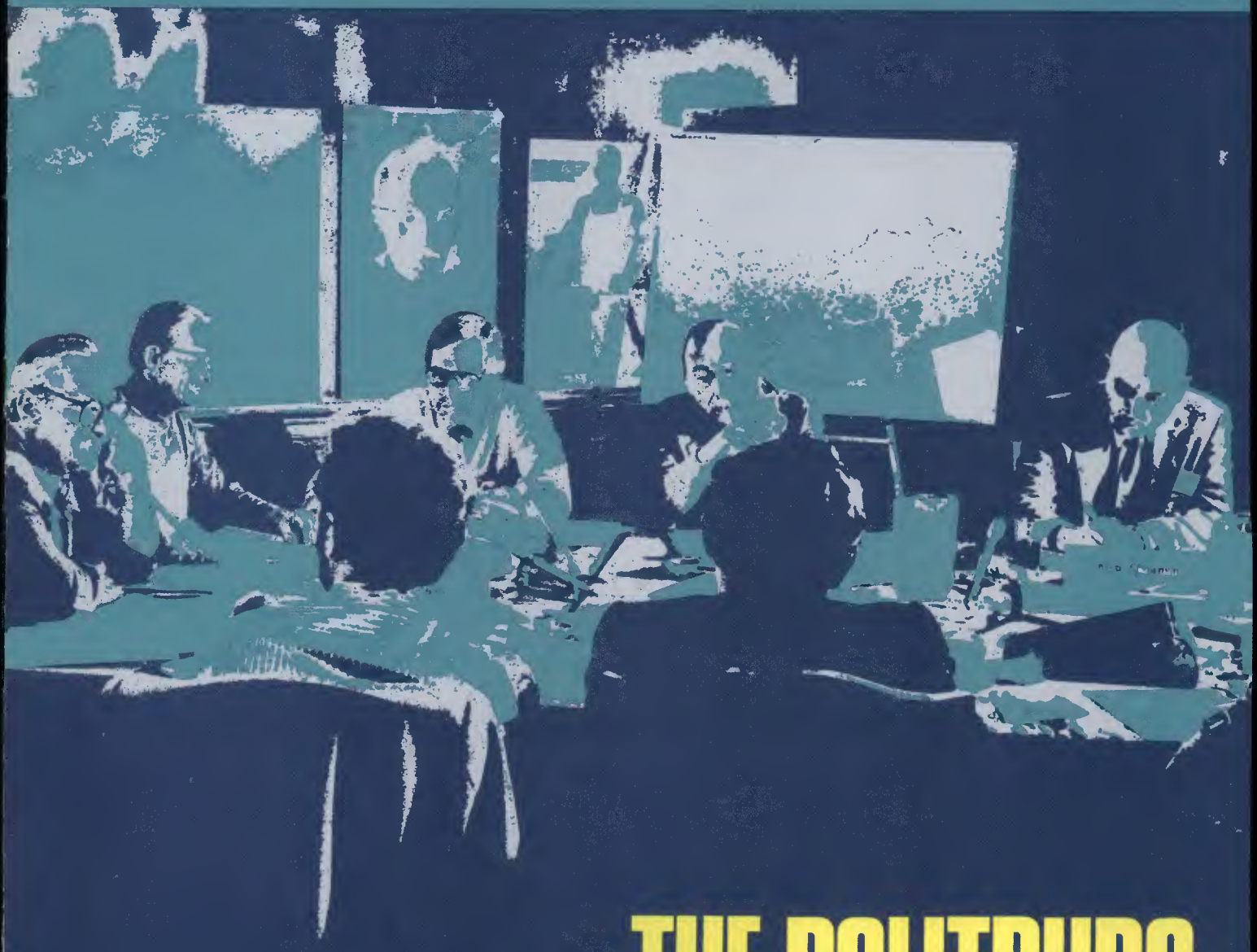
FOREIGN SERVICE

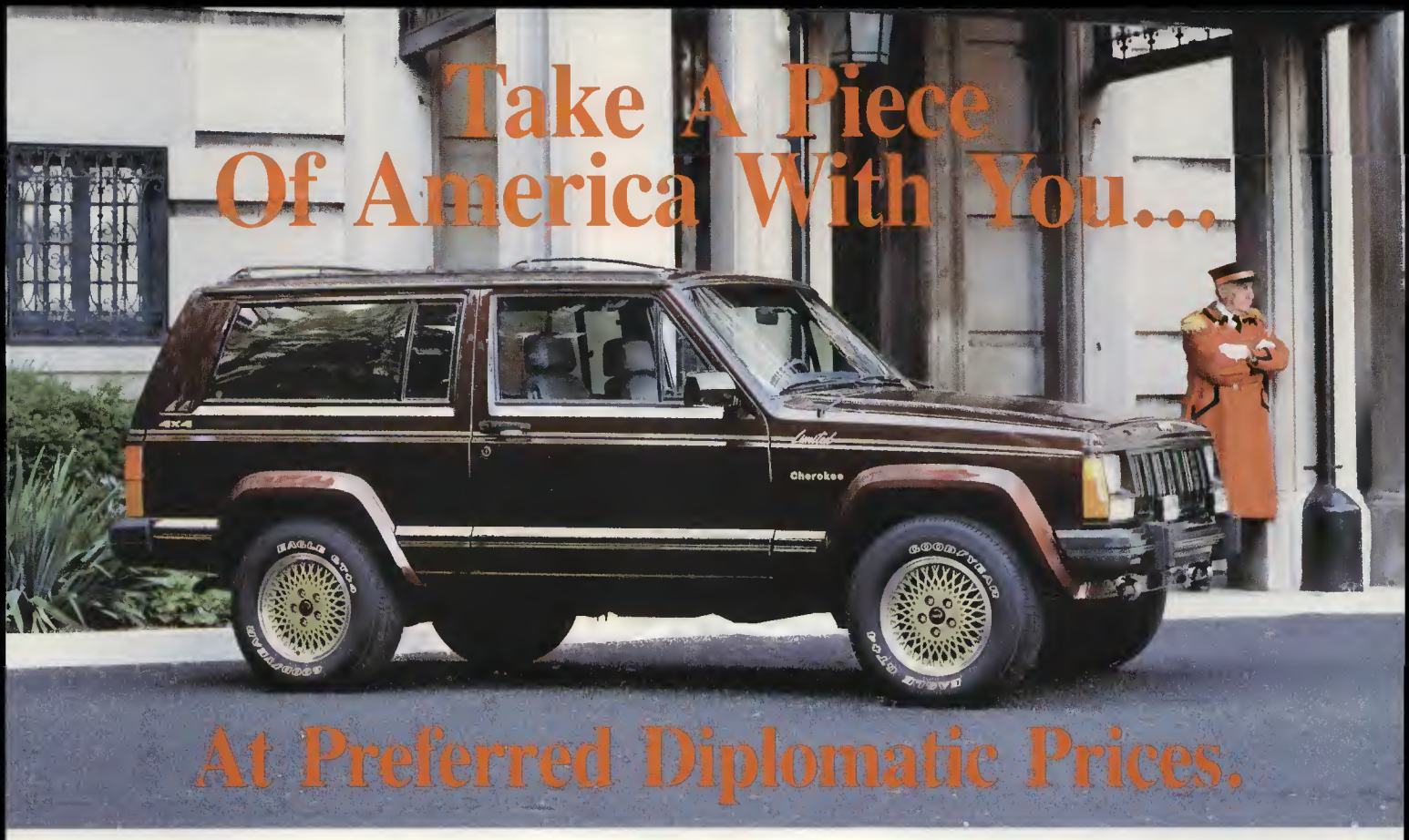
JOURNAL

$2.00

June 1988



THE POLITBURO MEETS ON K STREET



For over 45 years, Jeeps have conquered some of the worst roads in the world, and some of the best.

You can take on the particular driving challenges of your next point of duty behind the wheel of your new Jeep—and be ready for whatever the local conditions can dish out.

Jeep Cherokee & Wagoneer

Need room for your own personal diplomatic corps? Cherokee gives you a choice of 2 or 4 doors, 2 or 4 wheel drive, and the most powerful optional engine in its class.

And Cherokee is still the only sport/utility ever to sweep "4 X 4 of the Year" honors from all three leading US off-road publications!

Jeep Wrangler

Need diplomatic immunity from "civilization"? Get away from it all in a Jeep Wrangler.

Explore your next duty station in today's "Super CJ", and experience the get-away-from-it-all 4 wheel drive revolution for yourself...in more comfort than you imagined.





It's Easy And Quick

Just call, telex, or mail the postage-paid reply card bound into this magazine. You'll get a prompt, accurate response, and you can order your new Jeep for delivery anywhere in the world at special preferred diplomatic prices.

In the U.S.A.:
Diplomatic Sales Office
Chrysler Motors
International Operations
P.O. Box 1688
CIMS: 450-03-16
Detroit, MI 48288-1688
Toll Free Telephone:
1-800-654-1084
Overseas Telex:
#221623 MILCA-UR
Att: Diplomatic Sales
or Telephone: **(516) 496-1806**

Jeep
Eagle

Jeep USA
Official Sponsor 1988 U.S. Olympic Team

Jeep® Diplomatic Sales
A Division Of The Chrysler Corporation

CAN YOUR INSURANCE COMPANY DO ALL OF THIS FOR YOU?

AUTO

Provide an overseas package "Ship and Drive" auto policy which includes "All-Risks" protection **plus** transit coverage.

HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS

Provide a package policy combining transit "at post" and U.S. commercial storage. Full Replacement Cost is available.

SCHEDULED PROPERTY

Provide a separate "All-Risks" policy covering your high-valued items such as jewelry, fine arts, silver.

STATESIDE COVERAGE

Anticipate the domestic insurance needs of the American Foreign Service in the Metropolitan Washington Area. We can provide a full spectrum of policies including Automobile, Homeowners/Rentors, Rental Property, and Personal Liability coverages.

CREDIT CARD PREMIUM PAYMENT

Provide a convenient payment option using CHOICE, VISA, or MASTERCARD.

CLAIMS

Provide prompt payment directly through our office.

INSURANCE BROKERS WORLDWIDE

CLEMENTS AND COMPANY

Specialists in Insurance for the Foreign Service at Home and Abroad

Contact us today for a free brochure, "Foreign Property Policy Analysis."

Clements and Company
1700 K Street, N.W., Suite 900
Washington, DC 20006

Telephone: (202) 872-0060

Cable: CLEMENTS/WASHINGTON
Telex: WUI/64514



Cover: That's Representative Les Aspin posing as the Soviet Communist Party general secretary (left) and other decidedly non-Soviet participants in a political-military game concerning a nuclear terrorist incident, run at the Center for Strategic and International Studies—at 1800 K Street, not the Kremlin. Our special issue on games, simulations, and exercises offers several views on how these techniques, long scorned by the majority of diplomats, can nonetheless aid in training, policymaking, and contingency planning.
Cover photo and photos on pages 34, 35, and 36 by Marty Lavor.

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

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

Address Advertising Inquiries To:

Foreign Service Journal
Advertising Director
2101 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202)338-4045

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

CONTENTS

Monroe Go Home 26
Charles Maechling Jr.
The Reagan administration's appeal to this discredited doctrine is a move in the wrong direction

Why Play Games? 34
Andrew Goldberg and Debra van Opstal
Simulations can help diplomats meet real-life crises

Modeling Crises 37
Michael Schofield
Despite early resistance, political-military games are increasingly becoming accepted at State

Computerizing Conflicts 46
Lincoln P. Bloomfield
CASCON III runs on any PC and can potentially help diplomats defuse real-life crises

Journal: Dancing on St. Paddy's Day 50
J. Foster-Merrill
How Grandpa made his death-bed promise come true

AFSA Views 3
Letters 6
Books 12
Clippings 17
Etcetera 20
Reprints 22
10-25-50 24
Despatch 25
People 52
AFSA News 61

"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 AFSA NEWS and the AFSA VIEWS, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

JOURNAL subscriptions: One year (11 issues), $20. Overseas subscriptions (except Canada), add $3 per year. Airmail not available.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional post office. 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, 1988. 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Phone (202)338-4045.

June 1988. Volume 65, number 6.

AFSA VIEWS

A Self-inflicted Lobotomy

Since the end of World War II, the United States has been able to rely on its military, economic, and political preeminence to give it world leadership. We did not have to make the arguments for our role: they were self-evident from our wealth, power, and energy. For the past four decades, our only contender for world leadership was the Soviet Union, a conflict limited largely to the military field and to our opponent's meretricious assertions of idcological supremacy.

Now, however, the world has become much more like the design Americans made for it in the late 1940s. Economic prosperity, at least in the northern hemisphere, is widespread. The appeal (and the threat) of Communism as a society-ordering philosophy is on the wane. Many other countries, particularly America's allies, now have strong defenses. The alliances of the 1950s and '60s, which exchanged security commitments of the superpowers for virtually unconditioned political commitments by lesser countries, are evolving now into something looser—more of "alignments" of nations, rather than the loyalty-demanding blocs of the early post-war years.

The essential lubricant of the age of alignments is consultation: not the false consultation of informing allies after the decision already has been taken, but the real consultation of mulling over problems and arriving at an agreement on how to deal with them. Consensus foreign policy is already upon us: Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, European missiles, economic development, trade, terrorism, drugs, refugees, disaster relief—all are major international problems bearing importantly on U.S. interests which remain intractable by U.S. policy decisions alone.

To make matters somewhat worse, in the era of glasnost, perestroika, and smiling diplomacy, we no longer have the advantage of having a manifestly malevolent adversary to confront.

How, then, are we to advance U.S. interests in a world in which the relative power of the United States is diminishing while the challenges it faces are increasing in complexity? To prevail, we need to persuade other countries to our point of view. How do we persuade? By diplomacy. More than ever, diplomacy, not hardware, is our first line of defense.

Diplomacy is the art of showing a foreign ally or adversary how to say "yes." To put it slightly differently, it is the process of most effectively and efficiently obtaining national objectives in the international arena. As America's global predominance is replaced by a more equal distribution of power, we will need more and better diplomacy to advance our interests.

When the United States has to struggle to persuade even its allies to act in ways that advance our national interests, when this country has got to live by its wits rather than rely on its overwhelming resources, it makes sense to strengthen our diplomatic apparatus. Instead, however, this administration seems committed to reducing the capabilities of the Foreign Service to cope with the new, more challenging international order. The State Department's leaders came up with a plan to cut nearly 10 percent of its workforce when faced with last fall's budget shortage even though alternative savings were available. Today, with the immediate crisis past but future budget reductions looming, they are saying that the diplomatic corps must reduce the demand for its services.

This is not sharpening the nation's wits to deal with a new and more challenging international order; it is a prescription for a self-inflicted lobotomy. Because breakdowns in diplomacy usually have sizable economic consequences—often resulting in a military conflict or a lost trading opportunity or allowing drugs to flood across our border—the relatively small expenses of maintaining a first-class diplomatic service in fact support our nation's need to lower its budget and trade deficits.

It is probably true that the State Department could use some reorganizing to rid itself of redundancies of function and the make-work of outdated but mandatory reporting. It *needs* to be more efficient in order to compete with increasingly competent foreign ministries and with increasingly aggressive special interest groups at home. By all means, let us get on with structural and procedural improvements. But let us stop using improvements as an excuse to weaken the Foreign Service. Let us strengthen it instead; reducing the demand for U.S. diplomatic services is a reduction in the influence of American diplomacy. This is a reduction that is neither required nor desirable.

—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 GARMS, MICHAEL ZAK
USIA Representative: JOHN WALSH
Retired Representatives: L. BRUCE LAINGEN, DAVID SCHNEIDER, JOHN THOMAS

Staff

Director for Administration and Member Services: SABINE SISK
General Counsel: SUSAN Z. HOLIK
Controller: ELLEN TENN
Membership Coordinator: MYRIAM DUNCAN
Legal Issues Coordinator: CHRIS BAZAR
Member Services Representatives: NEAL M. CALLANDER, DAVID COHEN
Law Clerk: ELLEN SILVER
Administrative Secretary: KAREN DENT

Professional Issues
RICHARD S. THOMPSON

Congressional Liaison
ROBERT M. BEERS
RICK WEISS

Scholarship Programs
DAWN H. 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 1980. 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 AFSA 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, professional issues, 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)338-5730



[2]SNA is a trademark of International Business Machines Corp.
[3]ETHERNET is a trademark of Xerox Corp.
© 1988 AT&T

Yes, somebody can. AT&T.

Because nobody knows more about networking, integration and voice/data communications than AT&T.

You can prove it to yourself with one phone call to your AT&T Federal Systems Account Team. Call us and ask about AT&T integration capabilities.

We can design the most efficient way to achieve the connectivity you need without sacrificing any of the system components you already have, no matter who made them.

When you call, you'll learn about integrated backbone networking using AT&T ACCUNET® Digital Service, AT&T SKYNET® Satellite Service and AT&T Digital Microwave Radio Systems. Combined with AT&T System 85 or AT&T System 75 PBXs, Local/Wide Area Networks and a full range of multiplexers, they integrate all your existing voice and data networks for end-to-end solutions.

And you'll learn how AT&T's UNIX®-based personal



and minicomputers can help you integrate existing applications, whether they reside in SNA,[1] ETHERNET[2] or TCP/IP environments.

Without giving up a single piece of your existing equipment.

Contact your AT&T Federal Systems Account Team or call 1 800 424-2988.

From equipment to networking, from computers to communications, AT&T is the right choice.

AT&T

The right choice.

"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**

LETTERS

AFSPA Responds

Mr. Ingraham's letter in the March issue raises the question of health insurance rates and the methods used to determine them. In the case of the American Foreign Service Plan, there are several reasons for the recent increases.

First and most important is the increase in volume and value of claims. We estimate claims will amount to $24 million in 1988. That compares with $17.7 million in 1986 and $14.2 million as recently as 1984.

Why are claims up so much? One reason is that the rate of inflation in the medical field is much higher than the overall cost-of-living index. In 1986, for instance, the increase in hospital costs exceeded the rate of inflation by 10 to 1. This is caused by greater use of expensive, high-tech diagnostic tests and treatment regimens, "defensive" medicine because of malpractice problems, etc.

Another factor is that the volume of claims is materially greater than in recent years. This is true industry wide. No one is sure just why, but more people are receiving more treatment than previously. Claims received by AFSPA have risen from about 1500 per week in 1986 to almost 2000 per week in 1987. In 1980 there were about 750 per week. These numbers reflect a growth in outpatient care, while hospitalization has declined slightly. More procedures and applications are being performed today on an outpatient basis than previously. Meanwhile, empty hospital beds drive up the unit cost of hospitalization.

Second, AFSPA and all other carriers were obliged by the Office of Personnel Management in 1986 to refund most accumulated reserves. About two-thirds of the refund went to OPM and about one-third to our members. As a result, peaks and valleys cannot be smoothed out, and we must charge on a current basis. The 1988 premium is the best estimate by the actuaries of Mutual of Omaha and OPM of what our claims will be.

Third, the government only partially subsidizes the cost of insurance to federal employees. Each year OPM uses a complicated formula to figure the maximum amount the government will contribute toward the total premium of each plan under the Federal Employees Health Benefit Program. If the increase in the government contribution is less than the overall increase of a particular plan, the burden of the shortfall shifts to the individual. This year the portion the government contributes to the Foreign Service Plan (self and family) decreased by about four percent. This was added to the amount to be paid by the individual in addition to the increase called for by the actuarial rating of the plan.

Finally, ours is a very high option plan. To provide the benefits we offer, we must charge accordingly. Low-option plans charge less and offer less. And yet there are other high-option plans that charge much more than our plan and offer no more, if indeed as much. You will notice that other high-option plans with coverage comparable to ours have raised premiums much more than we have: Aetna High Option $2688.84 per year; Blue Cross High Option $2739.00 per year; Alliance $3314.88 per year; Postmasters $2428.08 per year, for self and family coverage. Our rate is $1884.00 per year for self and family and $673.00 per year for self only.

The only sure way to hold claims down is to reduce benefits. AFSPA, up to now, has not wanted to reduce the benefit package, which has been carefully constructed to serve our constituency and its special requirements. The above illustrates that it is a tedious process, but by no means mysterious—unless one regards the actuarial process itself as mysterious.

As to the question of why Medicare-covered retirees pay the same premium as those who are not, the answer is OPM ordains it to be that way. Neither we nor any other FEHB plan is permitted to offer a specific "Medigap" policy.

JOHN P. SHUMATE
Executive Vice President, AFSPA
Washington, D.C.

Not Amused

Fitzhugh Green reveals himself to be one of the Foreign Service's great comic writers with his tongue-in-cheek (surely) effort to prove that Franklin and Jefferson were



"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



Now that you're moving abroad you may have some questions about getting your things there— call District's "moving abroad telephone information service" to get the answers.

Even if you're a seasoned foreign service family the overseas move isn't something *you* do every day. But, it is something *we* do every day.

That's why we are offering our new "Moving Abroad Telephone Information Service" – to assist you quickly with any questions you may have about your move that relates to planning, scheduling, packing, air freight, accompanied baggage or any other moving subject that is troubling you.

Call (301) 420-3300, a local call in the Washington, D.C. area, for the answers to your questions. While you're at it ask for a free copy of "Moving Overseas: The New Assignment Abroad Checklist." It is full of good ideas on how to make you move easier.

Select District Moving and Storage for an easier moving experience.

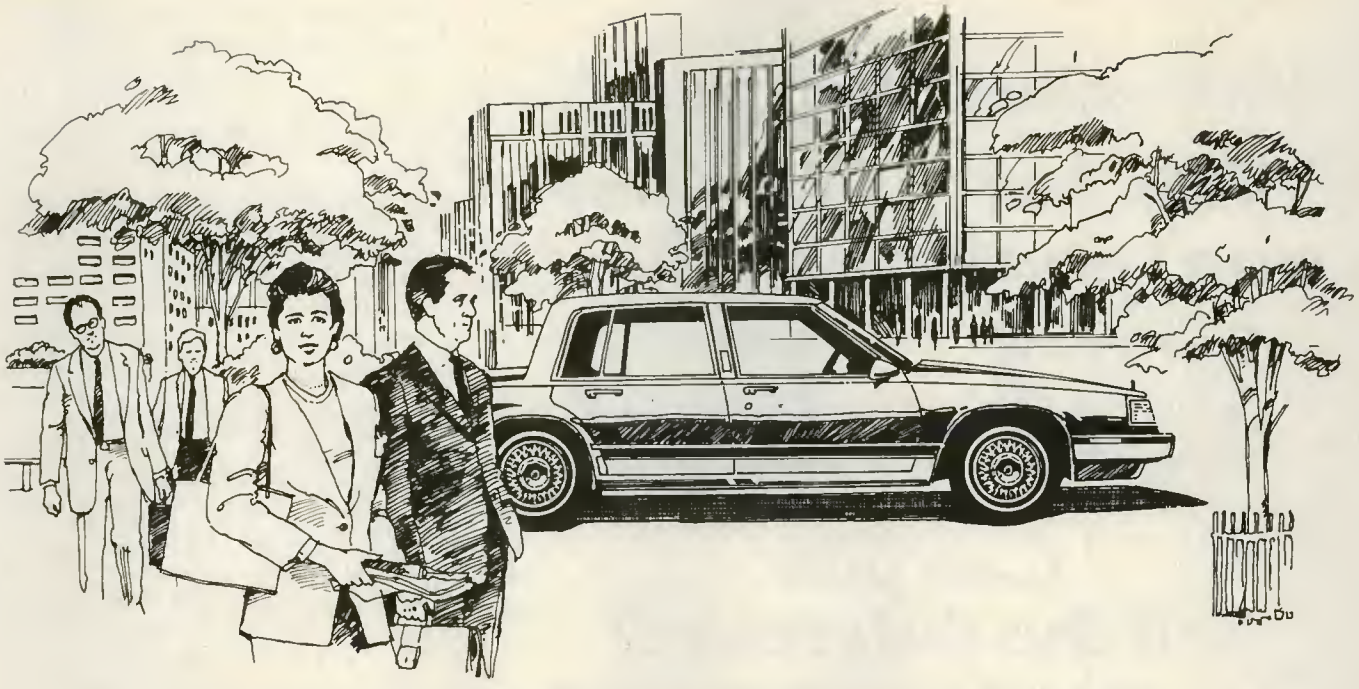
DISTRICT
MOVING & STORAGE, INC.
3850 Penn Belt Place
Forestville, Maryland 20747
301-420-3300

inventors of the sleaze-ridden art of public relations, puffed up and renamed "public diplomacy" ["Our First Public Diplomats," February].

Mr. Green, who has lived among PR pros long enough to know how to think like them, gives us an admirable parody—a kind of fantasy on how contemporary practitioners of "public diplomacy" might justify themselves by taking anecdotes out of context from the mythology of the Founding Fathers. This reading of his article must surely reduce us to tears of laughter as we decode his devious and dry mockery. And tears of sorrow as we contemplate—through his examples—the decline of American public morality and devotion to those who search for truth and those who shape it to their purposes. It is to be hoped that we can look forward to more such two-eyed weeping when his book is printed.

