ready to abandon. The programs had been developed over a period of years as a service to our members and are specially designed to meet their needs. They serve to attract new members and to help retain old ones. They also bring AFSA a little extra money each year. AFSA said it would welcome closer cooperation with AFSPA.

Following AFSA's elections in July of this year, the insurance board was authorized to resume discussions with AFSPA looking toward a merger of the two organizations, phased over a period of years. In essence the plan calls for AFSPA's board of directors to be designated as a new board of trustees, adding AFSA's insurance programs to their own and operating under the AFSA name. This would require writing a new charter for the board of trustees acceptable to both parties. Once this is done, the present board would be superseded by the new one, and the Governing Board would appoint two new trustees to supplement the existing group. The current administrative structure of AFSPA would remain, but the AFSPA name would be dropped. After three years the AFSA governors would name a third trustee and after four they would name all trustees as vacancies occur.

These and other terms were given to AFSPA at a meeting in September. They were described as tentative and subject to negotiation. AFSPA rejected the proposal on the grounds that it would not be in the best interest of the protective association or its 12,500 members, but that AFSPA looked forward to continuing cooperation with AFSA in recognition of "a number of shared similarities [that] motivate our organizations in servicing Foreign Service personnel, active and retired."

Whether this puts an end to further discussions with AFSPA on a possible deal to combine efforts remains to be seen. Your board of trustees would welcome comments and suggestions from members on this and other topics relating to our insurance programs.

—Hugh Wolff, Chairman, Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs

Membership

AFSA membership rose by nearly six percent during fiscal year 1987, ending the year at a record high of 9244. The increase came as a result of direct-mail solicitations to the bargaining units in State and AID and to both agencies' retirees.

Most of the increase came in the State Department constituency, which increased by 378 to 4489 members. The AID and Retired constituencies also showed increases.

In September, the entire membership roll was transferred to a new computer service that provides AFSA with an inhouse telecommunications hookup with its data base. As a result, membership records can now be updated instantly—they used to take as much as a month—and the Membership Department can sort the roll to provide a list of, for instance, AID FS1s who live in Fairfax County. This capability will allow us to communicate directly with portions of our membership about issues that concern specifically them.

—Myriam Duncan, Membership Coordinator

"Insuring the furnishings you move overseas calls for Security."

Paul Wood, Manager, Insurance Division has worked with Security since 1956.

"Storing the valuables you leave in Washington also calls for Security."

Roland Showalter, Vice President Overseas Division, joined Security in 1947.

When you're posted abroad, you can insure household goods in-transit or at your overseas residence—at special low rates.

Security's Government Service Policy covers furnishings and personal effects including automobiles anywhere outside the U.S. Call Paul Wood at (202) 797-5625.

You can store rugs, furs and clothing in temperature-controlled Security—at government expense. And, you can give your valuables and art the Security of a bank vault. Call Roland Showalter at (202) 797-5679.

Your move overseas calls for the expertise of the world's most experienced moving and storage company.

Since 1890
Security
MOVING & STORAGE
(202) 234-5600

1701 Florida Avenue NW Washington DC 20009

Chrysler's newest diplomatic couriers.



Chrysler LeBaron Coupe



Plymouth Sundance



Dodge Dakota

As an active member of the Diplomatic Corps, you're entitled to special pricing through Chrysler's 1987 Diplomatic Purchase Program. You can choose from a complete line of Chrysler, Plymouth and Dodge cars, as well as Dodge trucks, vans and wagons. New for 1987 are the Chrysler LeBaron Coupe, Plymouth Sundance and Dodge Dakota.

Chrysler LeBaron Coupe boasts a sleek new skin, a sumptuous interior and a high-torque fuel-injected engine for heart-pounding performance. It is beauty...with a passion for driving.

Plymouth Sundance is truly the unbelievable American. Combining the absolute latest in American technology with painstaking attention to minute detail, Sundance quality is designed to

rival *anything* out of Japan.

Dodge Dakota is America's first mid-size pickup. Ever. With optional 4-wheel drive and payload capability up to 2000 pounds, there's not much you can't do in a Dakota.

For full details on these and the rest of the Chrysler line, Foreign Service Personnel in the U.S. should contact: **Diplomatic Sales Office, Chrysler Corporation, P.O. Box 1688, Detroit, MI 48288. Those stationed overseas: Telex 845-942543-OMSC-CH.**

Attn: Diplomatic sales.
Or both can simply mail the postage-paid reply card in this magazine.



Working together
to be the best.