Drollery aside, a serious consideration of the diplomatic methods of early practitioners—especially in Paris, where the stakes were so high—reveals a great deal, not only in the cases of Franklin and Jefferson but also with the intriguing Citoyen Tom Paine, a private but very public "diplomat" of major importance. Each of these gifted individuals, alone with a communications time-lag of months, had to cope with an enormous gap between opposing political cultures. Each had no choice but to invent his own language of diplomacy. Franklin rode his reputation as a major world scientist and American *philosophe*. Jefferson turned his skills to dissecting the Ancien Regime as a case study of how not to govern, meanwhile searching for an alternate base of commerce for the new nation. Paine, idolized by the French for his prose, was named honorary citizen of the Republic and member of its revolutionary legislature, representing the Pas de Calais. He later became one of the committee of five who drafted France's first constitution, before the tables turned and the Jacobins, one by one, were led off to the guillotine while Paine watched anxiously from his prison cell.

Laughter arrests thought, say the Italians. However cleverly provoked, laughter should not be allowed to hide the grandeur of these early Americans, no more than it should fail to remind us of the dwarfs who have taken their place. Green's technique, if I read him correctly, is to turn it all upside down (as though he reduced George Washington, thrower of silver dollars, to the "best arm prior to Carl Hubbell"). But his reductionist method is so subtle that some will miss the point and take literal pride in Franklin's alleged invention of VOA, or in Jefferson as the putative father of disinformation. Perhaps the



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

GM

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 — ☐ Firenza ☐ 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. . _____

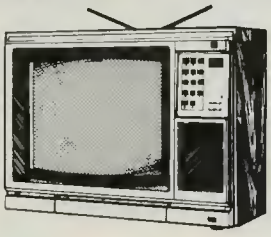
CITY* STATE/PROVINCE* _____

COUNTRY* _____

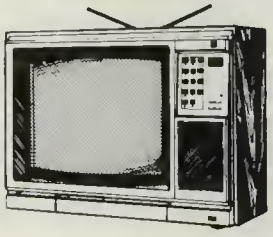
*(PLEASE INSERT ANY MAILING CODE REQUIRED BY YOUR LOCAL POSTAL REGULATIONS)

6000 miles from here...

This one won't work.



This one will.



Can you tell the difference?

When it comes to appliances, every country makes its own rules. Voltages, cycles, TV and video standards just aren't the same overseas as they are here in the USA. There are TVs and VCRs that work equally well both here and abroad, but you shouldn't expect that your local Sears will be able to supply your needs...or even know what they are.

We know. Twenty-five years worth of experience makes us expert in all the things you'll need to know if you're in government service overseas. *We stock a complete line of home appliances for 220 volts, 50 cycles—all major brands. And all of our prices are substantially discounted.*

Our large inventory assures prompt shipment. And we can ship anywhere in the USA or worldwide if you prefer—free of US taxes.

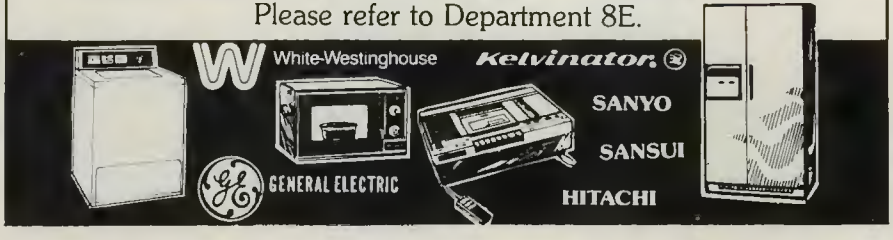
With all that assurance, you'll be pleased to find that our prices are most competitive and our service is second to none.

Call or write for literature, advice and price information.

Appliances Overseas, Inc.

330 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001 (212)736-7860

Please refer to Department 8E.



The Foreign Service Club

Is Now Open

The Club's new management has great things in store for AFSA members and their guests when they come for lunch:

- An exciting new menu.
- A newly decorated dining room.
- Quick and courteous service.

Open weekdays 11:30-2:00. For reservations call 338-5730

2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037

danger is minimal: the fools will be flattered, but the wise will know better.

RICHARD T. ARNDT
Foreign Service Information Officer, retired
University of Virginia

We asked author Fitzhugh Green to respond:

I appreciate Mr. Arndt's letter calling attention to my forthcoming book on the mission of USIA and its predecessors. I assure him that I too am solicitous of the grandeur of our forefathers.

The Waiting Game

Saul Bellow's novel *Dangling Man* came to mind as I read Ken Bergstrom's letter in your March issue. Ken canceled his subscription to the JOURNAL with regret as he faced up to the prospect that even after twice passing the written and oral exams he had little chance of an appointment.

Since my retirement to Minnesota, I have become a friend of Ken and, as a veteran of the Board of Examiners, I know the process of which he wrote as well. The odds have changed since I went through the system in 1949, however; judging from his background, Ken would have passed magna cum laude in my day. The rating system has determined that even a superior candidate must wait for 18 months, because newer entrants with even higher scores precede him on the list. I don't challenge the rating scorers, because I was once one of them, but I do question a system that keeps aspirants waiting for a final decision.

The current system works to shunt off many superior hopefuls who are simply not willing to wait while the process works. Surely we can work out a process that rewards the best at once and releases the dangling man—or woman.

PATRICK QUINLAN
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Edina, Minnesota

We have recently learned that Mr. Bergstrom has received an appointment and is considering his options.—ED.

Parents on Board

Thank you for the perceptive series on educating children overseas [PEOPLE, April]. How about a response from Ms. Benson's (or other Foreign Service) parents on how it felt to send a child to boarding school?

DONALD R. TYSON
Foreign Service Officer
Annandale, Virginia

So I'm in D.C. at a huge civilian government agency. More departments than you thought possible, tons of information, equipment from different vendors. And the bureau chief needs to prepare an in-depth analysis for the Congressional Committee... He's a little concerned to say the least. But I assure him it may not be as bad as it seems. **For starters, I suggest a Wang VS 7310 to provide more horsepower and to access data on his DEC equipment. Then via the Wang Systems Networking transports, he can pull data through an SNA link from the IBM mainframe in Arlington...with PACE relational database software, his staff can update the information. And they share it, review drafts and suggest revisions via Wang OFFICE. Wang Integrated Image Systems let him retrieve stored Congressional correspondence and data tables from the past three years for documentation. Electronic Publishing puts on the finishing touches.** And out the door it goes...Another challenge met.







GIVE US A DAY TO MAKE IT WORK FOR YOU. 1-800-522-WANG

WANG MAKES IT WORK.

Give us a day to make it work for you. Call Wang's Federal Systems Division Executive Briefing Center in Bethesda, Maryland where Gene Shugoll's organization can create a customized demonstration, showing how Wang can make your computers and your organization work better. Now and in the future. They can also provide additional examples of how Wang made it work for other government organizations. Call them at **1-800-522-WANG.**

© 1988 Wang Laboratories, Inc.

Guardian Storage, Masters of Their Trade



For every masterpiece ever created, a view of the world never seen before is revealed to the observer, and its meaning is unique to every individual. The same is true for one's possessions: whether their quality is inherent or sentimental, their value is priceless. Trust your priceless possessions to Guardian Storage when your Foreign Service assignment takes you abroad. Your belongings will be carefully packed and containerized for protected storage and shipping, as well preserved as an invaluable masterpiece.

Call Guardian Storage.
We have moving down to an art.

GUARDIAN STORAGE, INCORPORATED

OLD WASHINGTON ROAD, WALDORF, MARYLAND 20601
TEL. (301) 645-4040 · (WASH. TOLL FREE) 843-6606

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

BOOKS

Education in Diplomacy: An Instructional Guide. *By Smith Simpson. University Press of America, 1988. $10.75.*

Anyone who wants to teach thoughtfully and realistically about both the content and process of diplomacy ought to give Smith Simpson's volume a careful look. This former FSO and an impressive group of practioners and academics have put together a guide to instruction on diplomacy that lives up to its billing. The author offers a careful delineation of diplomacy and diplomats, the workings of the process, and the distinctions between diplomacy and foreign policy.

The format in the main is a collection of selected course syllabi. That is, the wheel has already been invented for those who choose to have a look at this imaginatively helpful and practical work. The courses sparkle with good ideas and are significantly better than the standard bill-of-fare offered on most campuses. If you are interested in teaching, treat yourself to a copy.

—CHARLES W. BRAY

Ambassadors in Foreign Policy. The Influence of Individuals on U.S.–Latin American Policy. *Edited by C. Neale Ronning and Albert P. Vannucci. Praeger Publishers, 1987. $36.95.*

Ambassadors in Foreign Policy, an informative, entertaining, and pleasingly slim book, attempts to portray the role of six American ambassadors in Latin America during particularly sensitive periods. Separate essays are written by historians, political scientists, and Nathaniel Davis, who writes about his role in Chile during the Allende presidency.

Of the six, the reader comes away looking upon President Coolidge's ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow, in the most favorable light. Appointed in 1927, Morrow was intent on improving relations with Mexico, and within three years, he had largely accomplished his task, in part by demonstrating a concern for Mexican sensitivities that his predecessors had not shown. He made frequent trips in the countryside, mixed easily with peasants, and

Full replacement value coverage on your insured personal property.

And at no additional cost.

For example, those linens you bought in Ireland ten years ago for $150 are now worth $850.

Our policy gives you $850, plus the cost of shipping to your current post.

When we say, "Full replacement value coverage," we mean full replacement value coverage, up to the limit purchased.

The AFSA plan is available only to members of the American Foreign Service Association, and only while assigned to service abroad.

Read our personal property floater for all terms and conditions.

It's easier to read than most.

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

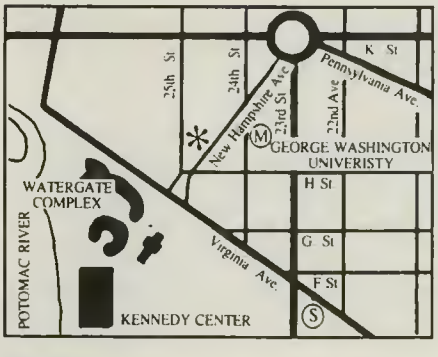
The AFSA Plan is underwritten by the International Department, Federal Insurance Company, one of the Chubb Group of Insurance Companies. This advertisement is descriptive, only. The precise coverage afforded is subject to the terms, conditions and exclusions of the policy as issued.

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

helped settle many cases involving the expropriation of land belonging to Americans. The ambassador arranged for Charles Lindbergh to visit Mexico after his solo trans-Atlantic flight. The aviator received a tumultuous welcome, and it's hard to recall a brighter moment in U.S.-Mexican relations since then.

Louis Perez examines the role of Sumner Welles in Cuba in 1933, a time when the island was undergoing extraordinary political upheaval and economic decline. In retrospect, the United States probably would have been better off had Welles not intervened so forcefully in Cuba's affairs. Welles helped topple two governments and, as Perez describes it, his most "lasting contribution was to move Batista from the shadows of the political arena into center stage." A generation later, Fidel Castro was able to exploit the disenchantment generated by Batista, much to the detriment of U.S. interests.

Albert Vannucci shows strong similarities between Welles's mission in Cuba and Sprullie Braden's brief but frenetic tenure in Argentina. Braden's goal was to depose Juan Peron, but after an initial success, Peron bounced back and was in an unassailable position less than two years later.

Brazil experts will enjoy essays in this volume on Adolf Beale's assignment to Rio in 1945 and Lincoln Gordon's appointment there two decades later when the military took control, ousting a leftist democratic government.

Davis's comments about his tenure during the Allende presidency, excerpted in the December issue of the JOURNAL, cover ground that has been explored exhaustively elsewhere. Nonetheless, his views offer a fresh perspective on one of the most controversial chapters of U.S. involvement in Latin America. —GEORGE GEDDA

American Trade Polities: System under Stress. *By I.M. Destler. Institute for International Economics & The Twentieth Century Fund, 1986. $18.*

Competitiveness: The United States in World Trade. *By Sven W. Arndt and Lawrence Bouton. American Enterprise Institute, 1987. $7.95.*

Saving Free Trade: A Pragmatic Approach. *By Robert Z. Lawrence and Robert E. Litan. Brookings, 1986.*

As the omnibus trade bill reaches the conference stage, the United States is in one of those recurring critical situations in trade policy, especially serious in view of the continuing international trade and current-account deficits. Many of the literati of trade and economics fervently hope that we do not react wrongly to the situation and manage to find the wisdom and courage to resist the pressures of protectionism. International trade is more and more important to the world, and the United States, for all its loss of competitive position, is still far and away the most important factor in world trade.

The authors of these three books all bring out the shortcomings of protectionism. Destler and Arndt/Bouton also emphasize the fact that the present huge trade imbalance is not a result of trade policy or curable by changing or doctoring trade rules; the problem is, rather, macroeconomic policy, particularly our high budget deficit and the effects that flow from it.

The three books provide useful introductory material for relatively new followers of trade policy and updating for those more experienced in the field. *American Trade Policy* provides an excellent background of the development of U.S. policy, explaining lucidly why and how trade legislation has developed and, perhaps as cogently as any published account, the workings of the legislative process. Its major emphasis is on the importance of macroeconomic as opposed to microeconomic factors in creating trade imbalance and the difficulties that go along with it.

The description of changes in the internal situation in Congress and its approach to trade matters during the past two decades will be particularly interesting to old trade hands. The thrust of the argument is that it is not as easy now to stop bad trade proposals as it was in the days of more powerful (and right-minded) committee chairmen. It is conceded that the main problem, now as then, is not so much seeing what is wrong with these proposals as in finding means of avoiding political damage to those opposing them. The author sees most congressional trade leaders as sympathetic to the broad objective of liberal trade, and it seems fair to say the United States has continued a remarkably open trade policy despite strong protectionist pressures.

We have also benefited from a number of capable and effective trade representatives. However, effective trade negotiation alone will not solve the trade deficit problem; this is for much broader and more basic economic factors.

Competitiveness emphasizes the same point, that we must resolve macroeconomic problems, mainly the budget deficit. Dealing with unfair trade practices, while justified and important, cannot solve the prob-



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 #: (____) _____

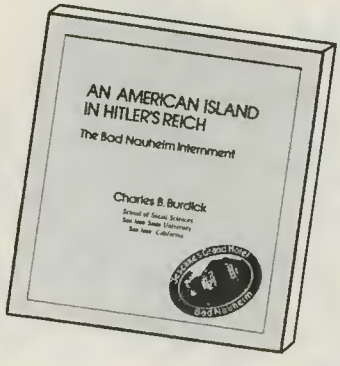
Mail to: Coldwell Banker Residential Property Management Department c/o Executive Offices, 1953 Gellows Road, Suite 650, Vienne, VA 22180

announcing...

AN AMERICAN ISLAND IN HITLER'S REICH

The Bad Nauheim Internment

by Charles Burdick
Dean, School of Social Sciences
San Jose State University



A VIVID PORTRAYAL OF THE INTERNMENT OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS AND JOURNALISTS IN HITLER'S GERMANY

120+ pages including 81 photographs, 7 illustrations, map and bibliography. Printed in two colors on 80 lb book stock and available as a deluxe softcover with flap-folded cover (perfectbound with notched adhesive for added strength), ISBN 0-944109-00-4. Also available in hardcover with dust-jacket, ISBN 0-944109-01-2. Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 87-62229.

recommended by **BOOKLIST:** "This little-known incident of the war makes for fascinating reading."

____ **softcover** **$18.95** ____
____ **hardcover** **$32.95** ____
Calif. addresses, add 7% sales tax ____
TOTAL **$** ____

Name ____ (we will bill NET 30 terms)
Address ____
City & State ____ **Zip** ____
Signature ____

MARKGRAF PUBLICATIONS GROUP
P.O. Box 936
Menlo Park, CA 94025-0936

Order today
→ no postage or shipping charges

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

lem. The authors address a complicated problem with a commendable economy of words. They emphasize that U.S. macroeconomic policy has increased demand for services, bidding them up in price, resulting in more goods procured from abroad.

Saving Free Trade has a more limited scope, with its focus on measures for assisting industries in trouble with foreign competition. The authors' proposals are for the most part well thought out and worthy of consideration, though how well they meet the criteria of political acceptability is another question.—WILLIAM K. MILLER

World Population and U.S. Policy: The Choices Ahead. *Edited by Jane Menken. W.W. Norton & Co., 1986. $8.95.*

In the last 20 years, family planning has become an accepted, institutionalized activity in many countries. When accepted, however, both grantee and donor majorities take such activities for granted. They become complacent. They often remain unaware of the hard work that still needs to be done to maintain and expand their efforts. Moreover, they do not remain watchful of the growing, and highly organized opposition to family planning in the United States and areas of the developing world.

Opposition comes from several areas, including some economists who believe that reductions in rates of population growth have little (or negative) effect on development; some ideologists who believe that governments should stay away from areas that might impinge upon personal rights; and some religious leaders who believe that their approach to conception and contraception should be passed, by governmental control, to those of different persuasion. In an effort to help address some of these issues, 59 experts in family planning convened at Columbia University. This, their final report, confirms once again many of the relationships both of population growth and population composition to economic, social, family, and personal objectives. The book documents some of the successes in family planning of the last 23 years but suggests that more remains to be done. And it addresses some new issues, such as abortion. What is lacking, however, is sufficient attention to the political and administrative will that has served as a prerequisite to successful implementation.

Those already involved in population-related activities can use this book to support their efforts. For others it may help stir their creative juices better to relate population matters to the work they do.

—MORRIE K. BLUMBERG

CLIPPINGS

Construction Conundrum

The State Department has taken the first step toward instant embassies. State's Foreign Buildings Operations is advertising for a design for a cheap ($2 million to $3 million), secure building. It could be called a one-size-fits-all chancellery engineered for the volatile nature of today's diplomatic world.

The department likes to think of them as "interim buildings, to solve urgent needs for secure and decent facilities in deprived sections of the world. . . . There are 10 diplomatic or consular posts—predominantly in Africa—where the need for a new building is an emergency and 90 more where the need is urgent for safer facilities," said Herbert W. Schulz, FBO operations and management director.

"None of the 100 meets U.S. fire and safety codes. In one place we have to patch the roof every month. In another the plumbing leaks. In some of them, there's no central air conditioning. We've had Foreign Service staff injured and killed because of fires in other unsafe buildings. In earthquake zones, we have structures which can't withstand earth movements. And the security problems are constant."

The projected solution is a prefabricated (or, as the current euphemism goes, preengineered) embassy whose component parts would be built in the United States and kept ready for shipment anywhere in the world for speedy on-site assembly atop a concrete slab.

Schulz emphasized the FBO so far has only enough money to commission the design, not to produce such buildings. Even so, the idea of such toadstool buildings, popping up wherever emergency quarters are needed, has aroused fears in the architectural profession that State is veering sharply away from its previous commitment to outstanding architectural design.

Sarah Booth Conroy in the Washington Post, April 4

The Gaborone embassy is one of the first in the world constructed under strictures of the Omnibus Diplomatic and Anti-Terrorism Act of 1986. The bill was intended to reduce American vulnerability to electronic snooping. The law "almost doubles" the price of any new embassy, according to Richard Dertadian, deputy assistant secretary for foreign building operations.

Gaborone . . . is not a high-threat post," Dertadian acknowledged. But the law is the law. Three years ago, Congress authorized $2.1 billion to be spent over five years [on security]. All new embassies must meet the new and, in the case of the Gaborone embassy, uglifying standards. The design motif here is bomb survival. Accordingly, the building has the architectural niceties of a tank.

The pillbox-like embassy has exceptionally thick concrete walls poured around high tensile-strength steel reinforcing bars placed very closely together. The arrow-slit windows have an antiblast glazing and are "nonoperable," meaning they do not open.

Encircling the embassy and giving it at least 100 feet of "stand-off distance" is another formidable structure—the "antiram perimeter wall"—nine feet high, 20 inches thick, and topped with steel spikes.

When construction is complete here in December, Gaborone will have the most secure U.S. embassy in sub-Saharan Africa.

Blaine Harden in the Washington Post, same day

An Important Role

The world global balance has tilted further toward the west and in particular in economic terms . . . careful diplomacy in negotiations with one's allies and potential allies and friends [will be] a central part of our long-term grand strategy. . . . I think I would emphasize that diplomacy is going to be much more complicated in a multipolar world and we ought to give emphasis to that and to the State Department's role.

Paul Kennedy on the MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour, February 19

Memorial Editions

I wish to point out an inaccuracy in the *Post*'s editorial on the Vietnam memorial. The memorial does not already bear the names of all the fatalities of the Vietnam

Leasing and Management of Fine Homes is an

Art. . .

Executive Housing Consultants, Inc.
(301) 951-4111

as well as a

Business!

"We care for your home as if it were our own"

Northwest DC
Chevy Chase
Bethesda
Potomac

7315 Wisconsin Ave.
Suite 1020 East
Bethesda, MD 20814

There Is Only One Place To Stay In Washington YOUR PLACE

TLC

"A Hotel Alternative For The Prudent Spender."



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

WANT INSTANT TAX RELIEF?
CONSIDER
TAX FREE MUNICIPAL BONDS!

Phone — Write — Visit
A.G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.
Members New York Stock Exchange
300 BRANCHES NATIONWIDE

PLEASE send me information on Municipal Bonds. FSJ

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____
Bus. Phone_____ Res. Phone_____
I am a client of A.G. Edwards Yes ☐ No ☐

EDWARDS — Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Ruth G. Adler, Vice Pres.
Spring Valley Center
4801 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 364-1626

AN-B-256-EDC SIPC

War. The 58,156 names on the memorial wall are those only of U.S. armed forces personnel. There were a number of other casualties whose names are not on the wall, including civilians who were serving in an official capacity from various agencies, such as the State Department, the Agency for International Development, the U.S. Information Agency, and the CIA.

If others, such as nurses, are to be honored by adding another statue, I suggest that we also honor the civilians who served just as honorably as the armed forces.

Michael D. Benge in a Letter to the Editor in the Washington Post, March 5

An 11-Year Post

After nearly four months away from Tokyo—first for a triple-bypass heart operation, then for prostate surgery—Ambassador Mike Mansfield has once more taken up his post.

Speculation had been widespread that after 11 years on the job, and at the age of 85, he would decide there were other ways to spend his days. But forecasts of his imminent departure have circulated for years, and Mansfield dismissed the latest rumor as he had all the others. "Never thought of it," he said, closing the discussion.

Endless trade balances are taking their toll [in U.S.-Japan relations], and so is the two-way hectoring, with many Americans questioning Japanese reliability and just as many Japanese questioning American competence.

For all the strains, however, Mansfield is sanguine about the relationship. "Paradoxically, it may well have been strengthened," he said. "There's a greater degree of understanding about the responsibilities of Japan in the area of trade and economics.". . .

But issues come and go, Mansfield said. Next year, there will be still new ones. "It's a procedure which can go on indefinitely, and in the process create difficulties and delicate situations," he argued.

What is needed instead, he said, is a comprehensive trade agreement between the two countries, one that would set forth clear objectives on a broad spectrum of mutual interests, "based on reciprocity and equal opportunity." But he quickly added: "Encouragement? Haven't received any, either from Washington or Tokyo."

It is his conviction that, while attitudes may be shifting back home, the United States remains fixated on Europe. "I don't see," he said, "how you can come to any other conclusion but that it's in this basin where it all is, and where it's all about, and

that's where our future lies and that the next century indubitably will be the century of the Pacific."

Clyde Haberman in the New York Times, April 5

On Embassy Row

Back in the New Deal days, when Congress still wrote laws for the District of Columbia, a statute was passed that greatly restricted the forms of protest allowed in the vicinity of a foreign embassy.

The statute prohibits three or more people from congregating within 500 feet of an embassy and refusing to disperse after having been ordered to do so by the police. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, in 1986, had interpreted this clause narrowly. It would not apply in cases of peaceful protest, the three-judge panel ruled, only in cases where the security and peace of the embassy were threatened. This reasonable interpretation was upheld by all eight justices of the Supreme Court. . . . Another clause of the statute, which prohibited the carrying of signs critical of a foreign government within 500 feet of its embassy, was struck down.

Pickets and peaceful protests of the kind that are protected everywhere in the United States may now proceed within the formerly magic 500-foot circles in this city—and a good thing too. The First Amendment has come to Embassy Row.

Editorial in the Washington Post, March 28

Any Day Now, Honest

If key State Department officials in Washington have consistently miscalculated [General Manuel] Noriega's departure date, don't blame the U.S. embassy in Panama City. For months now, embassy officials have been warning the State Department that the general would be extremely hard to remove. As a Panama-based diplomat put it, "Noriega is one tough nut to crack."

But Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams remained skeptical. Perhaps because the embassy's cables competed with less pessimistic messages from CIA operatives and the Army's Southern Command headquarters in Panama, Abrams and others often predicted that Noriega would step down any day. When Abrams admitted last month that he had misjudged Noriega's staying power, embassy hands thought their message was finally getting through. Yet Abrams later predicted that Noriega would be gone by Easter.

Time, April 11

NEW CARS • USED CARS
TRUCKS • VANS

RENT OR LEASE BY THE DAY-WEEK-MONTH AND SAVE!



RENT A WRECK

"DON'T LET THE NAME FOOL YOU!"*

DISCOUNTS TO STATE DEPT. & AID EMPLOYEES

CALL: 527-2445 (200 Feet From Subway)

* We rent 1986-1988 models.



No Matter Where You Are, You Can Have Peace of Mind with Interstate...

knowing that *Interstate* will send *trained packers* to handle your valuable possessions . . . knowing that you can store your valuable possessions in *temperature-controlled secured facilities* while you are abroad . . . knowing that you are dealing directly with *Interstate's corporate headquarters.*

Now with this knowledge, make the right choice for *your peace of mind.*

In A Class By Itself . . . America's Favorite Mover

INTERSTATE Van Lines Inc.

In VA 703-569-2121, EXT. 233 • 800-336-4533 • In MD 301-773-3555



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

E T C E T E R A

Nixon in China

By OSCAR V. ARMSTRONG

The presidential plane comes to a stop. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai waits at the foot of the ramp. The door of the plane opens, President Nixon steps out, walks down the ramp, and extends his hand to the premier.

Peking, February 21, 1972? No, Washington, D.C., the Kennedy Center's Opera House, March 30, 1988.

President Nixon's trip to China was one of the most dramatic diplomatic events since the end of World War II. But who would think of turning it into a theatrical drama, an opera entitled *Nixon in China*?

The answer is Peter Sellars, the innovative and controversial director, who was its brainfather; John Adams, a "tonal composer" whose works are related to minimalist music; Alice Goodman, who wrote the libretto; and the Kennedy Center in Washington, the Houston Grand Opera, and the Brooklyn Academy of Music, which commissioned the opera.

Whether the effort is successful is another question—and a controversial one. Rather than pretend I'm a qualified opera critic, I'll instead stick to what I know something about: the Nixon visit to China and the principal players in the drama.

First, some general impressions. *Nixon in China* is imaginatively conceived and at times strikingly staged. Whether or not one likes the opera, watching and listening to it is an experience. But it is hard to follow. The opera shifts, sometimes imperceptibly, sometimes abruptly, from realism to surrealism (Pat Nixon, watching a revolutionary opera, runs out to comfort the heroine). The language jumps from the mundane (Chou: "Your flight was smooth, I hope?" Nixon: "Smoother than usual I guess."), to the poetic ("Soldiers of heaven hold the sky—the morning breaks and shadows fly"), to strings of phrases with impenetrable meaning. As with all operas, it was difficult to understand the singers, and unlike most operas, *Nixon in China* has no story line, no tension, no clear theme.

The opera opens with a reminder that Mao and Chou were once guerrilla leaders, and a chorus sings a poetic version of the guidelines for the soldiers who were expected to win over the peasants: "Pay a fair price for all you buy, Pay to replace what you destroy." Chou's introduction of the other Chinese officials at the airport is interspersed with Nixon's musings about the miracle of modern communications: "Though we spoke quietly, the eyes and ears of history caught every gesture and every word." (Kissinger's memoirs make it clear that in the planning for the visit, Nixon was preoccupied with getting maximum public relations benefit from it. The Chinese cooperated by buying their first ground station for satellite transmission.)

The second scene is Nixon's meeting with Mao; a large part of it is based, sometimes nearly verbatim, on Nixon's memoirs. Mao, in the opera, says, "I like right-wingers"; in Nixon's memoirs he says, "I like rightists." It is here that the principal male characters take shape. Mao is made to look as he did several years later—unable to stand without support, his head occasionally slumping as if he were dozing. Nevertheless, he effortlessly dominates the room. (In his memoirs, Kissinger calls Mao a "colossus" and a "titanic figure.") As in the real-life meeting, Mao is at times bantering and always uninterested in details. Chou is accurately characterized as suave and self-confident (but self-effacing in the presence of Mao) and able to deal with any situation with aplomb.

Nixon is portrayed sympathetically, but as overly conscious of taking part in a historic event. He talks straightforwardly, in contrast to Mao's often elliptical statements. In some pre-performance comments, the director said, "Don't expect to see Nixon or Mao trashed—they aren't." But Kissinger is gratuitously and meaninglessly trashed. He is made into a shallow bit-player and something of a buffoon, and during the performance of the revolutionary opera, he is transmuted, for some presumably symbolic but inexplicable reason, into a landlord's factotum who lusts after the beautiful peasant heroine. In later scenes, Pat Nixon is portrayed as a loving wife and a pleasant, uncomplicated person, although she, too, is given a long poetic, and seemingly pointless, soliloquy. Chiang

Ching interrupts a performance of one of her revolutionary operas to sing, in at times a piercing coloratura, "I am the wife of Mao Tse-tung," and then watches with complacent and sometimes demonic pleasure as her opera unfolds to its violent and victorious end.

In the staging of that revolutionary opera, dramatically choreographed, *Nixon in China* itself reaches its climax. The last act thus becomes a let-down. It opens with white-sheeted beds lined up in a row, one for each of the principals. Nixon and his wife reminisce about their early years, and Mao and Chiang Ching relive the Yenan period when she, a "tasty little starlet," caught his eye. Mid-scene, Kissinger leaves the stage, and the opera, after asking, "Premier, please, where's the toilet?" In contrast, Chou gets the opera's last words: "To work! Outside this room the chill of grace lies heavy on the morning grass."

Having made a bow to history in the initial scenes, the poet in the librettist takes over. Except for some settings (Pat Nixon's visit to a commune, the state banquet, the revolutionary opera), history is forgotten, or perhaps hidden within phrasing so enigmatic that neither history nor meaning can be discerned. At the end, I was left wondering what the point of the opera was. Or was it intended to be pointless?

Oscar Armstrong, a former Foreign Service officer, was director of Chinese Affairs.

What Others Say

The *New York Times*: "A Peter Sellars variety show, worth a few giggles but hardly a strong candidate for the standard repertoire. A visually striking but coy and insubstantial work."

The *Washington Post*: "It probably represents the opera of the future. In ten years Adams's opera will be recognized as a classic. *Nixon in China* is a fresh, inventive, and deeply satisfying operatic experience for those with open minds."

Xinhua, China's official news agency: "*Nixon in China* is refreshing America's memory of former U.S. President Nixon's landmark visit to China. Its principal problem is distortion of some facts and . . . ridiculous misrepresentation. Nevertheless, the successful presentation of Nixon's visit to China in the form of modern opera demonstrates that the American artists and playwrights have acknowledged the great significance of this historic event."

Comfort Inn

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

5 minutes to State Department

1987 Inn of the Year

ENTERPRISE SQUARE
1211 N. Glebe Road.
Arlington, Virginia 22201
(703) 247-3399

• **Location•Arlington**
Direct access to city on I-66
7 minute walk Ballston Metrorail Station, with direct access to downtown Washington, Rosslyn and Crystal City.
3 miles from Arlington Cemetery
3½ miles from the Pentagon, and Vietnam and Lincoln Memorials
4½ miles from National Airport, the White House, Washington Monument and Jefferson Memorial.


LOBBY


TYPICAL GUEST ROOM

• **Rates**
Government Rate: Single 64.75 Double 74.75
Call or write for long term or off season discounts.
Weekend rate up to 4 people 54.95
Children under 18 free share with parent
Cribs no charge

• **Facilities•Accommodations**
126 rooms and suites with climate control
Restaurant and Lounge offers room service from 6:30 AM to midnight
Free underground parking, no in/out charges
Free color cable TV including CNN, ESPN and HBO
Gift Shop, Federal Express Drop, Refrigerators

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.



POTOMAC RIVER

Rare opportunity to enjoy the serenity of Potomac River living yet be a short 25 min. commute to Capitol Hill. 1.3 acre wooded paradise w/190 ft. river frontage. 4 bedrooms, 3 baths, sep. library, 2-car garage. Owner will consider holding 1st trust w/suitable downpayment. Call for details/private showing.

Colquitt-Carruthers, Inc.
(301) 948-4811

VOLVO

U.S.A.'s Largest Diplomatic Dealer
Diplomatic Discounts

Worldwide Delivery to Diplomats and
Members of International Organizations
***Contact*: Dana Martens, Diplomatic Sales Director**

MARTENS' VOLVO OF WASHINGTON
4810 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016 (202)537-3000

WALK TO STATE

Short Term Rentals

Remington Condominium, 24th & G Streets NW
Fully furnished and accessorized with balconies.
Included in each unit are:
Weekly housekeeping service, washer and dryer, microwave
1½ blocks to the Foggy Bottom Metro
Low rates and no deposit for Foreign Service Personnel

Remington Associates, Inc.
601 24th Street NW, #106, Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 466-7367

EXPORT ELECTRONICS, INC.

1719 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009
(202)232-2244

REFRIGERATORS • FREEZERS • RANGES
MICROWAVE OVENS • TRANSFORMERS
AIR CONDITIONERS • DRYERS • VCRs
WASHERS • DISHWASHERS • TELEVISION
SMALL APPLIANCES • AUDIO EQUIPMENT
All available 110/220 Volts; 50/60 Hz



REPRINTS

Zero Option

By NICHOLAS HILL

The State Department is bustling with excitement these days. Six years after passage of the 1994 Foreign Service Act, Foggy Bottom seems poised to reach its budgetary target—known as Project Zero Option.

"It's been a long time in coming, but we think this is the year," says Austere Wimpscott, the department's assistant secretary for budgetary affairs. Wimpscott is referring to a legislative requirement in the Foreign Service Act that the department move toward operating totally without federal appropriations.

Zero Option, known less kindly in the Foreign Service as Son of Gramm-Rudman, was originally a source of extreme acrimony. The department had already made draconian cuts in its operations, slashing spending some 60 percent between 1985–94. What more could be done? A lot of experts said a foreign policy could not be run without government appropriations—the department would collapse or the law would have to be changed.

The experts were wrong. Foggy Bottom has tackled the fiscal crisis with a three-pronged attack: maintain consular functions, which make money; eliminate reporting functions, which lose money; and recruit generalists with maintenance backgrounds—they save money.

"And they said it couldn't be done," says Skip Jones, a legislative analyst on the 700-member staff of the Appropriations Sub-Advisory Committee on Foreign Policy Fiscal Requirements. "I say, we're finally getting a State Department that's pulling its own weight."

That is, with a little help from its friends. The 1994 act has led to dramatic reductions in the State Department's personnel costs. It used to be that only senior department officials were subject to a brutal up-or-out system. Now all tenured officers are subject to up-or-out requirements. And no more than six months in any one grade is tolerated. In the first five years after the new act the number of Foreign Service officers plunged 75 percent.

Other budgetary savings have come

through locally inspired innovations. At the consulate in Montreal, for example, officials are serving visa applicants coffee at cost—then charging them access rights to the rest rooms. "The program has boosted our operating revenues by 30 percent since we launched it two years ago," says Bud Alright, the chief of the post's nonimmigrant visa section. "And during the summer we made a small fortune on our special three- and six-hour multiple entry passes." The State Department has promised that the next junior officer assigned to Montreal will have a plumbing background.

Other savings have come on the housing front. Fully 90 percent of posts abroad have rented out our official residences to raise revenue to help pay housing allowances. The sums are not big, but a special work-sharing arrangement with the Salvation Army and YMCA assures that future overseas employees won't freeze at night—provided they're willing to make beds and clean toilets.

The Foreign Service Salary Debasement Act of 1995, which cut all salaries to one-third of their Civil Service equivalents, has put keen pressure on Foreign Service spouses to work. State, through vigorous negotiations, has been trying to work out spouse-reciprocity arrangements with as many countries as possible. The efforts have paid off. Although not allowed to work on the open economy, spouses, many with professional and graduate degrees, can be seen working as maids and butlers in the legations and residences of practically every diplomatic mission in the world. "They're making more money than the officers," notes an AFSA spokesman. The employee union is now pressing to let its members moonlight in the same jobs.

HELP WANTED

Generalist Needed

Background in foreign affairs and plumbing necessary.

Send resume to:
Department of State
Foggy Bottom, USA

Meanwhile, in its zeal to reach Zero Option, State has been guilty of some false savings, too. The department, for example, recently had to return control of its cafeteria to the General Services Administration after an experiment with franchising out to McDonald's and Burger King failed. It seems the hamburger joints were luring away too many of the department's brightest recruits. "Attrition is one thing—we encourage it—but these folks hadn't even been sworn in yet," says Bob Miser, chief of the Inter-Budgetary Affairs Office.

Another false savings came when the bureaus started charging foreign diplomats "user fees." Visitors to the department had to buy 30-, 60-, or 90-minute passes, at considerable expense, to talk to their American counterparts—even when just paying courtesy calls. That practice got axed when U.S. missions abroad complained about retaliation.

The future of the State Department after Zero Option is uncertain. "I think we can begin to return money to the federal treasury," opined the new secretary of state, Pee Wee Herman, at a recent meeting with auditors from the Office of Personnel Management. Then he dashed off to a dinner sponsored by the Daughters of the Black Panthers. Secretaries of state, apparently, must eat too.

Reprinted from the Montreal Miscellany, *an informal post publication. Nicholas Hill is an economics officer assigned to the consulate general in Montreal.*

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



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

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.

PEOPLES DRUG
YOUR FAMILY PHARMACY
2125 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 338-6337

Dariush Mostaghim D.D.S.,M.S.

With Years of Clinical and Academic Experience Now Provides Comprehensive Dental Care At 2112 F. Street, N.W. #304 Washington, D.C. 20037
Phone # 785-1999

10 • 25 • 50

Foreign Service Journal, June 1978: AFSA is pleased to announce that after years of efforts by the Association, an agreement has been reached with AID regarding reduction-in-force procedures. Should there be a necessity for another RIF within AID in the next two years (and we all know AID's RIFs have come along like clockwork . . .), the provisions of the new agreement will govern. *—AFSA NEWS*

Foreign Service Journal, June 1963: The key to the rebirth of the Foreign Service, to the future of American diplomacy, and hence to honorable national survival lies not in high-flown foreign policy pronouncements but in the homely budget. No single factor over the years has contributed as much to the parlous state of our diplomatic establishment as the perennial financial impoverishment imposed upon successive State Department budgets. . . .

Here are some facts to ponder: A taxpayer pays 56 percent of his taxes for defense-related federal expenditures [versus] about $1 per month or .4 percent of his total tax bill to support our entire diplomatic effort. . . .With what it costs taxpayers to pick up trash on the highways ($60 million) we could pay for almost a whole year the salaries of all American Foreign Service employees serving abroad ($66 million). . . . Although the last decade witnessed a critical and spectacular rise in American international responsibilities, the State Department actually had 15 percent more employees (16,000) ten years ago than today (14,000). *—Leon B. Poullada*

Foreign Service Journal, June 1938: It has always seemed to me that any woman who wished a career in the Foreign Service should forthwith proceed to marry the most intelligent and ambitious Foreign Service officer within the scope of her power. . . . I feel strongly that wives generally contribute quite as much to the Foreign Service as do their husbands. . . . A woman who elects to go into the Foreign Service by examination as a career vice consul . . . giving up all thought of marriage and the usual family life, is undertaking a very difficult and trying task.

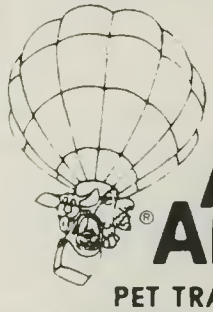
—Ruth B. Shipley, Chief, Passport Division

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

VOLVO

Factory-Set Discounts To Diplomats Posted Stateside 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
TELEX:TWX#9102509778
(DON BEYER V)

DESPATCH

Swan Song

When I came to the JOURNAL in 1981, I didn't even know what the Foreign Service is or what it does—something like the Foreign Legion, maybe, but without the funny hats. Now I know perhaps too much, and since the seven-year itch has struck and by the time you read this I will be at my new post as director of communications with the Worldwatch Institute, I can finally say that the Service is a profession I would never consider joining.

I simply don't have the the fortitude, the patience—or the courage. I don't want to risk my marriage with frequent moves and the strains they put on Foreign Service families. I don't want four years of work to be tossed away when a new party takes over the White House. I don't want the increased risk of exposure to the dozens of diseases that diplomats face as part of their job description—most fearsomely, the enhanced risk of contracting AIDS—nor to be looking over my shoulder for assassins or under my car for bombs. And I don't want to struggle through the ranks for two decades only to be told that I am too bureaucratically fat to fit through a narrow window into the highest ranks.

As an outsider who I hope can be considered a friend of the family, perhaps I can take this opportunity to offer a few well-intended observations. First, it is frequently said that the Foreign Service lacks a national constituency. While true in principle because of its small size, it has been my observation by reading thousands of articles about the Service in scores of publications in the last seven years that it is a rare exception when the Service is called to task as a profession; most articles are complimentary, if not laudatory. The striped-pants stereotypes may still show up from time to time, but by and large terrorism and the Iran hostage ordeal have had the unexpected but welcome benefit of forever changing the public image of the Service to that of patriots who deserve the same honor as the members of the military services.

Second, the Foreign Service has nothing to be ashamed of. Critics it may have—who doesn't?—but the work it does, its value to the nation, and the caliber of those who perform it are second to none. It is my view that the Foreign Service needs to acknowledge its critics, to confront them when they are wrong and to reform itself when the Service is wrong. But it should never be afraid to recognize the criticism and to meet it head on.

Finally, I want to give my views about this publication. The JOURNAL is first and foremost a professional magazine. As all such magazines are by definition, it is a forum for the debate of the critical issues that the profession faces. The members of the Service, as diplomats, are used to debate and to the forming of consenses when it comes to foreign policy. I have found that the vast majority have the same attitude when it comes to the basic tenets of their profession. In my view, no well-backed and fairly argued opinion on these professional issues can be considered in and of itself wrong and thus be judged as unacceptable for printing. By the same token, neither should the editors or the Association be judged as necessarily backing the views expressed in signed articles.

May your profession grow and flourish, for never in the history of this nation have its skills been more needed

It is to the credit of the Governing Board and the Editorial Board that they have recognized this, and that while the expression of diverse views within their own publication may at times be uncomfortable, in the long run it is in the best interest of the profession. For at root the magazine belongs to the people it serves—the men and women of the Foreign Service. Certainly, they deserve no less.

To paraphrase, I who am about to leave salute you. May your profession grow and flourish, for never in the history of this nation have its skills been more needed.

—STEPHEN R. DUJACK

The views expressed above are those of the author.

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

VISA MasterCard

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.



What became known as the Roosevelt Corollary —i.e., "exercise of an international police power," even when no extra-continental threat was present— pushed the Monroe Doctrine to its ultimate limits

Monroe Go Home

U.S. leadership of a unified western hemisphere lies not in hegemony but in collaboration with our Latin American partners

Charles Maechling Jr.

United States intervention in the internal affairs of Central America is an old and lamentable story, now brought up to-to-date by this country's seven-year proxy war against tiny Nicaragua, our blatant use of Honduran territory to conduct the war, and our destructive shut-down of the Panamanian economy in order to get rid of the drug-running military strong-man we formerly supported. Over the years, the justification for these intrusions has run the gamut from naked economic imperialism to real or fancied threats to national security. But the roots lie in that early formulation of sphere-of-influence statecraft, the Monroe Doctrine.

Since it came into office, the Reagan administration has been obsessed with the threat that Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movements supposedly pose to U.S. security. But for all its activism, it still has been unable to control political developments to the south. U.S. leadership of a united western hemisphere is a fiction. Our overwhelming economic and military power no longer translates into political clout. Unable to secure its ideological and security objectives openly and in concert with other American republics, the Reagan administration was forced to rely on covert action, heavy-handed economic blockade, and reliance on campesino mercenaries, with the dubious results that we see today.

These futile efforts to arrest revolutionary change and bring the forms of North American democracy to Central America could be dismissed as nothing more than standard sphere-of-influence, buffer-state geopolitical strategy were it not for the potent myth that surrounds the Monroe Doctrine—the need to protect the New World from the encroachments of the Old. For Latin Americans the doctrine is a symbol of Yankee imperialism whose unilateral character is at variance with treaty commitments to collective action in the event of aggression. Nevertheless, in U.S. domestic politics, the doctrine still serves as a powerful symbol of hemispheric guardianship. It could well be the last rallying cry of an administration bent on circumventing congressional limitations and the trammels of international treaties.

Part of the American political canon for more than a century, the doctrine's origins are the stuff of legend—the revolt of Spain's South American colonies; Britain's invitation to the United States to join hands in blocking reconquest; crusty Secretary of State John Quincy Adams's refusal to allow the young republic to be "a cock-boat in the wake of a British man o' war"; President James Monroe's formal warning to the Old World to "keep hands off" the New.

So goes the myth, but the early history of the Monroe Doctrine and its later development have been quite different. It was not a focus of particular interest when it first appeared in President Monroe's annual message to Congress of 1823. Although originally prompted by the British prime minister's plan to head off a Franco-Spanish expedition against Spain's former colonies, that threat had passed. The more immediate concern was the drift of Russian trading posts southward from Alaska and expansion of British claims to the Oregon territory. Monroe's statement was intended to be no more than a prudent clarification of U.S. interests directed at two governments with whom relations were reasonably friendly.

The future doctrine consisted of three carefully worded parts. First came the statement that the American continents, by reason of their free and independent condition, were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization." Next, the United States would consider any attempt to extend "the European system" to the New World

Charles Maechling Jr., a visiting fellow at Cambridge University, is a former professor of international law and served on the seventh floor during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

or to control the destinies of a country recognized as independent as "dangerous to our peace and safety" and an unfriendly act. Finally, the United States would abstain from interference in the affairs of Europe.

Leading American diplomatic historians—Dexter Perkins, Thomas Bailey, Robert Ferell—agree that far from acknowledging the statement as a declaration of New World independence, the European powers either rejected or ignored it. Soon afterward, Great Britain annexed the Falkland islands, briefly occupied the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua and offshore islands of Honduras, and extended the frontier of Belize without noticeable reaction from the United States.

The next official mention of the doctrine occurred in 1845, when President Polk, in his first message to Congress, re-affirmed "the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe" in regard to British designs on the California coast. With his own eye on Mexican territory, Polk stated that it was "our settled policy that no future European colony shall with our consent be planned or established on any part of the North American continent." There was no mention of South America.

The first real test of the Monroe Doctrine (now so termed) was, or should have been, the French military expedition sent to Mexico in 1861 by Napoleon III to install the Archduke Maximilian of Austria as emperor. The reaction of the Lincoln administration, preoccupied with the American Civil War, was, however, remarkably muted until after Appomatox. Secretary of State William Seward made clear U.S. objections to the French presence, but insofar as the U.S. position can be discerned through Seward's verbose and murky prose, the objections were grounded on the incompatibility of monarchy with the character of the Mexican people rather than extension of a "European system." In five years of official communications between the United States and France, the doctrine itself was never mentioned. After the Civil War, President Johnson started to move 50,000 troops to the Mexican border, but by then Napoleon was sick of the venture and was withdrawing.

Not until the end of the 19th century and the era of "manifest destiny" did the Monroe Doctrine come into its own. At the turn of the century it was the United States, not Europe, that was eager to extend its system to the rest of the western hemisphere. The eyes scanning the Caribbean for a canal route to the Pacific and Central America for bases and mining concessions were in Washington, not Madrid or London. External threats had become a pretext for American hegemony, not a reason. At this point, the limited scope of the doctrine, plainly to be seen in the text, began to be viewed as a straitjacket.



In the shadow of an M-60 tank, two American soldiers guard three prisoners during the 1983 invasion of Grenada. The military action, unilateral but for the concurrence of an obscure Caribbean economic organization, was an example of the Reagan administration's renewed emphasis on the discredited and abandoned hegemonic interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine

The first attempt to adapt the doctrine to the spirit of post–Civil War expansionism occurred in 1870, when President Grant made an unsuccessful attempt to annex the Dominican Republic, then called Santo Domingo. Apparently referring to a half-hearted effort by Spain to re-annex the ex-colony five years before, Grant declared that "under the doctrine proclaimed by President Monroe" no territory on the continent was subject to transfer to a European power. Then, in a dazzling flight of *non sequitur*, his message to Congress stated: "The acquisition of San Domingo [*sic*] is an adherence to the Monroe Doctrine." Congress did not see it the same way and voted the proposal down, but the "no transfer" pronouncement is still referred to as the Grant Corollary.

THE EVENT that finally put the Monroe Doctrine on the map was the Venezuelan boundary controversy of 1895. When Britain took a stiff line with Venezuela over a long-standing boundary claim of British Guyana, nationalist politicians in Washington raised such a storm that President Cleveland served a virtual ultimatum on the British government to arbitrate. The burden of the diplomatic note that became known as the Olney Corollary, was that even a territorial dispute between a European power and an American state raised the issue of the Monroe Doctrine since it affected the right of the American state to "shape for itself its own political fortune and destinies."

The Olney note is principally remembered



FDR's policy of "continentalizing" the Monroe Doctrine in the interest of hemisphere unity was a triumph of U.S. diplomacy. He welded the American republics into a common front against the Axis and transformed the image of Uncle Sam from block bully to benign protector

for its bombastic declaration that, "Today, the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." The British coolly replied that while the doctrine "was entitled to respect," in the absence of international agreement or consensus it emphatically was not part of the law of nations—a judgment later concurred in by such giants of the American bar as Elihu Root and Chief Justice Charles Evans—both ex-secretaries of state. In due course the British government, however, did consent to arbitrate.

In the next decade, even the Olney Corollary proved inadequate to assuage the annexation fever of imperial-minded American politicians. The problem was how to stretch the limited language of the doctrine to justify U.S. intervention when there was no external threat at all. Big-power intervention in backward areas under the guise of international law was then the order of the day, but while the United States had no quarrel with the concept, it was unwilling to tolerate intervention by others in an area of such vital strategic interest as the Caribbean.

In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt solved the dilemma in a message to Congress, which asserted that "chronic wrong doing" or a breakdown in internal order might require "intervention by some civilized nation." In the western hemisphere, by virtue of its adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, that nation would be the United States.

WHAT BECAME KNOWN as the Roosevelt Corollary —i.e., "exercise of an international police power," even when no extra-continental threat was present—pushed the Monroe Doctrine to its ultimate limits. Together with the protectorate over Cuba authorized by the Platt Amendment, the annexation of Puerto Rico, and the detachment of Panama from Colombia, the Roosevelt Corollary established *de facto* U.S. hegemony over the entire Caribbean basin. For the next 30 years the spirit of the corollary governed U.S. policy. Under its umbrella, there were two military expeditions into Mexico. Nicaragua, Honduras, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic were at various times subjected to military occupation. No territory was annexed, however, and except in Haiti there was no attempt at direct rule. U.S. control was maintained through supervision of a country's finances, manipulation of its government, and direction of its security forces.

These were the years when the Monroe Doctrine became part of the American political canon, accepted as dogma by the public. At Versailles, President Wilson inserted an article in the peace treaty expressly exempting the Monroe Doctrine from its provisions. The arbitration treaties of the 1920s also excluded disputes covered by the doctrine. The European powers respected it as an expression of U.S. supremacy in the western hemisphere but did not recognize it as binding on themselves.

This veneration of the Monroe Doctrine was not, however, shared by other nations of the hemisphere, who saw it as a cover for Yankee imperialism. Although at first welcomed when it served their interests—for example by Venezuela in the 1895 boundary crisis—the expansion of the doctrine quickly alienated Latin governments. Mexico, which had suffered U.S. military interventions in 1914 and 1916, explicitly rejected the doctrine when it joined the League of Nations; Argentina refused to recognize it. As the age of imperialism waned, spheres of influence and assertions of regional dominance were increasingly perceived as incompatible with the emergent world order of equal states set forth in the League of Nations covenant and statute of the World Court. By the time the 1920s came to an end, Washington realized that if the substance of the doctrine were to be preserved, the self-arrogated right of intervention, proclaimed in the Roosevelt Corollary, would have to be sacrificed or at least disguised.

The first official indication that the United States was prepared to shift its role from self-appointed hemisphere policeman to community watchman came in 1928. An internal memorandum from Under Secretary Reuben Clark to Secretary of State Henry Stimson in effect repudiated the Roosevelt Corollary by abjuring the right of U.S.intervention in purely inter-American situations. Clark argued that since the original doctrine had been grounded on the right of "self-preservation," exercise of this right alone was sufficient to protect the hemisphere from external encroachment. Henceforth, Clark maintained, the doctrine should be viewed as a guarantee of U.S. protection rather than a justification for intervention. The clear implication of the memorandum was that the doctrine was superfluous, except as a slogan to tell outsiders "hands off."

The Clark memorandum set the stage for a shift away from unilateral enforcement to a multilateral or "continentalized" approach. Shortly after taking office, President Franklin D. Roosevelt inaugurated the Good Neigh-

bor policy. At the 1934 Pan American Conference in Montevideo, he signed a declaration that accepted the principle of non-intervention. In the next few years Roosevelt abrogated the Platt Amendment, liberalized the Panama Canal treaty, and withdrew the last U.S. occupation forces from the Caribbean. In an outstanding display of statesmanship FDR transformed the face of the U.S.-Latin American relationship from unabashed assertion of protective guardianship to collaboration of equals under U.S. leadership.

The rise of the Fascist dictatorships and Hitler's aggressive program for domination of Europe provided further evolution of the doctrine. At the insistence of the United States—and somewhat against the will of Latin American governments with ties to Europe and a right-wing orientation (i.e., Argentina and Chile)—the unilateral nature of the doctrine was transformed into a multilateral system of hemisphere defense. In 1939, the hemisphere foreign ministers established an inter-American consultative mechanism and an Atlantic security zone to keep out German submarines and surface raiders. To safeguard French and Dutch possessions from German takeover, the foreign ministers defined any attempt by an external power to violate the sovereignty or territorial integrity of an American state as an act of aggression against all—a revival, in multilateral form, of the Grant "no transfer" Corollary.

President Roosevelt's policy of "continentalizing" the Monroe Doctrine in the interest of hemisphere unity was a triumph of U.S. diplomacy. At one stroke, he welded the American republics, or most of them, into a common front against the Axis; closed harbors of South America to German vessels; and transformed the image of Uncle Sam from block bully to benign protector. Another FDR achievement—furthering his "Atlantic first" naval strategy—has come to light only recently. A secret purpose of the inter-American defense policy was to relieve the hard-pressed destroyers and corvettes of the Royal Navy from guarding western Atlantic convoy lanes and shift responsibility for the Caribbean and South Atlantic to the United States.

Put to the test by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and Germany's declaration of war, all the American republics except Argentina and Chile severed relations with the Axis. Before hostilities ended many of them declared war. Their military contribution to the Allied war effort may have been negligible, but the political impact of seeing nearly the whole western hemisphere arrayed in a common front against fascism was considerable. Neither before nor since have the Americas been so united.

RE-PACKAGED AS AN inter-American defense system against external aggressors, the Monroe Doctrine reached its apogee in the years immediately following the peace. The purpose of the Rio Treaty of 1947, and the charter of the Organization of American States signed the following year, was to cement a common western hemisphere security interest and lay the groundwork for continuing inter-governmental collaboration. The Rio Treaty established a consultative mechanism and authorized collective measures to meet "armed attack" from an external source. The OAS Charter went further in framing procedures to deal with armed attack or threats from any source, not merely a non-American one. Both instruments were intended to cover indirect forms of aggression as well as conventional ones. Taken in conjunction they were until recently considered sufficient to cope with any external threat, including an indirect Soviet one. They were never, however, intended to have any operative effect on internal political violence, and the principle of non-intervention remained as sacrosanct as ever.

In the Good Neighbor era, the United States not only abjured military intervention, it also refrained from economic retaliation. When Mexico nationalized foreign petroleum properties in 1938, the Roosevelt administration refused to countenance demands on the part of big U.S. oil companies for military intervention or a break in diplomatic relations. Almost overnight, every species of intervention in the purely internal affairs of other American republics became in principle taboo, although this abstention never applied to conditions attached to economic and financial aid programs. On the political side, however, over-literal application of non-intervention had unanticipated and unsalutary effects.

In the State Department, the non-intervention principle was from the beginning invoked to reinforce acceptance of authoritarian regimes and the most retrograde features of Latin society. The department's Latin America specialists, then virtually a separate branch of the Foreign Service, were insistent that economic exploitation, social inequality, authoritarian government, and brutal repression of dissent were endemic to Latin American society and no business of the United States. They regarded the first feeble efforts to make human rights

Dateline Honduras: Embassy on Fire

Charles Barclay

TEGUCIGALPA, APRIL 7: Several gatherings, well-organized and financed by drug money and foreign embassies, and fueled by rumors of U.S. involvement in the capture of alleged drug trafficker Ramon Matta, were taking place around town this afternoon. But in the U.S. embassy, it was business as usual.

Two days earlier, Honduran security forces had carried out an operation that resulted in Matta's being turned over to U.S. authorities in the Dominican Republic. Matta, Honduran by birth but a reputedly prominent citizen of the seamy underworld of international narcotics trafficking, had returned to his native land in 1986 after escaping from a Colombian jail. His nearly two-year stay was flamboyant and disruptive to the country's delicate political balance. Moreover, he was wanted in the United States on a variety of drug charges. When Honduras's growing importance in the transshipment of South American cocaine to the United States became apparent, Honduran leaders repudiated his activities and forced his removal from the country. Yet the government in Tegucigalpa gave no specific reason for his capture, and rumors began circulating that he had been kidnapped by American authorities.

Despite the shrill denunciations from the left, and a barrage of condemnation from the nationalistic opposition media, few expected events to take the violent turn they did in the normally tranquil capital. The demonstrations on April 7 would gain momentum during the course of the evening and turn into marches that would converge on the U.S. embassy shortly after 7 p.m.. At the close of the day, however, no impending march on the building was reported.

Among those who stayed on after business hours was Political Counselor Don Johnson, who had just returned from retrieving his 1972 Opel coup from the repair shop and was busy finishing a cable to Washington before leaving for a reception at the deputy chief of mission's residence.

Inexplicably, Johnson's car stalled just outside the embassy parking lot, a quirk that probably saved him from driving into an angry crowd then marching just out of his sight. As Johnson and a duty driver tried to jump-start his car, one of the contract security guards shouted *"Ya vienen los civiles!"* The civilians are coming!

The civilians turned out to be the mob, which Johnson could now see at the foot of the boulevard moving toward the embassy. Their imminent arrival would obviously not be stopped by the handful of Honduran security officers on the scene. Johnson knew his place was back inside the embassy, where he could monitor and report on the developing situation. Reluctantly, he left his prized sports car to its fate and walked briskly back to the chancery, where the two marine guards, Lieutenant Corporal James Kiddy and Staff Sergeant Charles Spidell, were already breaking out riot-control gear.

Regional Security Officer Sy DeWitt had managed to break away from work a bit earlier and make it home for a bite to eat. Dinner was interrupted, however, by a call from his embassy contract guards: large crowds were converging on the embassy. A few months earlier, DeWitt had been named as RSO of the year. His reaction to the call was swift. Jumping in his car he made the five-minute drive to his building in about three minutes, pulling in through a side entrance ignored by the demonstrators. DeWitt ordered everyone in the building and grounds to gather at Marine Post One. He made a quick head count and found he was responsible for nearly a dozen cleaning women, the contract security guards, their two American supervisors, Johnson, and a contract American administrative employee. Contact with the annex turned up one American, Gene Szepesy, the acting AID director, plus a Honduran employee, Marco Ramos, and the building's cleaning force. DeWitt decided that to bring additional marines back to the embassy through the crowd might provoke a violent confrontation and endanger the unarmed soldiers. It was best for everyone to ride out the demonstration inside the building and wait for the arrival of Honduran security forces to break it up.

The Americans kept busy, dividing their time between manning the phones and monitoring the street between the chancery and annex as best they could. A quick series of outgoing calls ensured that the entire embassy was apprised of the situation. Calls went out to Ambassador Everett Briggs, the deputy chief of mission, and those who would set the emergency notification system in motion. A call also was made to seek help from Honduran officials—the first in a long series.

Monitoring the crowd was difficult from the chancery, which is set back behind a large brick wall and elevated approximately ten feet above the street. The mood was turning increasingly ugly; a rain of stones began falling inside the compound, and the sound of breaking glass began to punctuate the shouts of the demonstrators. Those inside could either watch on soundless television monitors that scanned the street and crowd, or listen through a window in an upstairs office facing the street.

During one of his visits upstairs to listen, Johnson noticed flames reflected in the windows of the annex. Wondering what it was, he returned to Marine Post One, where he was told a car had been set afire. Minutes later, Johnson's wife called to relay the news that radio commentators in the street were announcing that a gray sports car with diplomatic plates was burning.

Johnson's hapless Opel was the first of nearly 30 official and private U.S. cars and trucks that would be torched that night. While the crowd cheered them on, a small group of demonstrators, taking advantage of the absence of police, methodically began to up the ante of destructive violence in the streets. While the ambassador and other embassy officers continued to try to contact the Honduran president and chief of the armed forces to activate the still-immobilized police, this group roamed through side streets surrounding the complex, setting guard kiosks and cars with official plates afire, pelting windows with fist-sized river stones and molotov cocktails, and smashing away at building entrances. By 8:30 p.m., they had breached the annex's ground-floor consulate and begun to trash and burn its offices. By 9 p.m., the annex building was engulfed in smoke from several fires raging within and from cars and



The Honduran mob sets another car—and a U.S. flag—ablaze.

trucks burning in the building's rear parking lot. Those in the chancery were worried about Szepezy and his Honduran employees inside the annex.

SITTING AT HIS COMPUTER terminal in the early evening, Szepesy had noticed a sound similar to a strong wind, followed by that of breaking glass. Shortly after, a member of the cleaning force rushed in and hysterically told him the building was under attack. Szepesy's first response was to call his wife, telling her to stay away from the embassy. Then he began to act. He put the now-calmed woman to work rounding up the remaining cleaning force, then called AID's security officer to activate the warden-network system. He next took a quick look outside to see what his options were. Seeing the menacing crowd, he decided the best option was to gather the cleaning force in the safehaven and wait out the demonstration.

Rounding up the staff proved to be difficult. During the course of his search, though, Szepesy encountered Marco Ramos, AID's computer technician, who was coolly backing up the agency's files. Ramos, with computer tapes in his arms, accompanied Szepesy on his search. The two, with the help of a contract security guard, managed to gather the cleaning women in the fire stairwell on the ground floor. Szepesy left them in the charge of Ramos and the security guard and made one final trip upstairs to the director's office to retrieve important papers. When he returned, all had left the building through a side exit, wading through the manic crowd in the rear parking lot. Ramos, in his business suit and carrying AID computer tapes, did so at great personal risk, at one point tangling with a knife-wielding member of the crowd.

After a final search through the building to secure doors, Szepesy proceeded alone to an upper-floor safehaven, where he found an oxygen tank to help him deal with the intense smoke that was now seeping through the building.

Defense Attaché Mark Jones had been spending what he thought was a quiet evening at home hosting a dinner for a Honduran lieutenant colonel when reports began to come in that a major demonstration was going on in front of the embassy. By 8:30 p.m., Jones had become alarmed by reports that parts of the building were being damaged extensively and that no Honduran security forces were on the scene. He and his Honduran contact decided to head in the embassy's direction for a better look. As they drove through the narrow streets of Tegucigalpa monitoring the radio they heard a conversation between RSO DeWitt and the ambassador confirming that, despite the violence, there had been no attempt by Honduran authorities to intervene. "Sir, the building is burning and we have no fire trucks in sight," Jones heard DeWitt tell the ambassador.

At about 9:20, Jones decided to make a detour to the main fire house near the national stadium. In uniform, Jones strode into the station and began a ten-minute attempt to get the firemen to move. The crews would not go to the embassy, he was told, until they received authorization and assurances that Honduran security forces were quelling the riot. Exasperated, he turned to his Honduran friend, also in uniform, who stalked into the station shouting, "Get in your trucks and move! I order you to move!" The reluctant crews did.

Between 9 and 9:30, the ambassador received a long-sought commitment by the Honduran military to move its forces to disperse the crowd. Shortly before the arrival of the first elements of the elite "Cobra" unit, however, shots within the crowd left two demonstrators dead. The first bloodshed and the arrival of riot troops took the steam out of the mob, which quickly dispersed in the face of their first setbacks of the evening. As they fled the scene, the mob encountered AID Inspector Benjamin Field, who was leaving a nearby restaurant. Field was accosted by the mob and stabbed in the side. The wound, fortunately, was not serious.

DeWitt dispatched a team consisting of Don Johnson, marine guards now on the scene, and another American to cross from the chancery to the annex to get Gene Szepesy, survey the damage, and fight the fire. Minutes later a relatively unshaken AID officer emerged from the building. Szepesy's bottled air had held up during a safehaven stay that had lasted more than an hour—as had his nerves.

Among the members of the mob caught up in the attack on the embassy was a young Honduran radio reporter whose excited account of the violence kept capital residents riveted to their radios that evening. At 10 p.m., he was issuing one in a series of inaccurate, inflammatory bulletins as fires raged within the consulate and rioters fled from the tardy security forces. "U.S. embassy officials are now arriving virtually when the fire is over and when security forces have arrived to cover their backs," he shouted breathlessly. He then described U.S. officials as "surrounded by Honduran military" and "arrogantly" reclaiming their building.

In reality, the Americans he described were those who had remained in the embassy during the riot. They had been on the scene unprotected by Honduran authorities for more than three hours.

By 10:30 p.m., the country team was gathered in the embassy hard at work to begin to pick up the pieces. Shaken guards, cleaning women, and a few other participants in the siege were sent home for a much-needed rest. That evening and in the days that followed, though, Johnson, DeWitt, and Szepesy became key players in the embassy's response to the violence. The dedication to professionalism which kept them at their posts on April 7 stood them in good stead during the days that followed. So too did the rush of adrenaline which carried them through the evening's dramatic events.

Charles Barclay is the information officer at the U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa.



After the Reagan landslide of 1980, the thunder on the right for a return to the prineiples of the doctrine was deafening

a factor in U.S. foreign policy as naive meddling and a threat to comfortable relations with client states. With the wartime crusade against fascism past history, even the tendency to pin this label on a genuine article like the Argentine military was discouraged.

This kind of bureaucratic mind-set made the hostility of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations to native radical movements inevitable. Even indigenous populist movements were seen as opening wedges for Soviet penetration. Any taint of Marxism—inescapable in the intelligentsia of the Third World—was sufficient to damn them irrevocably. With military intervention ruled out, the U.S. commitment to the *status quo* and ruling elites beeame virtually obligatory.

Even the eontinentalized Monroe Doctrine eould not, however, be applied against indigenous radieal threats without more semantic tinkering. There was no getting around the fact that the defense articles of the Rio Treaty and OAS Charter were supposed to deal with external threats, not internal turmoil. The U.S. solution was to brand eommunism, and by extension any radical movement tainted with Marxism, as a form of outside aggression.

At the tenth Inter-American Conference of 1953, in Caracas, the Latin American foreign ministers, at the urging of the United States, approved a declaration that defined any attempt by the "international Communist movement" to control or dominate an American state as an attempt to introduce a foreign system and as an act of aggression. This neat formulation, framed to fit both the OAS Charter and the unmentioned (and unmentionable) Monroe Doctrine, was intended to legitimize future OAS action to overthrow undesirable left-wing governments, or at least to isolate them. But except in the case of Cuba during the 1960s, it has not been that effective.

By this time, the doctrine itself had all but vanished from the U.S. foreign policy lexicon. It did not figure in offieial statements concerning the ouster of Jacobo Arbenz as duly elected president of Guatemala by a military coup arranged by the CIA, since the United States was not supposed to be involved. Nor was the doctrine a feature of official statements about Cuba after Castro overthrew the Batista regime in 1959. Regardless of Castro's political orientation, the purely internal nature of his insurgency was plain to see.

If ever there was an external threat to galvanize the OAS into colleetive aetion under the Rio Treaty and OAS Charter, it should have been the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Action there was, but not by the OAS and not primarily against Cuba. The United States did obtain an OAS endorsement of a naval quarantine, but this was aimed at the Soviet Union rather than Cuba. During the crisis, mention of the doctrine was notably absent from official pronouncements. President Kennedy's only recorded reference to it was the dismissive comment in response to a press question: "The Monroe Doctrine, what the hell is that?" followed by a remark that it was American air and naval power that counted. Later, nearly all the Latin governments broke relations with the Castro government and also voted to suspend its OAS membership. The OAS vote, however, was for running guns to Venezuelan leftists, not for Castro's ties to the Soviet Union. And the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement that resolved the crisis immunized Cuba from future U.S. invasion without preventing it from fomenting revolution elsewhere.

During the Johnson and Nixon years, the United States continued to pursue its traditional policy in Latin America of support for "centralist" governments, a blind eye for right-wing authoritarian regimes, and implacable hostility to radical movements. Heavy reliance continued to be placed on the consultative machinery of the OAS, but the Monroe Doctrine was rarely mentioned except as a buzzword to demonstrate U.S. eommitment to hemisphere unity. When President Johnson invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965 he used the time-honored justification of "protection of Ameriean life and property" but swiftly converted his unilateral action into an OAS peacekeeping operation with a Brazilian general in nominal command. This was the last time the OAS endorsed U.S. military intervention in the hemisphere, and the 14-5 vote, with many abstentions, revealed cracks in the surface of hemisphere unity.

THE LAST TWO DECADES have been a period of inereasing ambiguity and uncertainty regarding the doctrine's viability and relevance. Spheres of influence acquired a negative image after Soviet tanks crushed the "Czech spring" in 1968 and Chairman Leonid Brezhnev promulgated his own doctrine, declaring that it and the Monroe Doetrine were "established, reciprocal norms of the international system." (Eleven years later the Soviet Union would use the same argument for its intervention in Afghanistan.) During the Nixon administration, however, many of Henry Kissinger's statements seemed to imply a sphere-of-influenee approach in dealing with the Soviet Union. Luckily for him, the

relatively low level of revolutionary activity in Latin America at that time, combined with the total preoccupation of the White House with Vietnam, the Middle East, and the opening to China, kept Latin American problems on the back burner. Like Dean Acheson before him, Kissinger considered Latin America's problems as unsolvable and a diversion from the main arena of world affairs.

THE LAST TWO administrations have thrown the anomalies of the Monroe Doctrine into sharp relief. Without repudiating it in so many words, the Carter administration disavowed it in spirit. In his first address to the OAS Council in 1977, President Carter announced that a "global approach" would henceforth replace the principle of "two spheres." The United States would now deal selectively with foreign governments, based on their importance to U.S. interests, their human-rights record, and their performance as members of the global community. At the same time, Carter reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to territorial inviolability and sovereignty under the Rio Treaty and OAS Charter.

After the Reagan landslide of 1980, the thunder on the right for a return to the principles of the doctrine was deafening. The new leadership of State, Defense, and the National Security Council saw the left-wing insurgencies in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and to a lesser extent Guatemala as nothing less than attempts to establish a Soviet beachhead in Central America. Largely ignored were the indigenous origins of these insurgencies, and the sordid background of oppression, state terrorism, and economic exploitation. After he took office, Reagan initiated a massive military aid program for El Salvador and began recruiting and equipping a mercenary army under Somocista leadership to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. Congress cooperated by passing a resolution in 1982 urging the president to "block the spread of Marxism-Leninism in the hemisphere by whatever means may be necessary . . . including use of arms."

The Reagan Central America policy has been entirely unilateral. At no point did the administration feel confident enough of its case against Nicaragua to invoke the collective security provisions of the Rio Treaty and OAS Charter. None of the Central American states, not even the supposed target of indirect aggression, El Salvador, have summoned Nicaragua or Cuba before the bar of the U.N. Security Council or the International Court of Justice—and when Nicaragua sued the United States in the International Court over the mining of its harbors, the United States withdrew. When the Reagan administration staged its snap invasion of Grenada, in 1983, it used the same justification of safeguarding American lives—in this case, medical students who were not particularly endangered—as Johnson used 20 years before in the Dominican Republic. But the only inter-American endorsement it could obtain was from an obscure Caribbean economic organization.

Where does the Monroe Doctrine stand today? Probably alive and well as a ringing slogan of American determination to defend the hemisphere from tangible, visible external aggression—even to act alone in the first instance. But as regards more subtle, indirect kinds of encroachment, it is more murky and ill-defined than ever. As long as the concept of national sovereignty remains intact, the United States cannot make a *casus belli* out of another state's right to make whatever political alignments or economic arrangements that it chooses—as Cuba does with the Soviet Union, Nicaragua does with Cuba and the Soviet Union, and El Salvador and Honduras do with the United States. Nor can it intrude too blatantly into the internal affairs of another country—whether to lay hands on a drug trafficker or oust a military leader—without generating a nationalistic backlash.

But there is no question that for the last seven years this administration has given Theodore Roosevelt's 1904 corollary a new lease on life—through covert action, war by proxy, diplomatic arm-twisting, and the stranglehold of the Colossus of the North on vulnerable Central American economics.

To the extent that the Monroe Doctrine is still relevant, it is now part of the tangled web of U.S. policy toward Latin America. That policy is now at a dead end, paralyzed by end-of-term inertia, the Central American peace initiative, Sandinista-contra negotiations, catastrophic results of the economic campaign to oust Panama's Noriega, and the opposition of Congress and public opinion to Reagan's Nicaragua policy. It will be up to the next administration to put Latin American relationships back on track by returning to the course charted by Franklin Roosevelt 50 years ago. If the White House and the bureaucracy can bring themselves to identify with the aspirations of the Latin American masses, accept political and ideological diversity, and give human rights and economic reform priority over support of the *status quo*, they will be surprised and gratified at the response. □



Representative Les Aspin poses as the Soviet communist party general secretary during a CSIS game involving nuclear terrorism. To be effective, simulations must involve top policymakers and decisionmakers—not to mention foreign affairs professionals.

WHY PLAY GAMES?

Simulations and exercises help train diplomats to meet real-life crises and to develop policy alternatives

ANDREW C. GOLDBERG and DEBRA VAN OPSTAL

ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS periodically go through risky situations in which time is short, information scarce, and the consequences of failure potentially catastrophic. One of the best ways to learn how to cope with these crises is gaming.

Preparing government officials or other decision-makers to deal effectively with crises is no easy task, but it is a necessary one. Indisputable evidence for this can be seen nearly every night on the evening news. In a series of games run at the Center for Strategic and International Studies over the last few years, we have found that even the most experienced executives can falter in crises. We have also learned that the ability to focus and make priorities under great stress may not be an innate skill, but it can be learned.

Faced with the need to develop crisis procedures and improve preparedness, many institutions are increasingly turning to gaming—called simulation by the more image conscious among us. More than any other human endeavor, crisis management requires careful integration of psychological and organizational factors that are difficult to capture, much less explain, in a seminar-type setting. Games or simulations provide a good measure of the stress and real-time flow of events of a real crisis.

The modern political-military game, whether a tactical counterterrorism exercise held at an embassy [see "Emergency at Post," page 38] or the global wargame held at the Naval War College in Newport, are all part

Andrew Goldberg is a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Debra Van Opstal is a fellow at CSIS.

of a long legacy which dates back to the German General Staff's Kreigspiel of the 19th century. Military gaming was later modified during the 1950s at the RAND Corporation and the M.I.T. Center for International Studies to accommodate political issues.

Since that time the vast majority of gaming exercises have involved military issues—usually the engagement of units on the battlefield—but a considerable number now test other problems, most of which come under the heading of crisis response. Gaming and simulation have, consequently, gone beyond the Pentagon to such organizations as the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Department of Energy, and the Department of State.

All live-actor political-military games are structurally similar. The organizers break the players into one or more teams in which they either play themselves (such as field commanders, counterterrorist task forces, government agencies, etc.) or are surrogates for others. The teams receive simulated triggering inputs—crisis events—in the form of messages supplied by a game management group commonly termed "control." The teams then play against one another, as in the more traditional wargame, or sometimes against the control group.

Games can have a number of goals. At CSIS, our aim has been to identify new and innovative strategies, institutions, or technologies that might be useful in defusing a potential nuclear confrontation. Other games explore contingencies for planning purposes, or test procedures, or sensitize individuals to the problems of crisis management.

One of the principal values of games is how key assumptions of the participants become explicit. Players were consistently willing to use nuclear brinkmanship in a replay of Cuba in 1962 or the Middle East of 1967, for instance. The teams uniformly assumed that the Soviet Union would back down once the United States had signaled, through a raised nuclear alert level, that its vital interests were engaged. As it turned out, however, the Soviet team did not back down and U.S. decision-makers were largely unprepared to cope with the reality of a parallel nuclear alert by the U.S.S.R.

In addition, simulations offer a chance to test mechanisms or procedures that have been proposed by scholars or policymakers. In one game, for instance, we found that a simulated National Security Council refused to use nuclear risk-reduction centers similar to those recently agreed to by both superpowers. The players' resistance, however, was not on institutional grounds. Rather, they felt that the term "nuclear" might create a public panic over a situation that had not yet escalated to that point.

Our series of games also dramatically illustrated the pervasive, important, and often counter-productive effect of the media on top-level decision-making. The public relations aspects of the crises not only influenced but sometimes dominated the timing of decisions, the structure of the agenda, and the choice of options. Media preemption of the issues tended to drive NSC responses. The continual dialogues within the councils about who would say what to whom and when diverted time and attention away from the problem itself.

DESPITE THE FACT that games are being conducted with increasing frequency, there is considerable resistance to them in the national security bureaucracy. Indeed, the higher up the pyramid—for example, at the level of assistant secretaries, senior White House staff, and the NSC planning group—the less likely one is to see games performed.

Part of the problem is simply time. The more senior the official, the less time he or she will be able to devote to "playing games." The notion of taking precious hours from day-to-day management for abstract excursions is often seen as frivolous.

But behind this argument lie deeper biases and fears. Studies have shown that officials think of themselves as better at managing crises than they actually are. This belief, added to the view expressed by many executives that every crisis is unique and, therefore, no sce-



Political-military games provide a good measure of the stress and flow of events of a real-life crisis.

nario can capture the essence of a real event, makes gaming seem a waste of time. Given this and the fact that simulations are designed to point up shortcomings in crisis response, many decision-makers prefer to avoid the ordeal altogether.

NEVERTHELESS, gaming is a powerful tool when properly employed. It can yield significant benefits throughout the chain of decision. The first benefit comes even before the game is played, in the development of scenarios. Involvement in scenario writing takes the authors out of the day-to-day preoccupations of government and forces them to confront unusual contingencies. Staffers can exercise their imaginations in a manner they might be reluctant to exhibit in their real-life memoranda. This is political education of the highest order and is worth encouraging.

The next benefit emerges in the actual course of play. Provided, of course, that the game is designed to be challenging, stressful, and realistic, the participants will be forced to question strongly held assumptions, consider multiple options, and experience first hand the problems of decision making under real-time constraints, with penalties for failure.

Finally, the pressure of the game focuses attention on creative problem solving in a way that roundtable discussions rarely achieve. Faced with the unexpected, the participants may often devise innovative responses or new signaling devices that are of potential interest not only to policy specialists, but practitioners as well.

Our having made the case that gaming ought to be done frequently at the highest levels of government, the question becomes one of implementation. Here we have some modest suggestions.

First, agencies should conduct more political-military games—and raise their level of sophistication. At present, their use is concentrated in just a few departments and bureaus. Games can serve to broaden the repertoire of policies and techniques before a crisis takes hold. Simulations are often more useful than simple brainstorming in this regard, for alternatives are tested under a more structured and realistic situation.

Second, if such exercises are to provide truly useful experiences, they must be used frequently and by those who actually confront crises—the White House staff, including the NSC and its support personnel. It may be true that the time of key executives is limited, but simulations can be conducted over a weekend or in similar limited time frames.

Finally, because of the factors that inhibit effective crisis management—as discovered in part through gaming, some of which are related above—it may be worthwhile to involve members of Congress and senior members of allied governments in joint exercises. At a minimum, exercises can enhance mutual awareness of policy and decision-making dilemmas in an environment that allows some focused conciliation of alternatives.

The human element is the most critical component of crisis management. Gaming can be a force for improvement in this area. Unfortunately, crisis simulations have been neglected by national-security decision-makers, if not actively ignored. Some of our allies—Israel, for instance—have made productive use of games at the highest levels. In our country, this is a critical failure that should be rectified if crisis management is to be more than a euphemism for ad hoc practices leavened by luck. □



Secretary of Defense Robert McFarlane, National Security Adviser Richard Stone, Deputy NSA David Newsom, and Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson caucus over the unexpected news that the contras are winning their insurgency in Nicaragua in a CSIS simulation.



A class of junior Foreign Service officers meet to discuss an emergency situation in the mythical country of Al Jazira, in a simulation at the Foreign Service Institute.

MODELING CRISES

Despite early bureaucratic resistance, political-military games are increasingly becoming accepted at State

MICHAEL SCHOFIELD

"I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN fascinated with the technique and perceived its potential for understanding problems," said the senior Foreign Service officer, explaining his affinity for gaming. "You begin with the proposition that a problem is complex and poorly understood from the exterior," he continued, "that it has an internal architecture of some sort, and that it can be dissected and examined methodically and systematically. If you start with that proposition, then you can make the leap into dealing with the problem in a laboratory environment. That is what gaming is all about."

In a process characteristic of all gamers, Brayton Redecker then pondered his explanation, apparently giving further consideration to options and alternatives before finally settling on his last statement. A specialist in economic and political-military affairs, Redecker is director of crisis management studies at the Foreign Service Institute's Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs. As such, his responsibilities include detailed analyses of the State Department's approach to crisis management. This includes the further institutionalization of gaming at State as a tool for anticipating crises, analyzing policies, and training personnel.

Gaming has always suffered from its unfortunate name. A game is no more than a simulation in which there are opposing teams, sometimes playing directly against each other, sometimes under the guidance of a control group, and sometimes directly against control. At first, games modeled military situations, but more recently they have been used to simulate business environments, social interactions, or, of interest to foreign affairs professionals, international crises. The organizers develop a scenario and choose up the sides, then put the players in as realistic an environment as possible. While no one would suggest that games can substitute for real crises in the lessons they

Michael Schofield is a public affairs officer for the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. A former journalist, he recently was editor of an Al Jazarian newspaper. The views expressed are his own.



JAZIRIAN JOURNAL: A map of the country. In this and the following photos, junior officers in the A-100 classes enact their assignment to the Emirate of Al Jazira.

can provide, they can come astonishingly close. Hence, the growing interest in simulations.

The department did little to utilize gaming techniques for these purposes until comparatively recently. Individuals have participated over the years in many political-military exercises run by the Pentagon or academia, but few of the games gave little more than lip service to State's concerns in crisis management and in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. Now, the department has modest but growing programs of its own that deal with both fronts. In fact, it recently held a wide-ranging conference that covered many aspects of gaming.

THE TWO-DAY symposium put together by Redecker was entitled "Serious Games for Serious Questions" and reflected much of what is currently going on in the field. Held in early March, it dealt with policy formulation and decision-making through simulations in defense, diplomacy, and business. Among the 400 gaming aficionados attending were representatives up to the assistant-secretary level at State and equivalent officials of other agencies. Institutional participants ranged from big-time players like the Department of Defense and the RAND Corporation to relatively new kids on the gaming block, such as Citicorp and Florida Power and Light. An article in a recent issue of *Business Week* described a game run by Citicorp for foreign-currency traders. "Well, if the people who make money are willing to do that," noted one observer at the symposium, "there must be something to it beyond simply the old model of the DOD-run war game."

Attendees heard not only about those Pentagon war simulations, which can involve several hundred participants and extensive use of computers, but also relatively low-budget crisis-management exercises run by State's Bureau of Diplomatic Security at embassies and consulates overseas, where the highest tech is a portable closed-circuit phone system connecting adjoining rooms [see sidebar below]. Game subjects discussed included foreign affairs, combat, financial trading, and energy shortages. The gaming methods ranged from lofty theories, mathematical models, and equations contained in a West German presentation to the down-to-earth simulations run by the Center for Strategic and International Studies [see "Why Play Games," page 34]. Most would probably subscribe to the views expressed by a retired Israeli colonel, who said that Israeli gamers believe the situation they are simulating may eventually be the real thing. "Our lives depend on understanding what the problem might be."

Actually, games, simulations, and exercises

EMERGENCY AT POST: SIMULATING A CATASTROPHE

THE SITUATION SEEMED increasingly desperate. Rioting was reported in several provincial cities, rural insurgency was spreading in the mountains, and the capital was rocked by rumors of an impending coup. A demonstration in the streets had turned violent and an angry mob was heading for the embassy.

Long-smoldering regional issues had suddenly ignited, triggering the crisis. Iranian troops had staged a break-through in the Gulf war, new clashes had erupted at Mecca, and there was renewed violence on the West Bank. The once-neutral country, previously only peripheral to the Middle East drama, now was caught up in the actions of the region's major players.

The ambassador and his staff found themselves coping with information that was frequently erroneous and dealing with increasingly uncooperative members of the host country's government. They had to consider the threat of violence to the embassy and the possible need to evacuate.

An unexpected telephone call further compounded the situation. "Mr. Ambassador," said the foreign minister, "we can overcome our problems, but you must realize how critical the attitudes of the foreign community are to that success. Any sudden evacuation by the United States could prompt similar action by other countries and tilt the psychological balance against our government."

The ambassador reassured the foreign minister and thanked him for his call. He knew Washington considered the country strategically important and wanted reporting of the crisis to continue. But security outside the embassy had broken down and the mounting threat to Americans clearly made them vulnerable both on and off the compound. As he hung up the phone, he heard discussion among his post's top officers grow more intense. The officers, functioning now as the embassy's Emergency Action Committee, were hastily reviewing emergency procedures for possible evacuation. The ambassador knew that decision was not far off.

A few hours later, in a more relaxed atmosphere, the ambassador and his staff reviewed the events and decisions of the past two days. "That was a pretty real scenario, and pretty scary," the deputy chief of mission said. Violent demonstrations had rocked the capital. One embassy officer had been killed in a car bomb blast outside his home and another official had died in mob violence outside the embassy. Earlier, an aircraft hijacking had been brought to an end by working with the country's security

are terms that, while used interchangeably, have somewhat different definitions. Games are competitive in nature and involve moves, according to agreed-upon rules, in which the purpose is to win. While that concept is good for gaming out battles, said conference moderator Lincoln Bloomfield, "it is not necessarily apt for diplomacy, where you can't afford to lose and you might not be able to afford to win. The purpose [in diplomacy] may be something quite different. It may be to survive. It may be to keep the system going."

Many high-tech instruments can be used in gaming—computers, video-taped scenarios, video displays, and closed-circuit TV monitors—but at root the game must accurately depict a potentially real situation. The results of a game lacking these fundamentals, according to Bloomfield, "can be no better, even worse, than a good conversation on the same subject."

Bloomfield, generally regarded as the father of modern political-military gaming, said simulation—pretending to be something or someone else—means modeling a complex system: the human brain, a battle, a country's economy, or the world of diplomacy. Simulations may involve the use of mathematically expressed values and computers to interrelate them. An exercise, he said, is just what the word implies—"practicing to deal with policy problems even though they will doubtless arrive in different guises."

There are three ancestral roots to gaming: the war games that are practiced world-wide, in which tactics, personnel, and equipment are tested under simulated battle conditions; business-school games, in which role-playing participants learn how to acquire market shares and maximize profits; and psycho-dramas in mental hospitals, where a troubled individual putting on a mask can ventilate feelings by pretending to be someone else. All three are evident in the present-day games conducted in the Pentagon, in the White House, and in the State Department. The goal of these games is not to find out whether a given policy is going to produce war or peace, Bloomfield concluded. "The purpose is to sharpen the skills of the professional."

BEFORE BECOMING A political science professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1963, Bloomfield worked at State and was in charge of policy planning on United Nations affairs. At M.I.T., he directed research projects on the United Nations, arms control, global interdependence, and outer space and devised a computerized conflict analysis system called CASCON [see "Computerizing Conflicts," page 46]. He also served on the National Security Council, in charge of global issues, during the

forces—but at the cost of 21 dead and 43 wounded. All the events had occurred only in a simulated two-day crisis-management exercise conducted by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. It had been requested earlier by the ambassador to test the post's Emergency Action Plan and the preparedness of the Emergency Action Committee. The results would be an improved plan and improved preparedness by the members of the committee if a real crisis should occur.

"We were pretty safe in the safehaven, but we need to think of how to handle our people in the housing compound," the deputy chief of mission said in the discussion following the exercise. "We need to think of how we move them to the safehaven or to other houses. U.S. dependents were left trapped in their houses for too long."

"Could we actually have done the evac the way we did it in the scenario?" a marine gunnery sergeant asked. "There's got to be a better assembly point than that school. You can't have 600 Americans walking down the street to get there. That's 600 targets." The post's political officer found another weakness: "We didn't coordinate enough with each other during the hijacking," he said.

One situation after another was discussed that would help the post update its Emergency Action Plan. The Emergency Action Committee took up topics ranging from the need for more complete checklists to other key issues such as the appropriate level of force used by the marines. Defending lives within the chancery was a given, but what about the embassy grounds? Another question addressed the destruction of classified material. Was the process begun too quickly and then resumed not quickly enough?

Not only would the plan be updated as a result of lessons learned from the training exercise, but committee members would be better prepared to handle real crises in the future. As one member of the visiting Crisis Management group said later, "The exercise did its job. It brought the Emergency Action Committee members together as a team. When we walked away, they were a more closely knit unit. That's what we want."

An embassy formulates its Emergency Action Plan by working from a manual published by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security's Office of Emergency Plans and Exercises. The plan is then tested against plausible scenarios prepared by the office. Before a crisis team visits a particular post, it reviews cable traffic to and from the embassies for several months and holds detailed discussions with desk officers at State, representatives of various government agencies, and appropriate military commands. The idea is to make the exercise as real and as relevant as possible. The teams cover all embassies, making frequent visits to posts facing a moderate-to-high threat level. Each team makes five trips per year, visiting two posts on each trip.

The Emergency Action Committee generally is chaired by the deputy chief of mission and varies in size from about six to 15 members, depending on the size of the post. The Crisis Management Team from the State Department numbers about six



Washington calls: "Ignore the bullets. You have a job to do."

last half of the Carter administration.

It was Bloomfield, points out Redecker, who almost 30 years ago approached State with the idea of applying gaming techniques to the decision-making and foreign policy formulation processes. Bloomfield said he was told Congress would never understand the department's "playing games" but that members of the policy planning staff could go to his POLEX games at M.I.T. It wasn't until 23 years after helping State put on a lone in-house high-level game and with governmental policy gaming a virtual monopoly of the Department of Defense that Bloomfield was asked to help launch a serious political gaming capability at Foggy Bottom.

A parallel reason for State to look more closely at the applicability of gaming techniques stems from terrorism. This new kind of conflict has driven gaming into the forefront, says Redecker. "The terrorist incident, or aircraft hijacking, was something nobody understood as a management problem. You have to take instant decisions, unless you understand the problem quite well in its fundamental sense. You've got to know what you're doing, because if you make mistakes, the costs are enormous."

Another reason for the renascence of gaming at State is the move away from games "where the outcomes were foregone conclusions," said Redecker, "namely, where the militarists get together to have a war to figure out how to organize their assets, deploy their troops, and decide on winning strategies. These kinds of wars are not occurring, but low-intensity conflicts are very prevalent, and their characteristics are not at all well understood." The inevitability of armed conflict in the classical sense is not a foregone conclusion in a terrorist incident but hinges on many variables. It is the open-ended type of game approximating that situation that has attracted new efforts by State. In that setting, participants play a large role in determining not only the path and outcome of events, but, to a certain extent, the events themselves.

GAMING IN ITS widest sense at State has largely centered on two areas: overseas exercises at embassies and consulates, mentioned earlier, and policy analysis and training simulations. (Gaming research and development also is being done in the area of terrorism, but that effort was not discussed at the symposium due to its classified nature.)

The Bureau of Diplomatic Security's overseas exercises are designed to strengthen an embassy's abilities to deal with crises and test its emergency plans. Alan Golacinski, director of the bureau's Office of Emergency Plans and Exercises, told the symposium that the Crisis Management Exercise Program is now widely accepted overseas and within the department. There are no textbook solutions to the exercises, which are run on a no-fault basis in a "win-win" environment rather than on an adversarial basis. The strength of the exercise

players. It is headed by a recently retired senior Foreign Service officer with experience as an ambassador or DCM and includes two specialists in plans and exercises, two military officers from commands which could be involved with the embassy in a time of crisis, and frequently a desk officer or other regional specialist. To help in establishing realism in the scenarios, two or three embassy staffers familiar with the post and its immediate area supplement the crisis team.

The typical plan tested in an exercise deals with situations ranging from terrorist acts to natural disasters and focuses on such areas as emergency-committee organization, individual responsibilities, evacuation preparedness, military assistance, communications, safehavens, destruction of classified material, bomb-threat measures, internal defense, and local security contacts. The plan must also contain vital detailed information ranging from transportation schedules and checklists to radio frequencies for transmitting and receiving, or ways to recognize navigational aides at seaports.

The precise information and procedures contained in the plan are instrumental to the increasingly complex decisions the embassy staff may have to make in a time of actual crisis. Exercise scenarios depict a deteriorating political and security environment in which U.S. personnel or installations face increasingly hostile threats. The embassy may or may not have to consider evacuation in the face of these threats, depending on decisions by its staff and an open-ended flow of events.

"This is much like a war game," a crisis team member told embassy staffers at a briefing before a recent exercise began. "But there is one key difference: it is *not* a confrontational situation. There should be no opposition on your end of the phone, one-upsmanship, or trickery.

"A lot of this is free-play," he continued. "We act as a mirror. We don't know where you're going, but we'll be trying to move ahead of you, introducing events and circumstances that will allow you to make decisions. We're not telling you what to do. We want to do everything we can to help you successfully complete your exercise. But we will also do everything we can to try to make this feel like a real crisis."

For most players, the exercise does feel like an actual crisis. "We're always amazed at how drained people are by the end of the second day," said one member of the crisis team. "The exercise is predicated on truth," he continued, "but it takes an hour or so for people to let down their guards. If they accept the artificialities of compressed time and multiple crisis situations, we can almost guarantee them a successful exercise. The best of all possible exercises develops when the Emergency Action Committee starts believing the scenario is possible and the parts being played are real.

lies in its authenticity and in free play between the control team and post personnel in open-ended scenarios rather than reliance on computerized programs.

Clayton McManaway Jr., deputy to the ambassador at large for counterterrorism, cited the value of the exercises during his remarks. McManaway contrasted his experience as deputy director of an interagency task force for the evacuation of Saigon in 1975 with that as ambassador to Haiti 11 years later. The Saigon crisis had never been gamed. But in Haiti, his personnel had simulated a security crisis a few months before the one that ultimately led to the collapse of the Duvalier regime. "While the scenario did not foresee the fall of Duvalier," he said, "the exercise put the embassy staff through an intense experience that sharply honed our abilities to coordinate, communicate, gather and collect data, analyze it, and make decisions. I have no doubt that the experience contributed greatly to our ability to manage that crisis."

THE SECOND major gaming effort at State is based at the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, located in the Foreign Service Institute. The center's games are designed to enable policymakers to consider the hard choices they could face as a result of possible major changes in a country caused by indigenous or international events. "Our program has sought to look at developments in a particular country or region 6 to 18 months ahead," said Fred Hill, who directs simulations at CSFA. The developments may or may not lead to a crisis for the United States, but would nevertheless be important to U.S. interests.

Hill is a former foreign correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* and former Capitol Hill staffer. He saw the emphasis in the CSFA games as on the likely actions and reactions of foreign governments. "They deal with the ambiguity of complex political and diplomatic situations rather than the precision of battles and new weapons. They deal with developing situations, largely in the third world, which may or may not have ripened into a crisis, and which may or may not have a clear outcome, but which may bring into conflict two or three key American objectives and policies, with no set of options or answers. That, it seems to me, is the real world of diplomacy."

The games at the center have ranged from one to two days and brought together people from State, Defense, the CIA, the Department of Energy, Capitol Hill, and academia both as participants and as experienced hands in preparing the scenarios. Players have ranged from assistant secretaries and four-star generals and intelligence officers to younger desk officers and military attachés. Of the eight games played thus far, topics have included:

- how transitions in countries important to the United States can be better understood to influence their evolution to democracy and freedom;
- what happens when the U.S. nuclear non-

Then the two sides get into good interaction."

Generally, posts are surprised by the sophistication of the scenarios and the realization that the crises depicted "could happen here." The acceptance stems from elements of reality worked into the scenarios. A crisis team in the midst of an exercise draws on tools such as city and state maps, local telephone directories, and post personnel lists to establish realism. These are consulted on a regular basis before introducing the latest hypothetical movements of an unruly mob or the location of a reported bomb.

Using the names of actual people and places brings a sense of reality to the exercise that quickly removes it from the "fun-and-games" category. The players become much more concerned with the quality of their Emergency Action Plan when the bomb they failed to find in the scenario goes off, theoretically wounding or killing someone they actually know. Having to play out such grim details as making hospitalization arrangements and informing or caring for family survivors underlines the seriousness of the situation.

IN ONE RECENT exercise, the scenario involved a Persian Gulf that was heating up due to a number of factors. Iran had finally broken through on the southern front in its ground war against Iraq and was slowly advancing toward Baghdad. Muslim emotions were running high in a violent new round of Arab-Israeli confrontations on the West Bank, and Saudi-Iranian relations were worsening after renewed violent demonstrations at Mecca. A falling dollar and a glut of oil on the world market were contributing to regional economic instability, and U.S. international leadership was diminishing in the late stages of an election year.

Against this backdrop, terrorist incidents and anti-American demonstrations were on the rise, as were shooting incidents involving U.S. warships convoying U.S.-flagged tankers. The embassy was faced with a scenario that included an aircraft hijacking, aid requests following a natural disaster, political demonstrations on the verge of turning violent, bomb threats, and the need to consider evacuating Americans. In this setting, it had to deal with a marginally cooperative host government.

As the scenario worsened, the exercise reflected both the effectiveness of the post's emergency plan and the staff's flexibility in coping with the developing crises. Innovation became the order of the day as communication with key local areas broke down. The committee began to draw on the embassy's warden system, used primarily to disseminate information to neighborhood areas, to learn the extent of violence and political unrest in sections of the city. The



A member of the Emergency Action Committee hands over the complete evacuation plan.

proliferation policy conflicts with other key policy objectives;

- how the U.S. should anticipate threats to freedom of navigation and what is the likelihood of allied support in dealing with the issue; and
- can the United States retain its political influence in a region if U.S. law requires severing bilateral aid in the same area.

"The central purpose of this effort lies not in finding a new policy or predicting trends or developments," said Hill. "The value of the game is not prediction. It's an exercise in understanding what your problems are likely to be. A game offers an opportunity to test existing policy or to examine a variety of proposed steps or assumptions, and at no fault. It gives policymakers a chance to try a policy and not get burned by it."

It is Hill's view that well-done games can lead to greater understanding of the internal dynamics of countries of interest to the United States and can clarify various options, pressure points, warning signs, and thresholds. "By itself, a game may not, and perhaps should not, directly influence policy," he said, "but it can stimulate lively discussion and throw light on the contours and contexts of a particularly difficult set of issues."

The success of the CSFA program was reflected in a comment by one senior Policy Planning official after participation in a game. "It is quite remarkable," he wrote, "how prescient your example proved to be. We are now engaged in trying to reconcile the very competing policy objectives that your exercise tested."

Two other games are used in training Foreign Service officers at CSFA. One deals with cultural adjustments within a country. The second game, "Crisis in Al Jazira," is a foreign policy simulation that places a mythical, but very realistic Middle East country in a topical setting. The game was designed by Redecker while on sabbatical at Williams College in Massachusetts to teach the complexity of foreign policy development to students. Its use since then has been far more extensive. It is regularly used at CSFA for entering classes of junior FSOs, was recently played at the Center for Low Intensity Conflict at Langley Air Force Base, and drew 75 participants from State, other agencies, and private industry for a mid-April session at CSFA. Realism is enhanced by a 30-page briefing booklet on the mythical country sent to the participants about two weeks prior to play.

FOR THE PAST five years, State has been working with gaming techniques both overseas and in Washington in the areas of training, contingency planning, and crisis management. Under Secretary for Management Ronald Spiers told the symposium the department has been applying gaming techniques with increasing effect. State has learned a great deal from the in-house experience, he said, and from its joint exercises and simulations with other agencies. "We

warden system became a prime source of information for the embassy and provided it with a badly needed overview of the situation. In the critique that followed the exercise, embassy staffers agreed the newfound system should be developed further and incorporated into their Emergency Action Plan.

The embassy critique described at the beginning is only one of three reviews that normally follow a typical two-day exercise. The State crisis team also meets to share opinions on the exercise. After a roundtable discussion, each member of the team fills out a lengthy form dealing with such topics as how the embassy handled evacuation planning, internal and external communication, use of force, levels of funding and supplies, and a spectrum of other issues. Following the two sessions, both sides then meet to share observations about the exercise and discuss the possible strengths and weaknesses in the post's plan.

Despite apparent redundancy, it is such detailed analysis and input that strengthens the plan. Bob Martens, a Foreign Service officer for more than 30 years, is one of the crisis team leaders. Now retired, Martens, a Soviet specialist, formerly was DCM in Bucharest and Stockholm and served as a political officer in Moscow, Indonesia, and in the East Asia Bureau. He sees extensive political input and broad post involvement as pivotal to the program's success.

"Previously, many post leaderships regarded the Emergency Action Plan as a bureaucratic imposition," he said. "They would turn it over to the regional security officer or the admin officer. But the plan is not just their responsibility. It involves many other people and should have their input. The mix is very complex and requires direct and continuing involvement by the top level of the embassy. The exercise reflects the totality of considerations that go into the decision-making process.

"The scenarios attempt to get the ambassador and the DCM involved in real-life decisions based on political input," Martens continued. "The embassy is reacting to political stimuli, such as crises in government and diplomatic relations. In one case, we wanted the post to think of the effects a development like an Iranian breakthrough in the Gulf war might have. What would start giving way politically and socially? What might such a development lead to in terms of pro-Iranian actions?"

Once a background from projected world events is settled upon for an exercise, as much realism as possible must be brought to the scenarios. A crisis team will spend several hours on site going over embassy grounds to find potential vulnerabilities, and will case areas of the city to become familiar with them, checking out roads, traffic conditions, and the possible location of assembly areas should the exercise enter

now think it's time to take the discussion of gaming out of its classical war-gaming context and consider its application to more general foreign policy and other types of decisions."

"Reducing the complex issues of modern decision-making to the dimensions of gaming and simulation is not a trivial pursuit," Spiers warned. "It challenges the user to deal with the leading issues that preoccupy top organizations, managers, and strategists. In turn, it challenges those leaders to organize their thinking and restructure their problems both in terms of real content and in terms of the process required to deal with them effectively." Spiers also cautioned game designers that "if the end product offered to the real world executive is not a faithful recreation of their real world environment and concerns, then gaming does indeed become a trivial pursuit."

NO LESS FORMIDABLE an impediment to the broader application of gaming techniques at State is what Redecker calls the "genteel dismissal of the technique" by many in the department for not being relevant to main-line operational needs. "There's a hesitancy on the part of FSOs to think that gaming applies" to the real world, acknowledged Richard Kauzlarich, deputy director of Policy Planning, a few days after the symposium. A former skeptic until experiencing gaming himself, he said he believes the difficulty is that "most FSOs do not understand the gaming process well enough. They are not familiar with how games are developed and how they can be used."

In the early 1960s, Policy Planning asked M.I.T. to game the Berlin situation. Out of the Berlin gaming situation, said Bloomfield, came an important planning concern to gamers: How do you get a little bit ahead of the curve? "Gaming is future-oriented, and the general idea is to apply some kind of systematic rationality to something that has not happened yet," he said. "You're trying out a strategy or a tactic before you're committed to it, or you're looking for alternatives you may have missed or discarded in the 'group think' process."

Bloomfield said that when the results of a game were reported either in or out of government, it was apparent one could never predict events or even indicate what was probable. But something else was evident. "The development of policy was astonishingly realistic in the way alternatives were considered and the process was simulated." But his analysis of the dozen-odd high-level games he directed for the government in the 1960s and 1970s were similarly sobering. "Every scenario was wrong in the sense that the world that was depicted in order to get the game started was not what happened two or three years later." It made no difference that the scenarios had been checked out with desks at State, CIA, and elsewhere.

Gamers are wrestling with a number of other

an evacuation phase.

Such exhaustive preparation has paid off for the crisis-management program. "We've conducted 125 exercises and have had negative feedback only once," says crisis-management program director Alan Golacinski. "At one time, we had to cajole posts into letting us come in for an exercise. Now we have some posts complaining that they haven't had an exercise and others requesting one even though they just went through a recent exercise. I think that's pretty good testimony on the worth of the program."

LONG-RANGE PLANNING calls for making the exercise available to State Department task forces and working groups in Washington. These are formed on a regular basis by the department's secretariat to deal with actual crises as they arise. Overseas, the program is not mandatory for posts.

Two myths in the Foreign Service are the target of the exercise program: It can't happen here, and it can't happen to me. Bob Martens gave an accurate perspective as he briefed an embassy team in the Middle East before an exercise last summer. "Embassies are not established to be evacuated," he said. "One must balance the demands for projecting and defending the U.S. national interest, the need to keep up a flow of reporting, and the need to protect the lives and welfare of the American community. These are difficult and com

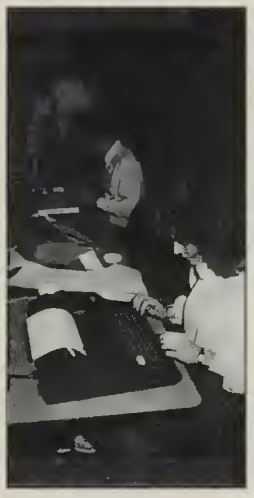
plex decisions and there are no easy answers. We try in this exercise to pose not only technical problems but to cause you to think through all the broader considerations that will affect your handling of crises."

Golacinski, a former hostage during the takeover of the embassy in Iran, has his own view of the program. "This is no fire drill. It is not just a security exercise. It focuses on many aspects of the decision-making process. We don't dictate; we don't play 'gotcha.' It is not a contest between the crisis team and the embassy's Emergency Action Committee. It's a cost-effective self-help program from which a post derives benefits. There are no grades, no winners and losers, and no textbook solutions to the problems we pose."

But winners there are. An ambassador, winding up an exercise, talked about recognizing personal shortcomings and realizing "a sense of self-improvement." An embassy staffer guardedly noted, "One thing you learn is you want to keep some key telephone numbers in your wallet." And a crisis team member reflected, "Each time we go out, we learn more about how to revise and improve the exercise."

"The bottom line," said Golacinski, "is that this thing works."

—MICHAEL SCHOFIELD



The embassy staff keeps busy producing reports for Washington.

problems related to costs, the availability of good players, and access to those who they believe should be playing games more. "You run out of heavyweight gamers pretty quickly," said Redecker. "The military is the only organization that consistently has thrown bucks at this. Games are costly. It takes a lot of talent and time to put one together. Whether they are computer-supported or entirely human-interactive, they are costly propositions that command the time of costly employees."

Computers, one of gaming's main tools, also can be a mixed blessing. "Computers simulating complex systems like an international system can fall in flames because the system is simply too complex," said Bloomfield. He noted that computers provide data bases and analytical tools that are useful but often inadequate substitutes for "the complexity of the human experience. The most useful model is inside the head of an experienced person and is infinitely more complex than anything we yet know how to simulate by computer."

A final problem is that gaming and ideology don't mix well, according to CSFA's Hill. "I'm sure if one had an axe to grind, the scenario and participants could be rigged to achieve a certain outcome. In fact, in some exercises I've seen, the game seemed to be held mainly to convince skeptics that what was cast in stone policy was correct."

DESPITE THE PITFALLS, gamers remain fiercely loyal to their field and see it as being still relatively untapped as a resource for decision-makers. One approach to broaden its use would be to broaden the base of participants. While expressing the hope that gaming scenarios would be subject to less-classified procedures in the future, Hill suggested that gaming be opened up for more outside participation, including that of journalists. This, he felt, could result in more of a "cross pollination of ideas and insights" which, in the long run, could lead to improved understanding of the nature of conflict and challenge. This could be particularly important in a future in which the United States will have to rely less on military might and economic clout and more on diplomatic and political skills.

The ability to respond to change also concerns Policy Planning's Kauzlarich. "We've spent a lot of time ourselves thinking about the impact of technological and other changes on the global economy and on political and security relations," he said. "Secretary Shultz in his speeches has been quite clear about the need for countries, including our own, to adapt to these changes, because if we don't we'll find ourselves further and further behind in the world of the 21st century. It seems to me we in the State Department ought to be asking ourselves the same sorts of questions—whether the way we do this business of foreign policy is relevant to the world we're facing today and will be facing in the year 2000.

"We're already seeing signs of the spread of economic wealth and technological capability making it a much more competitive environment. It's worthwhile asking ourselves whether there aren't some tools coming up that will help the department respond to this changing environment, particularly in information technology."

Gaming, obviously, could be such a tool. It provides for testing a number of options before committing to a specific course of action, and sensitizes its participants to a clearer understanding of the actions of others while making them think more about their own assumptions. "It seems to me that gaming ought to be a very important tool for policy planners," said Kauzlarich, "if you're asking the sort of 'what if' questions policy planners should be asking—What if there is a change in European attitudes toward the United States in the security area? What if you get a peace process underway in the Middle East with people talking again about settlement?—you ought to be able to get people who are knowledgeable in these areas to essentially game out these questions."

Kauzlarich said he believes an educational process on gaming is necessary and a need exists to describe to people at the highest levels how gaming can be useful to them. He said that perhaps the point could be made most easily in terms of crisis management, where a game can, in fact, be a training exercise.

A moderate increase in resources would yield more challenging exercises done more frequently by CSFA, according to Hill, who speculated the current output of five per year could perhaps be doubled. But as Kauzlarich noted, the gaming process faces a "resource-poor environment." Kauzlarich said he would advocate a more institutionalized foreign policy gaming process at State but would argue for being careful about how games would be brought into the planning process. "It would be interesting to look at the question of whether we can put together a game that would be useful to policy planners," he said. "It wouldn't have to be directly relevant to policy planning—the bureaus may want to ask

the same sorts of questions."

Asked to describe such a game, Kauzlarich pondered, then described a possible model dealing with security relationships between the United States and its present allies and adversaries some 20 years hence. "You could take a particular country setting and postulate a whole different set of relationships with the United States," he said. "How would we deal with this country 15 years from now when it's been transformed from friend to enemy or enemy to friend? What would be the process of developing or evolving foreign policy interests toward that particular country to achieve that end?"

Kauzlarich envisioned more immediate applicability with possible two-for-one lash-ups between Diplomatic Security's crisis management exercises in the field and simultaneous exercises with related bureaus in Washington. He said such coordination would particularly benefit bureaus that lack familiarity in dealing with crisis situations and would cut back the usual break-in period they require when a crisis hits. Other suggested variations dealt with gaming the world-debt situation and organizing and playing a foreign policy game with other departments, such as Treasury and Energy, so each participant could see how the others work.

Some innovative moves are, in fact, being made as gamers explore added dimensions to their own interests. Redecker said the Department of Energy is ready to join with State to game long-range energy-deficiency simulations, and studies also are underway to determine the feasibility of doing a game on a major debt issue involving State, Treasury, the World Bank, and possibly Citicorp.

The Department of State is serious about participating in the formulation and examination of national security issues [by] using professional-level gaming and simulation techniques for that purpose," Redecker said in a report on the symposium. But to what extent serious gaming and simulation techniques will take hold in the department remains to be seen. The capability is being developed and the potential for its application explored with one obvious goal, as described by Hill: "Studying possible futures, realistically shaped, as extensions of the past or present, can help us prepare to deal more effectively with the challenges of tomorrow."

BUT GAMING TECHNIQUES still need exposure and must gain acceptance, overcoming not only the earlier view held by some that the methodology is frivolous, but an even more troublesome perception that it is, to a certain degree, threatening. "People like diplomats are not enchanted with the idea that their professional raison d'etre can be exposed to the world through a game and challenged and examined as though an autopsy were being performed," said Redecker. "They find it very uncomfortable that their accumulated knowledge, experience, high position, and executive style can be placed in what many of them still think is a frivolous environment. In that environment, all of their moves and thought processes can be exposed to examination, critique, comment, and perhaps ridicule."

Gamers will talk about their product and its possibilities with missionary zeal, sometimes to a receptive audience but often to the unconverted, with predictable results. An impasse with the skeptical leads Redecker to a final point. "Gaming is somewhat like tennis," he says. "You can read about it, look at it, and talk about it—but playing it is a very different thing. We think that actually playing a game is the only real way to understand the power of this technique." □



Embassy and host-country officials pose after their simulated ordeal.



The author poses with his model.

COMPUTERIZING CONFLICTS

CASCON III is a program that can run on any PC and can potentially help diplomats defuse real-life crises

LINCOLN P. BLOOMFIELD

Lack of memory is an intolerable defect in anyone who takes on the burden of the world's affairs.
—Montaigne, Essays (1580).

SUPPOSE FOR A MOMENT that the State Department's country director for Anzania has been routinely monitoring a border dispute between the African nation and its northern neighbor that flared up six months ago, with both countries moving troops to the common border.

Ever since, as she scans the customary daily intake of newspapers, mail, and cables originating from the U.S. embassy in the capital city of Kwazutu, rather than just filing items of interest she has done something rather unusual with the more important ones—say the sobering news in the PRIORITY cable from the field reporting the regime's latest arms purchase; or a SITREP from the CIA reporting that one faction within the regime would like to dump the present leadership and cut a deal with the rebarbative neighbor; or a *Washington Post* story reporting that the Organization of African Unity has again failed to come to grips with the dispute because of a quarrel over Libya's role.

These she has entered into a computer program called CASCON stored inside her desktop computer. For each incoming item of interest she has found a corresponding "factor" and entered her judgment as to whether it seemed to be pushing the conflict toward open warfare or a resolution.

Three months later, the country director is awakened by a call from the Operations Center informing her of a FLASH cable from the embassy reporting an imminent outbreak of fighting between the two countries. Asked by the deputy assistant secretary to report at

Lincoln P. Bloomfield, a professor of politics at M.I.T., served in the State Department for 11 years, and in 1979-80 with the National Security Council as director of global issues.

a 9:30 meeting, she brings up CASCON and runs a quick "Compare" routine. The virtually instantaneous result takes the form of a table of statistical similarity and an accompanying bar graph. Looking at CASCON's mini-histories of six "Similar" cases, she finds that four went on to the "Hostilities" stage.

In those four she sees that the experts who coded them put particular weight on several things also present in Anzania, such as a crackdown that sends the ruling party's doves into hiding, and speeded-up importation of more sophisticated aircraft and artillery. But in the couple of "Similar" cases that did *not* go over the "Hostilities" threshold, several factors seem equally interesting: a major power became concerned enough to stir up some preventive diplomacy with neighboring countries where aid policies gave it some influence, one side was badly deficient in certain economic resources and thus open to financial pressure, and those two cases were at least temporarily tranquilized through one or another form of multilateral diplomacy.

These items go into her report, not as predictions, but as suggestive backup for policy recommendations such as getting to the U.N., where the case might conceivably be talked to death before anyone starts shooting. Maybe get Treasury to push the World Bank to announce the release of a low-interest loan for a dam on the boundary river. And ask the secretary to sign off on a cable to pressure a NATO ally to back off on the deal for supersonic jet fighters with heat-seeking missiles. The report goes forward to the secretary.

That scenario is imaginary—but there *is* something called CASCON. It stands for "Computer-Aided System for Analysis of Local Conflicts." The program is a computerized spinoff from a research project conducted by Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Studies in the late 1960s under the sponsorship of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In the process, to learn more about how conflicts come about, we tried to understand the anatomy of conflict itself. The resulting model was used by our contract historians for a set of detailed case studies, while the research staff explored the role of arms, developed proposals for conventional restraints, and conducted political-military games testing various hypotheses.

In 1967 at a briefing in the State Department we presented detailed findings regarding the flow and control of conventional arms, plus other conflict-control policies for the wars then, as now, breaking out in the developing regions. An imaginative associate director of ACDA, Lieutenant General John Davis, challenged us to try our hands at "computerizing" the data and our model for local conflicts plus the case studies.

However unrealistically ambitious then—and perhaps now—CASCON was targeted squarely at two painfully obvious official weaknesses: deficient institutional memory, and inadequate preventive policy actions. CASCON's first aim thus was to *aid the memory* with an inventory of historical facts that might be relevant to an incipient or exploding conflict, rather than just those remembered by distracted crisis managers in the middle of the night. The second was to serve as an *aid to the imagination* of the analyst, by supplying clues for identification of suggestive patterns.

Our highest priority was not so much to be rigorous as to be what is now called "user friendly." If CASCON were to be used by the people in the political and diplomatic trenches, we reasoned, the product had to be attuned to their requirements. We also wanted to escape the common trap of focusing primarily on political-military considerations. That called for a wide-angle lens embracing strategic, economic, psychological, and cultural aspects, to name a few.

Unfortunately, CASCON I and II were developed just before the revolution in desktop computing power. These early versions of the program had to be run on M.I.T.'s mainframe. This only mildly inhibited student use, but outside scholars who wanted to experiment had to go through some tiresome logistical gyrations. A greater difficulty existed then and is still a hurdle now: skepticism about the use of computers for anything that smacks of the type of substantive policy analysis performed by professionals.

ANALYSES OF CONFLICTS and development of databases and models were not new. Indeed, several groups of scholars have in various ways inventoried wars between states, matching outbreak and intensity with variables such as population, wealth, trade, U.N. action, regime type, and the like. They sometimes came up with interesting correlations, reinforcing or casting doubt on such conventional hypotheses as "population growth stimulates pressures for war" or "trading partners rarely fight each other." But little of this work was accessible to the policy community, in part because of the academic jargon, in part because of a lack of official interest.

CASCON differed in that its aim was not

CASCON's aim is to be a practical tool. It could supplement the day-to-day work of diplomats—but not substitute for it

The heart of CASCON is its ability to compare new cases with the 66 in its database to see what they might have in common. The purpose is to help the user's memory and imagination

primarily to build a theory or conduct policy experiments, but to be a practical tool. It would supplement the day-to-day work of diplomats and other foreign policy professionals—but not substitute for it.

Unlike other conflict data deduced, so to speak, from statistical and other encyclopedic information, CASCON's database of "factors" comes directly from the factual statements our historians came up with in describing their cases. We eventually collapsed all the case-specific factors into 541 generalized propositions reflecting what is actually happening over three distinct stages: "Dispute" (a quarrel over something), "Conflict" (people start arming), and "Hostilities" (organized warfare).

To build the database, three analysts drawn from the diplomatic, military, and academic communities were asked to estimate whether each factor in a given case had been *present* or *absent*; if present, whether its *effect* had been to move the situation *toward* or *away* from violence; and if so, how much *influence* it had had in that direction. Where judgments diverged, they were reconciled through a common-sense procedure whereby close calls were combined and wide divergences resolved.

In actual use, an officer can "enter" an incipient or exploding new case into the system, and update it as new information is received. The CASCON data can be called up in various ways. A user can list all cases having certain factors, or all the factors in comparable cases in one region, for instance. One can also follow a lead through the database by combining factors as thoughts occur.

AT A MINIMUM, the system supplies a convenient way to store information about a new dispute or conflict. It can also tell you what you don't know about your case, in the form of factors coded as "no information""—a kind of checklist for generating additional intelligence requirements. But the heart of CASCON is its ability to compare new cases with the 66 in its database. Two equations generate rank-ordered lists of "Similar" cases. The new case can be matched against some or all of the database cases to see what they might have in common. With a list of statistically "Similar" cases, CASCON can tell the user what factors have been commonly coded as tending toward or away from violence, and to what degree. Again, the method is hardly pure science, and the purpose certainly not predictive. It is to help the user's memory and imagination—nothing more, nothing less.

Even before the early computerization task was completed, we were able to respond to an inquiry from a White House task force during the 1967 war in the Middle East. We reported the fact that out of five instances of cease-fires agreed to during hostilities, fighting broke out again in all the cases when troops remained in place. But hostilities did *not* break out again in the majority of cases where the cease-fire was accompanied by troop withdrawals. Perhaps inconclusive, doubtless unscientific. But not uninteresting.

Our pilot version was then used experimentally in 1969 in "CONEX IV"—a political game the author was then conducting at M.I.T., also under the sponsorship of ACDA. CONEX IV was not a real crisis. But it did test CASCON as a potential adjunct to crisis decision-making, supplying a flow of data that a senior-level "U.S." team chaired by former Assistant Secretary of State William P. Bundy found helpful in confirming intuitive judgments.

Under Secretary of State Elliot Richardson was enthusiastic about exploring CASCON's possible application to the State Department's crisis agenda, and in 1970 instructed desk officers and analysts to code a set of database cases for M.I.T. and sent several officials from the Bureau of Intelligence and Research to Cambridge to look at CASCON. High-level concern with conflict anticipation persisted, albeit fitfully. Secretary Kissinger put the matter clearly in a speech in 1974, when he told the U.N. General Assembly that "the world has dealt with local conflicts as if they were perpetually unmanageable."

About the same time, the author was invited to brief ACDA on the program's possible application to arms-control questions. The database is fairly modest, but some factors were relevant. Quick experimentation with the embryonic system produced an unexpected result. My own casual hypothesis—also the government's—was that in situations of local tension it is generally a good thing to pump in a balancing quotient of arms aid as a deterrent. CASCON, asked to list postwar cases in which that particular factor was coded as "Present," yielded a total of 32. In four of those, the factor had been coded as tending away from further violence. But in the remaining 28, experts in retrospect deemed it to have worsened the situation.

Our work has always been unclassified, and CASCON, then as now, is available to anyone interested in analyzing conflict. In early 1971, at the invitation of the U.N. Institute for Training and Research, the author briefed a gathering of secretariat and diplomatic mission offi-

cials at the U.N. After the expected bureaucratic delays, in 1973 UNITAR sent three senior fellows to visit M.I.T. to become familiar with the program. The institute's board of trustees eventually adopted CASCON as part of its program for the following year.

There have been academic applications as well. Nazli Choucri used 45 CASCON cases in her path-breaking 1974 work *Population Dynamics and International Violence*, in which she examined the relationship in developing countries between conflict behavior and factors of population, resources, and technology. She concluded that CASCON "can . . . be employed as an early-warning system for detecting the development of conflict situations based on pattern recognition . . . in order to assess potential consequences." Two years later, N.A Pelcovits, a former planner in the department, analyzed CASCON "to discover the conditions and motivations in a local-conflict situation that impel toward the introduction of U.N. peacekeeping forces." His findings showed a provocative correlation between intervention by international organizations, and the fact of great power involvement.

But despite its early promise, CASCON stalled in its tracks. By the end of the 1970s, both State and ACDA had abruptly dropped all but immediately applicable "mission-oriented" research. (In the 1980s, ACDA Director Kenneth Adelman was surprised to learn of the extensive work on local conflict his agency had earlier sponsored at M.I.T.) In the U.N., the CASCON project was suspended for lack of funding. Of other potential sponsors, the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency actively negotiated with M.I.T. for a year, only to cancel the virtually completed contract when a new ARPA director took over. The sequence was virtually identical with the Rockefeller Foundation.

This bureaucratic tale has, however, a pair of postscripts. With stimulus provided by U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's 1982 plea for greater crisis prevention, an extraordinary unofficial initiative was launched by two young secretariat officials, David Biggs of the United States and Tapio Kanninen of Finland, with the encouragement of Assistant Secretary General James Jonah. As a direct result of their personal efforts, the author had the curious experience of repeating in New York in early 1986 essentially the same briefing on CASCON given at the U.N. more than a decade before. Once again, the reaction combined the ingrained skepticism of the diplomat with some interest in seeing how such a system might be adapted to the special perspective and constraints of the international body.

In the last few years, with modest support from M.I.T., the system has been fundamentally restructured for use on any IBM-compatible computer. CASCON III is menu-driven and equipped with windowed screens, routines for easy data entry and comparison, creation of subsets of cases and factors and the testing of hypotheses, and a "library" updated with 14 additional conflict cases including Grenada, Afghanistan, and the Falkland and Iran-Iraq wars, as well as 50 new factors relating to resources, technology (including nuclear), and ethnic pressures. Like its more primitive predecessors, the CASCON III program was developed by Allen Moulton.

LAST SEPTEMBER, Moulton and I were invited to demonstrate the still-unfinished CASCON III to Jonah's newly created Office for Research and the Collection of Information, which plans to adapt it to their needs for systematic analysis and management of data concerning conflicts. The same briefing has been scheduled for the State Department sometime this spring.

The other postscript is datelined Washington. In the mid-1980s, more than a decade after CASCON was presented to the State Department, a new official effort was begun, amid an air of discovery and daring, to bring computer technology into the department for analytical (rather than merely filing or communication) purposes. The headline in the January 1986 issue of *State* read: "It's The 'Spirit Of '86' As Personal Computers Gain Foothold At State." One can only wish that the real revolutions which take government by surprise would arrive at such a stately pace.

CASCON is no panacea. All conflicts are to a degree different, and it is unrealistic to lump them together mechanistically. But it is also clear that they are not totally *sui generis* (as believed by some diplomatists). However improved, a system like this will always be less sophisticated than the complex models and histories that reside inside the heads of experienced diplomats and scholars, or that emerge in new crises. Indeed, like its cousins simulation and gaming, not to mention artificial intelligence–type "expert systems," an intellectual artifice such as CASCON should probably carry a printed warning against inhaling too deeply. Having said that, one may hope that CASCON will assist, however modestly, in closing the scandalous gap between serious social science research and official efforts at conflict prevention and limitation. □

A system like CASCON will always be less sophisticated than the complex models and histories that reside inside the heads of experienced diplomats and scholars, or that emerge in new crises

Dancing on St. Paddy's Day

Coping with death in India brings tears and laughter to a Foreign Service family

J. MERRILL-FOSTER

"MOM, YOU'D BETTER KEEP a close eye on Grandpa. He's carrying $5000 in his pockets." We were standing in the airport in New Delhi on a December afternoon, waiting for the baggage to be unloaded. Our two sons had come home for Christmas, bringing their newly widowered grandfather to make his home with us. They had broken their flight in Rome and it was there, my son informed me, they had noticed the great wad of bills on the dresser. Grandpa had just turned 77 and had inadvertently added an extra zero to the amount of the check he'd cashed for traveling funds. We didn't know it, but Grandpa was carrying something in addition to an unintended $4500. Grandpa was carrying pancreatic cancer.

Christmas came with the usual hubbub of cooking, wrapping, decorating, and callers. Then, in early January, the boys went back to school and life quieted down to normal. Gradually, we noticed that Grandpa wearied easily and often disappeared into his room for a nap. He took to wearing carpet slippers, even when he went out shopping. We attributed these small things to bereavement and aging. He seemed delighted when friends came to visit and dreaded evenings when representational functions took us out, leaving him at home alone. Our Indian staff doted on Grandpa, preparing special delicacies for him and stopping by his room to chat.

Then came an evening in early March when were scheduled to attend a reception. We'd fixed ourselves a cocktail and came to the dining room to keep him company while he ate. His dinner was served: steak, baked potato, vegetable, and salad, his favorite menu. All of a sudden, he pushed his plate away with an angry gesture. "I'm not going to eat that!" he said. "I'm sick of being left alone all the time."

The next morning Grandpa didn't get up. He said he wasn't feeling well. Fearing that he would be embarrassed if I offered to help him bathe and dress, I asked the cook to help. Grandpa declined, announcing that he was perfectly able to take care of himself. He looked pale and complained of discomfort in his lower chest. Concerned, we consulted with the embassy doctor, who volunteered to examine him and refer him to the appropriate local specialist. After Grandpa came out to the waiting room, the doctor asked us to come in for a minute.

"Your dad is in bad shape," he reported. "I'm afraid it's serious." The doctor went on, "Some of his vital signs don't look too good. I'm going to refer you to Doctor Singh."

We knew the doctor socially. He'd studied in England and, while there, had married a charming Irish woman. Doctor Singh admitted Grandpa to his own small clinic and, after a few days, informed us that he recommended exploratory surgery. His wife dropped in to visit and told him he'd better hurry up and recover—that she planned to dance with him on St. Patrick's Day. Grandpa thought she was "a darling girl" and assured her that she would have the first dance.

After the surgery, the doctor called us in and reported that Dad had a massive growth on the pancreas which had spread rapidly throughout his abdomen and chest. There was no hope. They had simply sutured up the incision. How long would he live? No more than a month.

There was nothing to be done. My husband is an only child. His father couldn't stand a trip home and there was no one to receive him there. After the surgery, Grandpa grew increasingly weak. He seemed not to know that he was seriously ill, and often complained that he'd thought he would feel better after his operation.

The morning of St. Patrick's Day, the doctor's wife again stopped in, bringing a wonderful purple rose from her garden. "Ah, now! Mr. Foster," she teased. "Here ye are, and still in that bed! And ye promised that ye'd be up and about and ready to dance

J. Merrill-Foster, a free-lance writer in New Hampshire, is the spouse of a former Foreign Service officer.

with me on Paddy's Day!"

Grandpa smiled and reached for her hand. "I'll be dancing yet, before the day is out," he said.

The call came mid-afternoon. Grandpa had slipped quietly away in his sleep. Strange as it seems, there is often a mixture of laughter in grief. We returned home where we clung together and prayed for Grandpa, asking that he be given a celebratory reception into Paradise.

Then, alternating between tears and relief for the ending of his suffering, we began the grim business of the funeral and burial. Losing a parent is traumatic at any time. Losing a parent in New Delhi, where Hindu custom neither embalms nor inters, is a nightmare. Where to find a coffin? Hindus have no need of coffins, we discovered. Finally, the next morning, a missionary friend arrived on his motorcycle at six a.m. "Follow me!" he shouted.

Through the early-morning streets of Old Delhi we went, twisting and turning past sacred cows, bicycles, honking taxis, and pedicabs. We pulled up and parked. Father Pepe jumped off his motorcyle. "Follow me!"

We were, it seemed, in Delhi's only Christian cemetery and, in the cemetery, there was a "coffin maker." Father engaged him in Hindi, negotiating with much waving of hands and turning away. We stood quietly, wondering what on earth was going on. Pepe finally explained. There was no coffin big enough.

Grandpa stood six feet, four inches, and weighed 250 pounds. Few Indians have those dimensions, thus a new and costly custom coffin would have to be built. When Pepe learned that Grandpa would be cremated, he waved his arms and negotiated some more. Then he returned to us, triumphant. We could rent the new coffin!

What to do about a funeral service? Grandpa had been a young man during World War I. He'd been wounded in France, which earned him a purple heart and left him with a lifelong devotion to his army comrades. We were determined that he would be given a proper veteran's funeral service. But where? The only people who knew Grandpa were those of our friends he'd met since his arrival, so the local



cathedral seemed inappropriate. Conferences with the embassy administrative officer, the marine guards, a nearby convent that had a choir, and the omnipresent Father Pepe produced a master plan. Grandpa would have a proper service in the embassy courtyard.

As Indians do not customarily require the services of undertakers, it became apparent that we were to serve in that capacity. The nurses at the clinic had bathed the body. Early in the morning, we collected the newly built coffin and drove to the clinic in the office van. We dressed Grandpa in his best suit and struggling and gasping, lifted him into the box. It was narrow, but long enough. With the embassy driver, we hoisted the box into the van and drove to the embassy. As we drove, my husband turned to me and remarked, "People use this expression that they've buried their father; I really am burying Dad today."

At the embassy, a catafalque had materialized out of thin air. Grandpa was lifted onto it and an American flag wrapped around it. We walked to the courtyard and stopped in astonishment. Every seat was taken! People we barely knew had come to share this moment with us. Many of our Indian friends were there, people with whom we had shared births and marriages in their own families. In the front row, solemn and grave, sat our cook and housekeeper, holding between them a great, homemade bouquet of field flowers.

The piano began and the voices of the borrowed choir of Carmelite nuns soared into the opening hymn, "The fight is o'er, the battle done." Marine guards in dress uniforms formed an arch of drawn swords under which marched six marines carrying Grandpa's flag-draped coffin. His only child read one verse, his grandaughter, the second. Father Pepe spoke of Grandpa's war record and his long career as a high-speed photography specialist at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The service ended with the triumphant "Oh God, Our Help In Ages Past," as the young men solemnly carried Grandpa's body out of the courtyard, out of the embassy, and into the waiting van.

The flag was folded and gravely handed to my husband. We lingered at the door, touched and grateful, as a stream of people passed, hugging us and telling us of their sympathy. In some wonderful and mysterious way, the entire mission in Delhi had closed ranks around us, supporting us as we coped with death and loss.

In the end, we three started for home and, as we walked, our daughter murmured, "Daddy, what Grandpa said really came true, didn't it?" Her eyes were full of tears.

"What's that, honey?" her father asked. "What did Grandpa say?"

"Grandpa said he'd dance before St. Patrick's Day was over. He did dance, just like he said. The only thing was, we thought he meant here." □

Re-entry: A Family Crisis

By RITA SIEBENALER

Relocation to the United States, no matter how welcomed or anticipated, can be extremely stressful. It is often hardest not for the employee, hut for the spouse and older children. They are usually more integrated into the foreign culture. The daily routine for the employee, whether in New Delhi or Washington, is the same: get up and go to work in an office among other adults who speak English. The spouse and children who have made an effort to merge into the neighborhood and the foreign community, however, will have more to lose (and mourn) when coming back home.

Some spouses eagerly anticipate their return to the United States in order to "be their own person again," rather than be appendages of the Foreign Service officer, as sometimes happens overseas. The job title or rank helps to define the employee, hut for the spouses, volunteer credentials may not transfer. No one in Silver Spring will know that he or she was the PTA president in Indonesia. The new community is more interested in what a person will contribute now.

Even more disquieting is the accompanying feeling that you have become lost in time, remembering things as they were when last in the United States. Different neighbors, rampant construction in your area, new shopping centers, and pictures of missing children on milk cartons may give you the feelings of being a stranger in your home town. You may be out of touch with many of the concerns of your neighbors and extended family, from civic issues to soap operas. Even your speech, phrasing, and clothing may mark you as a foreigner.

Worse, your enthusiasm for foreign culture is usually not reciprocated by others. Returning Americans find that most people are not interested in hearing ahout life in Quito or Yaounde. In fact, eyes may glaze over after one sentence. Talking about life overseas is often seen by non-mobile Americans as boasting, or even as criticizing the United States. Involvement with other returnees, with foreign-student groups, or with exchange programs are ways to share your adventure with others who appreciate and understand the foreign experience.

One spouse who looked forward to sharing her experiences and observations with her family and friends found that they wanted to regale her with their stored-up feelings about family divorces, adjustments to retirement, and mid-life adventures—all of which they had shielded her from in their correspondence while she was overseas. She found it overwhelming. Such ordinary personal and family problems are magnified when one is settling in, and behavioral symptoms of stress may suddenly appear. The shock of feeling alien is frequently accompanied by depression, sleep and appetite disturhance, loss of energy, anxiety, alcohol and drug abuse, phohias and fears, sexual dysfunction, and marital discord. In addition, returnees must cope with the everyday responsibilities as shopper, parent, gardener, launderer, handyman, and chauffeur. In getting settled, a multitude of decisions must be made, and the smorgasbord of choices in the United States is frequently mentioned as being extremely difficult for returning Americans.

Recovery from this reverse cultural shock is gradual, and complete adjustment may take from six months to one year. Often because family re-entry reactions appear stronger than that of the employee, the problem is interpreted as being a personal shortcoming, rather than a typical and predictable response.

In the case of children, age makes a big difference in the ease of the transition. Overall, the move back to the United States is easier for young children who are still in a family-dependency stage. Because the most important support system for the child moves with him or her—namely the parents—re-entering children can often make an easy transition to new friends. A best friend, of course, will take longer to replace, and for pre-school and school-age children, any change in caretakers will be significant. The move back home may involve the severing of an important bond between child and an amah or nanny. However, the reality that a move is approaching should not be hidden from the child, but planned for in a supportive, gradual, and matter-of-fact way. The school-age child also faces a sometimes significant reintroduction to the extended family, and an educational re-entry that may be problematic.

Many overseas schools are smaller than U.S. schools, and children often report not feeling as "liked" by their new teacher or classmates. In addition, the work may not he of the same level as the previous school, or the class may not be at the same place in workhooks and texts. Curriculum consistency is still an elusive goal for most mobile children. As troubled as the new child may become over his or her academic gaps, it is reassuring to know that time, individual instruction, and perhaps tutoring can ameliorate these. However, if father is now suddenly less available due to the demands of a new job and mother is perhaps overwhelmed or depressed, the stress on the re-entering child is compounded. The symptom of re-entry shock most frequently seen in younger children is regression, a retreat into more immature hehavior. Continuity in hobbies and interests is important at this time, and children may need to be connected to sources for these activities or redirected to new ones.

The older the child, the larger his or her world hecomes, and consequently, the more attuned to differences in the environment. During adolescence, when social relationships and peer acceptance are critical for identity formation, re-entry can be a major trauma. As one adolescent put it, "Coming home is a rough trip." American teenagers returning to the United States usually do not have accurate images and memories of what American life is like, and they are often shocked upon return to find that they are very different from their American peers. They may be good conversationalists, but now do not speak the language of their schoolmates. They are not accepted by cliques and sports teams, and they mourn for the loss of overseas friendships and activities. Often, they need a friend to act as a translator, to cue them in to slang and current social customs.

Most teengers believe that they have to fit in to he accepted. They need this acceptance by others before acceptance of self can follow. There is usually one group of old-timers in most high schools who will tolerate and readily accept newcomers—those are the students having attendance, behavior, or substance-abuse problems. This situation demands a watchful eye.

Frequently, in order to minimize their differences and to gain acceptance by other groups, re-entering adolescents sometimes prefer to hide their uniqueness and keep

their foreign experience hidden, at least initially.

During re-entry, the young adult becomes more dependent on parents, when the opposite would be more developmentally appropriate. The whole adolescent struggle for independence is at odds with the needs of re-entering teenagers. Healthy development requires a degree of independence, which is much more difficult to achieve when the adolescent is forced to rely on the family as the sole source of continuity and support amidst change.

In the fall of 1985, the Overseas Briefing Center presented a re-entry program for teenagers and followed up with a questionnaire soliciting their advice on behalf of other adolescents. The questionnaire revealed that before re-entry, everyone looked forward to something—old friends got top billing. The teenagers' greatest concern was fitting in and being accepted—at school, with old friends, among peers.

After returning, the respondents found the good things about American life to be largely material—fast food, media, shopping malls, activities. Upon re-entry, virtually all of the teens had difficulty adjusting. They felt lost at school, had no sense of belonging, and found that "people are not as friendly here as they are overseas." As one youngster wrote, "The grass wasn't as green and the air wasn't as clean."

But despite the difficulties, young people are generally positive and upbeat about their transition experiences. Their advice to peers is to get involved in school, church, and club activities, and as one respondent put it, "Keep your individuality—others will accept you." Acceptance will take time; some teenagers indicated that re-entry adjustments took two months, most said six months, and a few have said as much as a year and a half.

What helps? It helps if home leaves have been spent in the United States to give children and young adults more of a feel for American society. It helps if children have portable interests, especially musical and individual athletic abilities, so that their "credentials" can transfer more readily. Last, schools need to be encouraged to develop stronger orientation programs and support groups for transferring students. "Around the World in a Lifetime" [JOURNAL, February], co-sponsered by FLO and AAFSW, is a program for Foreign Service teenagers that has proven quite successful.

Why does re-entry cause such distress to the whole family? The discomfort is intensified by the following factors:

- People do not expect re-entry to their own country to be difficult. While overseas, there is a tendency for individuals to idealize the United States, and the inclination is to measure expectations against a rose-colored backdrop;
- The family members themselves have changed. Their outlook has been altered by having had an international experience;
- The family reverts to ordinary citizens again, with none of the status that accompanied the overseas experience. The personal support system has been left behind and needs to be replaced;
- The speed of modern travel makes international relocation too abrupt. One can leave the house in Lima on Monday and be back house hunting in Bethesda on Tuesday; and
- Reading about the United States in newspapers and magazines, and visiting and home leave, do not begin to keep Americans fully in touch with changes in everyday life. One returns and feels like a stranger.

As the returning experience is known to be stressful, it follows that the better prepared individuals are, the less immobilized they will be. In addition to formal workshops, family members can be encouraged to develop personal and family action plans to help them re-integrate. It is helpful for family members to share, prior to departure for home, what they will miss of the overseas experience, as well as the myths and stereotypes they are harboring about life in the United States.

Re-entry needs to be tackled with all the planning, energy, and supports that one uses to adapt to and understand a foreign culture. Re-entry is a time and process of transition. Crisis always provides an opportunity for change, and success in coping with crisis builds resiliency. Foreign Service family members can be assured that they will once again feel at home in a new and different way after the period of dis equilibrium.

Rita Siebenaler is a clinical social worker in State's Employee Consultation Service.

Assignment to Washington: Watch out for Ducks

By WESLEY ANN GODARD

As the airplane taxied to a stop, my children grabbed their bags and tumbled into the aisle. After three years in Turkey, they could hardly wait to see the United States again. Not only was their homeland full of adoring relatives, but it had sliced bread, western toilets, and uninterrupted electricity. Their selective memories envisioned a country created by the designers of Disney World. When at last we disembarked, my nine-year-old daughter's expectant look gradually changed to disappointment. "Is this America?" she asked. "It looks just like all the other airports."

Re-entry can be disillusioning for Foreign Service adults, too. No smiling sponsor waits to greet you. Flashing a black passport does not breeze you through customs. The family pet and mountains of luggage are not gathered up by a congenial embassy employee to be delivered to prearranged temporary quarters. In Washington, you are on your own.

Between cleaning out closets and attending farewell parties, we made time to participate in some very worthwhile group sessions at the Community Liaison Office. Together with other returning families, we talked about our expectations and concerns of our impending move. Parents fretted over the high cost of living and the long commute, while children worried about making friends in new schools. When the community liaison officer handed the teenagers a list of current American slang expressions, they were skeptical that jargon supplied by an adult and printed on government paper would have any practical application, but they perused the information with interest just in case.

A videotape shown at these sessions warned us that decisions come in two sizes, "crocodiles" and "ducks." While we tend to prepare ourselves for the "crocodiles" (Should we rent or buy? Purchase a Bronco or a Honda? Send the kids to the neighborhood school or an alternative institution?), we are often totally undermined by the cumulative effect of the "ducks" (Do we order checks with mountain scenes or rainbows? Buy Reeboks or Diadoras? Sign up with AT&T or Sprint?). Thinking back to the videotape often helped me keep a healthy perspective when I felt overwhelmed by the constant need to make decisions during the transition period back in Washington.

Having chosen the house, bought the car, and researched the schools, I knew I was in the throes of a "duck" attack when I called the phone company. The last time

I had requested telephone service, a friendly man with a receiver hanging from his belt had strung some wire and connected the phone exactly where I wanted it. These days an unseen hand throws a switch to initiate service, but not before you make several decisions. "What kind of phones do you have?" the C&P sales representative asked. "I don't have any phones," I replied. Patiently she went through the list of options. Did I want to rent or buy, have a rotary dial or touch tone, get call waiting, speed dialing, call forwarding, or conference calls? Long distance was another story. "You'll have to contact the company of your choice to set up long distance service," she announced. "We only provide local service."

After taking a full page of notes my stomach began to tighten, and I mumbled that I would have to call her back. She cheerfully offered to send me a packet of information explaining in even more detail the wonderful array of choices available to me, and I thought wistfully of the friendly young man with the receiver on his belt.

Because our society changes so rapidly while we are away, we can encounter pitfalls in even the most familiar settings. In 1979, I found myself in a 7-Eleven store unable to open a soft drink can. "How do you get into these things?" I demanded, when no amount of effort would release the flip-top rings. My embarrassed mother showed me how it folded back into the can while she loudly explained to the curious bystanders, "She's been gone a long time." No doubt they assumed I was returning from an asylum.

Nothing so intimidates me upon returning from a foreign post as entering a supermarket. I have lived in countries where the grocery store was the size of my bathroom, and one-stop shopping was unheard of. The bakery sold only bread—one size, one shape, one price. For fruits and vegetables I stopped at the greengrocer's. The poultry shop specialized in chickens and chicken products—eggs, that is, not McNuggets.

Far from being delighted with aisle upon aisle of consumer goods in American supermarkets, I am almost paralyzed by the need to choose between Hunts or Delmonte, regular or salt-free, name brand or generic. Even the convenience foods insist I decide between conventional oven or microwave.

One experience of some friends last summer is typical of the confusion that overcomes even Foreign Service veterans. Venturing into a large supermarket in northern Virginia, the wife took a cart and entered an aisle. The children's eyes widened at the gleaming displays of candy and cereal, but their father paled at the prices. Suddenly the woman panicked. Clutching her husband's arm, she said, "I can't shop here—let's find something smaller." Recovering herself, she soon managed to fill the cart, and the family headed for the checkput counter. "Paper of plastic?" demanded the cashier. Dumbfounded, the husband and wife exchanged bewildered looks. Tentatively, he reached for his American Express card. Exasperated, the cashier explained, "Do you want paper bags or plastic bags?" Surely my friends had encountered the ultimate "duck."

Obviously, no amount of planning can eliminate the trauma of re-entry, but being aware of the pitfalls can sometimes make the difference between reacting with tears or a good laugh. The coping skills we develop at post are just as useful at home.

Wesley Ann Godard has served in Panama, Nicaragua, Turkey, and Costa Rica. She is now preparing for a move to Santiago.

Merit Scholarships Announced

The 20 winners of the 1988 AAFSW/AFSA Merit Awards were announced May 2 by the chairman of the AFSA Committee on Education, Claude G. Ross. These awards are in recognition of outstanding academic records and leadership qualities of the students, at home and abroad. The $500 awards this year are in memory of Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., outstanding career ambassador, who was considered one of the giants of the world of diplomacy. Funds for these awards are provided jointly from the AAFSW Bookfair and the AFSA Scholarship Fund. For the first time awards of $100 will be given for Honorable Mention students.

Twenty-four volunteers from the State Department, AAFSW, AID, USIA, and the retired Foreign Service community served on four panels to review and rate all applicants on their four years of high school activities. The graduating high school finalists who received awards and Academic Achievement certificates are listed below. The September issue of the JOURNAL will include pictures and brief biographies of the talented award winners. Congratulations!

Winners

Kristen Marie Champagne
Brian MacLeod Coan
Michael Patrick Doane
Christopher John Groening
Nancy Ruth Harris
Jonathan David Holtaway
Monica Christine Lamberty
Jeremy Arian Lite
Katherine Wells Meighan
Edward Michael Muniak
Michele Lee Penner
Cindy Ann Purifoy
Kristina A. Silberstein
Benjamin Thomas Simons
Gregory Robert Smith
John Edward Thompson
Amy Zoe Wajda
Andrew Coles Wilcox
Christopher K. Williams
Curtis Guy Yarvin

Honorable Mention

Saima Iqbal Chaudhry
Gail Christina Colbert
Scott Wesley Figgins
Philip Gregory Fritz
Catherine Helen Graham
Douglas Marc Hechtman
Alison Fredericka Lowen
Algirdas Paul Rimas
Tonia Michelle Sharlach
Andrew Daniel Simpson
Leslie Ann Snell
Alexandra Carol Zavis

The volunteer panel members who reviewed the 112 applications are as follows:
State: Ward Barmon, William Mills, Joseph Snyder, Bob Surprise
AAFSW: Huguette Auerswald, Kay Eakin, Patricia Liske, Linda Millington
AID: Pamela Baldwin, Ann McDonald, Richard B. Nelson, Frank Young
USIA: David Andresen, Omie Kerr, Vance Pace, Bill Weinhold
Retired: Ambassador Carlton S. Coon, Ambassador Robert F. Corrigan, Ambassador John A. Linehan, Katherine Phillips

The AFSA Committee on Education members serving as chairmen and panelists included Claude G. Ross, chairman; William R. Ford, AID; Monica N. Greeley, AAFSW; Mark E. Mohr and David W. Smith, State; and Bill Weinhold, USIA. The Scholarship Programs administrator is Dawn Cuthell.

F O R E I G N

REAL ESTATE

LUXURY LIVING IN SUN CITY WEST, Arizona. Six golf courses, indoor and outdoor swimming, tennis, etc. Elegant and spacious three bedroom home offered at $189,900. Call M.J. Britt, Mull Realty, (602)584-0550.

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.

VACATION RENTALS

HOME LEAVE AT THE BEACH! Rent our beach-front condo in Carolina Beach, NC (just south of Wilmington). 2BR, 2Bath, sleeps six. Full welcome kit (ex. linens are available from the rental agent) includes all kitchen needs; W/D; CATV; telephone,;pool; nearby golf & tennis privileges; beautiful wide beach; safe swimming. Summer season $425/wk. Contact Carolina Beach Realty (919)458-4444 and ask for the Pero's C-10 Sand Pebbles unit (other units may not be as well equipped).

TRANSCRIPTION SERVICES

TECHNI-TYPE guarantees outstanding quality in oral history/technical transcriptions. Computer diskette storage. Excellent references. 403 Edgemere Dr., Annapolis, MD 21403.

VIDEO ENTERTAINMENT

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

MAIL ORDER TOBACCO

ATTENTION SMOKERS! Mail orders filled for imported cigars and blended pipe tobaccos. Tobacco Leaf, 1700 North Moore St., Arlington, VA 22209.(703)522-6401.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

MARKET HOMES PROPERTY MGMT.: Expertise and personal attention to detail are the hallmarks of our established Northern Virginia firm. Call or write for a description of our professional services. References provided. Jim Fahey, 425 West Maple Ave., Vienna, VA 22180.

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.

LONG TERM RENTALS

NORTHWEST WASHINGTON: Fully furnished three-bedroom house available August 1, 1988 through June 30, 1989. $1650/mo. (202)244-7663.

JEWELRY

RETIRED FOREIGN SERVICE. Over 12 years experience in emerald-diamond jewelry business. Brochure and oredering information available upon. Inversiones Neil & Co. Ltda., Apartado Aereo 56116, Bogota 2, Colombia.

SUN ROOMS

THINKING OF A ROOM ADDITION? PORCH? EXPANDING THE KITCHEN? Add a Lindal Cedar SunRoom or Skywall! Standard sizes and options to fit every need. Write or call for beautifully illustrated catalog and price list. Independent distributor: SOLAR ADD-ONS, 5514 Amesfield Court, Rockville, MD 20853, (301)460-1060.

FLAG PRESENTATION CASES

RETIREMENT SHOWCASES, CASKET FLAG CASES, AWARD PLAQUES, mahogany, walnut, cherry, oak. Gallion Woodworks, 3005-B Partridge Dr., Pensacola, FL 32506-2707. (904)455-7297.

SHORT TERM RENTALS

SHORT TERM, FURNISHED and unfurnished, apartments, townhouses, single family. Locations: All over No. Virginia; D.C. Pets and children welcome. Walk to Metro! Fully equipped and accessorized. Executive Lodging Alternatives: (703)659-5491 Daily (703)659-2241 evenings/weekends. Longer term also available.

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 1020 East, Bethesda, MD 20814. (301)951-4111. Reserve early! Avoid disappointment!

HOME LEAVE IN TEXAS HILL COUNTRY. Fully furnished three bedroom, two-bath house. Central heat and air, 25 miles from Austin. Walk to Lake Travis. Weekly rate. Stew MacDonald, 18411 Austin Dr., Jonestown, TX 78645.

WILL YOU NEED A FULLY FURNISHED apartment, 5 minute walk from FSI and Rosslyn subway? We have first class efficiencies, one bedroom, 2 bedrooms and penthouses. They are completely furnished with cable TV, phone, all household items, linens and parking. Short term leases available. Write: Foreign Service Associates, PO Box 12855, Arlington, VA 22209-8855. Or call: (703)527-2329, (703)759-4438, (703)524-9048. Please give us your dates.

WASHINGTON, D.C./ARLINGTON, VA, Personalized relocation, short or long term. We specialize in walk-to-Metro sales and furnished rentals. Arlington Villas, 1-1/2 blocks from Metro, luxurious studio, one, two, three bedroom. Fully furnished. Washer/dryer, microwave, cable, linens. American Realty Group, 915 North Stafford Street, Arlington, VA 22203. (703)524-0482 or (703)276-1200. Children welcomed. Pets on approval.

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, George-town. Photos. (703)522-2588 or write Adrian B.B. Templar, 1021 Arlington Blvd., PH1214, Arlington, VA 22209. Member AFSA.

BIOGRAPHIES

PRESIDENTIAL BIOGRAPHIES -Send $.22 stamp for monthly listings of available titles. American Political Biography, 39 Boggs Hill Rd. Newtown, CT 06470.

E X C H A N G E

TAX RETURNS

Attorneys specializing in tax planning and return preparation for the Foreign Service Community available for consultation on the tax implications of investment decisions, business related deductions, separate maintenance allowances, real estate purchases and rentals, home leave deductions, audits, etc. Contact Susan Sanders or Paul Clifford—Clifford, Farha, Stamey, and Sanders, 1606 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202)667-5111

TAX PREPARATION BY AN ATTORNEY who is a retired Foreign Service officer and is familiar with Foreign Service problems. M. Bruce Hirshorn, Esquire, Suite E, 307 Maple Ave. West, Vienna, VA 22180. (703)281-2161.

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.

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.

WILLS

HAVE YOUR WILL REVIEWEDand updated by an attorney who is a retired FSO. M. Bruce Hirshorn, Esquire, Suite E, 307 Maple Ave. West, Vienna, VA 22180. (703)281-2161.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

SMILE! As you prepare for a new assignment, add three things to you "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.

SCHOLARSHIPS AVAILABLE. Details: "EARS", Box 1664, Manassas, VA 22110

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.

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, Mgr; Ret. US Park Police officer.

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.

INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT/RETIREMENT PLANNING/Insurance & Annuities: G. Claude Villareal, Investment Executive, Ferris & Co. Inc. 1720 Eye St. NW, Washington, DC 20006. (202)429-3579, 1-800-227-0308.

BOOKS

YOUR PERSONAL BOOKSTORE AWAY FROM HOME: Order any U.S. book in print. Store credit available. Salmagundi Books Ltd. 66 Main Street, Cold Spring, NY 10516.

AN EXCELLENT MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

You can reach 20,000 Foreign Service readers each month with a classified 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 .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

DOMESTIC POSTINGS

Your guide to Real Estate services in the Washington 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.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016
(202) 362-1300

FAX
(301) 229-4015

4701 SANGAMORE RD.
BETHESDA, MD 20816
(301) 229-4016

RALPH E. LINDSTROM
Realtor Associate, FSO Retired

WASHINGTON BOUND? Ask me for a free advance survey of available MD/VA/DC housing suited to your requirements.

MOVING? Ask me about rental or sale of your property, purchase of other housing locally or nationwide.

BEGG Inc.
5101 Wisconsin Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Office: (202)686-9556
Home: (202)686-7340


Anne Gomez

Returning To Washington?
Write Ann Gomez For A Free Welcome Kit With No Obligation!

As an Associate Broker and wife of a Foreign Service Officer, Anne can better assist you with buying a home or investment property or in the marketing of a property you already own.

WRITE TO:
M.B. KIRN Real Estate Assoc., Inc.
Attn: Anne Gomez
4620 Lee Highway • Suite 210 • Arlington, VA 22207
(703) 527-8500 or (703) 979-1040

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.



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

Excellent references upon request

A Veteran Foreign Service Officer and Professional Realtor ready to assist with your real estate needs and projects. Call or write — no obligation.



WILLIAM W. STRUCK
1311 Dolley Madison Boulevard
McLean, Virginia 22101
Office: (703) 893-1500
Residence: (703) 356-7635

Nice People To Do Business With
SHANNON & LUCHS
REALTORS® • Established 1906

Chandler & Chandler
House and Garden Service
Post Office Box 110
Kensington, Maryland 20895

- Specialists in landscape maintenance for residential rentals
- Keep your yard up to your standards while you're away

JAMES E. CHANDLER
(301) 942-7662
INSURED • BONDED • MHIC #25846

RELOCATING?

To the Washington, D.C. Metro area or anywhere in the USA? We can provide you with complete information about your new community. Ask our relocation department for a free relocation package.

RENTAL MANAGEMENT?

We can find the best tenants for your home and provide a variety of management services tailored to your needs. Ask our property management department for an information package.

Trust all your housing needs to the real estate team backed by Better Homes and Gardens.

FRAZEE REALTORS®, Better Homes and Gardens®

Sales • Rentals • Property Management • Relocation
1801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852 (301)881-9000
CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-842-MOVE

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

Our staff includes:
Donna Courtney, Sales Manager
Fran Palmeri, Property Manager
Joe Babin Donna Linton Bill Meeks
Barbara Ratigan Randy Reed
All presently or formerly associated with the Foreign Service.

4600-D Lee Highway Arlington, Virginia 22207
(703) 525-7010 (703) 247-3350
Serving Virginia, Maryland and D.C.

The No. 1 REAL ESTATE CO. in Northern Virginia

L F

ANNE M. CORRERI
REALTOR®



LONG & FOSTER, REALTORS®
Annandale Office
Barcroft Plaza
6349 D Columbia Pike
Falls Church, Virginia 22041

Office: (703) 750-2800
Res.: (703) 256-9248

33 years as a USIA wife
For all your housing needs in Washington and Maryland

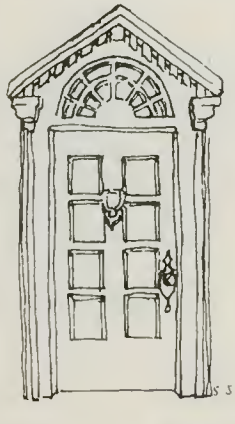
L F

Please write or call

PEGGY HEDGES

Long & Foster
4520 East West Hgwy
Bethesda, MD 20814

Office:(301)951-0313
Home:(301)986-8426



Proficiency is the key

PARDOE

Property Management
(202) 333-6530

Roger Tilton (202)797-7218

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



(703) 356-6520

Laughlin Inc., Realtor

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

1388 Chain Bridge Road
McLean, VA 22101

Post Office Drawer 550
McLean, Virginia 22101

Will You Make A Real Estate Decision In 1988?

I can help ease the trauma of returning to the Washington area.

Jo Anne Shankle

A Foreign Service wife for over 30 years, with 15 years experience in the Washington realty market. I can find the *right* home in the *right* community for you.

District-Maryland: Large Enough To Offer You Professional Services Of The Highest Integrity—Yet Not Too Large To Give You Individual Attention.

DISTRICT-MARYLAND REALTY
5518 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015
(202) 966-1400

District-Maryland Realty INC
Realtors



Linda Wilson Hurley

Call us . . . we have the answers to your real estate questions.

Linda specializes in Foreign Service relocations. 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.



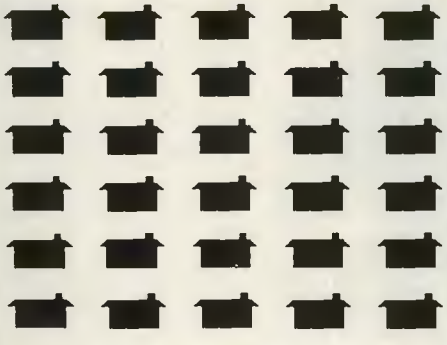
EVERS & COMPANY
REAL ESTATE INC.

"Saluting our Foreign Service people here and abroad."

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

364-1700

Lewis & Silverman Agents



See Hundreds of Houses a Month.
We know The Market.
You know Us.
Call or Write!

Lewis & Silverman REALTORS

JOANNE PERNICK

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

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

SANDOZ & LAMBERTON
INCORPORATED



Specializing in the rental and care of fine residential property throughout the metropolitan area. Sandoz & Lamberton 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

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

Allied Realty CORP.

REALTOR®

7001 Wisconsin Avenue / Chevy Chase, MD 20815
657-8440 *or* **656-8600**

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

BEGG Inc.

REALTORS®

Celebrating Our 38th 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.

Mr. George Apcar
Mrs. Virginia Barlerin
Mrs. Efrem Calingaert
Mr. Robert Campbell
Mrs. Wendela Carwell
Mrs. Misty Conway
Mrs. Anne Hawkins
Mrs. Ilse Heintzen
Mrs. Edrie Hough
Mrs. Grace Kempton
Mrs. Pamela Jova
Mr. Ralph E. Lindstrom
Mrs. Jeanne Livingston
Mrs. Margaret L. Miller
Mrs. Judith Montville
Mrs. Ellen Ozga
Mr. Warren Putnam
Mrs. Terry Walker
Ms. Karin Woltman

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 BIRZNIEKS
PATRICIA GARRISON BOORMAN
BETTY GELDARD
CHRISTINA GRIFFIN
WENDY GUILLOU
MARY HANSTAD
CAROLE B. HERSMAN
JOSEPHINE HOLLIDAY*
A. CLIFTON HOUGHTON II
ISABELLE MACKIE
LYNN MOFFLY MAGRUDER*
MARILYN J. MANGAN
JOHN Y. MILLAR*
MARGARET MOSELEY
DIANE NOBLE
SUZY H. NORTH
SUSAN RAEHN
CAROLINE RAYFIELD
EDWARD ROBINSON*
DOUG SCHOCKE
ROBERT W. SKIFF*
JOHN TURNER*
ALFRED ULMER
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

AFSA ♦ NEWS

Union scores preliminary victory in nondisclosure lawsuit

Even before a court ruling, AFSA has achieved a partial victory in its lawsuit to prevent the department from requiring employees to sign certain banned nondisclosure agreements.

AFSA recently joined seven members of Congress in filing a lawsuit to prevent federal agencies from requiring employees to sign the agreements. The administration's continuing use of the agreements, despite a congressional ban, is a blatant violation of the law. The nondisclosure agreements, which must be signed by all government employees with access to sensitive compartmented information, were banned by Congress in the continuing resolution of December 22 because of the forms' vagueness and overbreadth.

The suit, filed on February 19 against the director of the Information Security Oversight Office, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the secretary of state, has led to the development of a new form, SF 4355, which is a step toward compliance with the Congressional ban.

The new form replaces SF 4193 and applies to all individuals who have access to SCI. SF 4355 deletes the word "classifiable," which in effect required employees to guess whether information would ever be subject to classification. The form has been approved for implementation as of last March 18.

AFSA and the other congressional plaintiffs are proceeding with the lawsuit, despite the government's attempt to comply in part with the continuing resolution. The new form SF 4355 continues to contain provisions that were prohibited in the resolution, and even if it wholly complied with the law, it has not been fully implemented.

Meanwhile, the director of central intelligence has instructed intelligence agencies to discontinue use of SF 4193, and granted discretion to officials to permit individuals who have already signed the old form to sign the new one. AFSA is seeking information concerning implementation of the new form from employees who have already signed SF 4193 or its equivalent, and from individuals who will be required to sign a nondisclosure agreement in the near future. If you have information related to the implementation of SF 4355, please contact AFSA General Counsel Susan Holik at (202)647-8160.

Merit review panels meet



AFSA Scholarship Administrator Dawn Cuthell (standing) briefs the review committee panelists who decide the winners of the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards before their lengthy deliberations last April. The panels winnowed a pool of 122 graduating high school seniors to 20 winners who receive $500 scholarships and 12 honorable mentions who receive $100. The names of the winners, honorable mentions, and panel members appear on page 54.

AFSA hits back at Heritage

AFSA has written a letter of protest to the editor of the Heritage Foundation publication *National Security Record*, which accused the Association of having sold its membership roster to the Democratic National Committee.

According to the *Record*, a Reagan appointee in the department claimed that the address used by a letter soliciting funds for the DNC "was one he had used" in joining AFSA. "It appears that the DNC bought the AFSA mailing list to solicit members of the Foreign Service with a letter signed by DNC Chairman Paul Kirk promising to 'restore principle and integrity to American foreign policy.' "

"Apparently attacks on AFSA and the Foreign Service know no bounds," responded President Perry Shankle in the letter. "The Heritage Foundation is clearly searching for methods to discredit AFSA when your newsletter is reduced to printing untruths about our organization. Contrary to what is stated . . . AFSA does not sell its mailing list."



State Standing Committee
A Busy Negotiating Schedule

By Evangeline Monroe, Vice President

THE State Standing Committee is negotiating numerous issues and regulations that will have direct bearing on employee careers and benefits.

Precepts for Promotion: AFSA proposes that requirements for multifunctional promotions across the threshold be a logical continuation of requirements for mid-level multifunctional promotions. We are also suggesting that the development of human resources and leading and training subordinates be given greater emphasis in the requirements for promotion into the senior service. We are objecting to a management proposal that would provide fewer opportunities for mid-level multifunctional promotion of administrative and consular officers. AFSA disagrees with the department's proposal to place criticisms of review panels in the review panel chairperson's file. We accept management's proposal that generalists competing for promotion into the SFS should not have to elect to compete in either multifunctional or cone competition, giving every candidate an opportunity for two reviews.

Skill Code Change: AFSA initiated a review of skill code change precepts for generalists to permit greater flexibility in changing cones. This year the director general determined that the Foreign Service would benefit from permitting a limited number of skill code changes even though management had not declared deficits in some grades and cones. AFSA seeks to maintain this flexibility in coming years in the belief that the Service would benefit from officers with a broad range of experience. We also believe that skill code change procedures should not be a mere statistical tool for management to attempt to control workforce supply.

Conversion of Administrative Specialists to Generalists: The department is proposing a program to permit a limited number of administrative specialists to convert to generalists. AFSA has asked for further information. We will seek an agreement that would permit attractive career development possibilities for specialists while maintaining the administrative-management cone on a par with other generalist cones.

Organization supports intent of immunity legislation, expresses concern about impact

AFSA President Perry Shankle gave the Association's support to proposed congressional legislation that would compensate victims of crimes committed by foreign diplomats in the United States in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs International Operations Subcommittee last April but expressed his concern over its effect on Foreign Service personnel posted overseas.

"While no one could argue that diplomatic immunity should be used as a shield for criminal actions," he said to the panel, "AFSA is concerned that altering our country's obligations under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations could seriously jeopardize the freedom and effectiveness of Americans who represent the United States at foreign posts."

Because of reciprocity, he continued, "our members [who] serve in countries with legal and political systems that are often sharply at variance with ours" could be jeopardized. "In many situations, a healthy respect for the concept of diplomatic immunity is all we have."

Experience has shown that the immunity system, however imperfect, is in our national interest, Shankle concluded.

Subcommittee Chairman Dan Mica (D.-Florida) said that the immunity system must balance the rights of U.S. citizens here and the safety of American diplomats overseas.

AFSA has had a long-standing interest in maintaining intact the system of immunity because of the potential threat to Americans overseas. Last fall it testified against revisions that would have reduced protections for diplomatic staff in other countries' delegations here, because of the potential consequences for American staff overseas.

An Apology

A few readers have received a mailing from us requesting that they join AFSA in the recently conducted State membership drive, and many others are likely to do so in drives planned among our other constituencies.

Please let us assure you that we do know that you are already a member, but that the computer used to compare the membership roll with the list of all employees in a particular agency sometimes makes a mistake. This happens in particular if your *exact* name on our roll is different than that with your employer. While we make efforts to avoid this, a few do slip through.

If you receive such a mailing, you have our apologies. But why not make use of the materials and recruit a friend or colleague?

Annual and Home Leave Regulations: AFSA seeks to protect employees from being charged annual leave for emergency situations beyond their control. We also oppose limiting the amount of time an employee may take home leave if the employee has earned the leave and the receiving post does not object.

Eduеation Allowanee and Travel Regulations: The department's proposals include semantic changes that AFSA will question, recodification intended to make the regulations easier to use, advance payment of unusually large refundable deposits, which AFSA will endorse, and a reduction of the eligibility age for handicapped children, which conforms to a recent statute. AFSA will seek to maintain rational flexibility for employees.

Speeial Allowanee for Unusual and Long Hours and Hard Language Ineentives: The department has proposed eliminating one category of allowance payment for unusual hours and reducing allowance payment from 18 to 10 and from 13 to 8 percent effective June 30. Management also wishes to eliminate payment of salary increases by August 1 for employees who qualify in hard languages. AFSA opposes the reductions and has asked that management suspend implementation until negotiations are completed. This is an issue that may lead to impasse.

Maintenanee of Shuttle Bus Sehedule: Discussed elsewhere in AFSA NEWS.

In addition to the above regulations which concern State, we are also negotiating the following joint regulations which affect all foreign affairs agencies:

Grievanee Proeedures: We are close to agreement on this issue. The department has agreed to make documents available to an employee involved in a grievance concerning a security investigation. The department also agrees that misinterpretation or misapplication of procedural requirements contained in security regulations would be grievable. The department maintains that a grievance board may not substitute its judgment on the granting or level of a security clearance, but must return it to the department for reconsideration if it determines that the clearance suspension proceedings were improper. AFSA is pleased with the level of agreement reached to date given the priority given to security regulations.

Psychologieal Testing for Employees Assigned to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: In response to the Laird Commission Study on Security Procedures, the department is proposing administering psychological tests to employees assigned to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The tests would, in theory, help the department predict behavior that might lead to security violations in eastern-bloc posts. However, an expert from the department's medical division has admitted that screening procedures are invalid and that the actual benefit of such tests would be to provide a data base or possibly to help in identifying the need for counseling. AFSA is skeptical of the need for psychological testing and has received many negative comments about the proposals from our members. We have asked for additional information. It is unlikely that we can reach agreement on this issue in the near term.

AFSA wins grievance on tandem couple health insurance issue

The Foreign Service Grievance Board has concurred with AFSA and ordered that a tandem couple be reimbursed for additional medical insurance costs incurred because the State Department had refused to honor the American Foreign Service Protective Association's declaration that the couple was entitled to special treatment as a tandem despite the fact that the partners were posted to different locations.

The case started when the State Department arbitrarily denied a tandem couple assigned to different posts AFSPA's low-cost Overseas Health Insurance Option. The couple had signed up for the option in 1985, after receiving assurance from AFSPA officials that they were eligible. The denial came two months later.

State based its denial on the basis that the "spouse" was not residing at the same post. The department relied on language in AFSPA's brochure which tied eligibility to the employee and spouse's residing at the same location. This language was inadvertent and was subsequently amended to clarify that tandem couples were covered even if assigned to different overseas posts. The department also denied the tandem's request for separate policies, since federal law prohibits married employees from doing so.

In its denial of the initial grievance, the department asserted that the AFSPA brochure did not distinguish between tandem couples and non-tandem couples, and that eligibility was lost when the "spouse" was assigned to another overseas post. The department held firm in its decision despite AFSPA's written assurance that it considered the couple eligible. In addition, the department maintained that its denial was based on the position of the Office of Personnel Management, which had negotiated the Overseas Option coverage with AFSPA.

On appeal to the Grievance Board, AFSA pointed out that there was no evidence that the department had consulted with OPM and that its negative ruling was an in-house, arbitrary decision. In addition, there is a distinct difference between tandem and non-tandem couples. In the case of tandem couples, both members are employees, entitled to coverage of their own. Non-tandem spouses qualify as dependents only. The Grievance Board concurred and directed the department to reimburse the grievant the difference between the cost for the Overseas Option and the regular premiums he had been forced to pay.

AFSA has been informed that this may not have been an isolated case but that other tandems were similarly denied the option in late 1985 and 1986.



Professional Issues
Courage, Valor, and Heroism

By Richard S. Thompson, Coordinator

FOR THE PAST two and one-half months, I have been exploring the topic of courage in the Foreign Service, and by the time you read this you may have seen the resulting booklet.

I heard many tales of courage which were fascinating in their variety: defending persons attacked by mobs, rescuing Americans under fire, searching for survivors under tottering buildings after an earthquake, saving persons from drowning. However, you will not have the pleasure of reading about most of these incidents. In many cases it was simply not possible to get someone to write a publishable account of what happened. Often those involved were reluctant to write about themselves.

I much appreciate the efforts of many of you to apprise me of events worthy of publication, and I apologize for not being able to find a way to write them all up. For example, we all know that Americans in certain countries, such as Colombia, are under constant threat from drug traffickers. We have all heard of the heroic efforts of couriers to safeguard their pouches, sometimes when wounded or dying. Security officers often face danger in the line of duty.

Nevertheless, the accounts we were able to put together are representative examples of the dangerous situations in which Foreign Service members and their families find themselves, and in which they acquit themselves honorably. I am grateful to the authors for providing this material which will help those of us in the service understand better what it means to serve our country, and will remind others of the sometimes difficult conditions of that service.

The Writers Group of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, chaired by Marlen Neumann, wrote several stories. Without their assistance the project would not have been possible.

I also appreciate the assistance of the director general's staff, which permitted me to review the files on State Department awards for valor and heroism that record many courageous acts by Foreign Service personnel. I learned the difference between these two awards: the award for valor is granted for exceptional personal bravery in the performance of one's duties, while the award for heroism generally recognizes courageous conduct which is not an aspect of an employee's responsibilities. Apparently if you save the ambassador you may receive an award for valor, but rescuing a local citizen could qualify you for the heroism award.

I emerged from this search for tales of courage with renewed respect for the bravery of Foreign Service members and their families.

Shuttle bus schedule ordered restored

The department has ordered that shuttle bus service be restored to every 15 minutes in response to a charge filed against it by AFSA. The restoration of the service is meant to be an interim measure until a new bus schedule is negotiated.

The department had reduced shuttle bus service between Main State and Rosslyn from every 15 minutes to every half hour last January. This decision was implemented without notice to the union. As a result of the many employee complaints received about the inconvenience caused by the reduction in service, AFSA took action to have the former schedule reinstated.

AFSA representatives met with department officials to request reinstatement of the former schedule. When this meeting and subsequent correspondence proved unsuccessful, AFSA filed an institutional grievance against State. In the grievance, AFSA charged the department with breaching its duty to negotiate.

William L. Swing, State's deputy assistant secretary for personnel, agreed with AFSA. In his response to the union's grievance, he concluded that the department had an obligation to negotiate. As a remedy, Swing directed that the former bus schedule be reinstated until negotiations are completed.

Photos needed

If you have been to the new Foreign Service Club—and if you haven't you are missing a gastronomical treat—you will no doubt have seen the impressive array of photographs of graduating junior officer classes, dating back to the implementation of the Rogers Act.

Many classes are missing. Accordingly, we are requesting members who have such photos to send them to us for display. Your original will be copied and safely returned, and the copy will be framed and mounted on our wall of honor.

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

Ford

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 _____

DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGES



Chrysler LeBaron Coupe



Plymouth Sundance



Dodge Caravan

AS A MEMBER OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS, YOU ARE ENTITLED TO SPECIAL PRICING THROUGH CHRYSLER'S 1988 DIPLOMATIC PURCHASE PROGRAM.

You can choose from a complete line of Chrysler, Plymouth and Dodge cars, as well as Dodge trucks, vans and wagons. For your consideration, we present here the new 1988 Chrysler LeBaron Coupe, Plymouth Sundance and Dodge Caravan. Arrange for delivery in the U.S. and most overseas locations.

CHRYSLER LeBARON COUPE

Here is beauty...with a passion for driving. Available beneath that svelte, aerodynamic skin is a high-torque, fuel-injected turbo engine that unleashes 146 spirited horses. Add advanced front-wheel drive, road touring suspension, and quick-ratio power rack-and-pinion steering and you have what it takes to tame the most demanding roads.

PLYMOUTH SUNDANCE

CAD/CAM-designed to be the highest quality car Chrysler ever built, the new Plymouth Sundance provides the best value in its class.* You get 47 standard features plus liftback versatility in two and four-door models. Choose from three fuel-injected engines: standard 2.2-liter, optional 2.2 with turbo, or optional 2.5. It all proves, the Pride's Inside Plymouth Sundance.

DODGE CARAVAN

If you're looking for the only family wagon with front-wheel drive, available overhead cam V-6 power and seating for up to seven†..it's gotta be a 1988 Dodge Caravan. With car-like ride and handling. Sliding side door for easy entry. Low step-in height. And 125 cubic feet of cargo space. Dodge Caravan: a touring sedan, a family wagon and a spacious van. All in one.

For full details of these or any model in the Chrysler line, Foreign Service Personnel in the U.S. should contact: **Diplomatic Sales Office, Chrysler Motors Corporation, 38111 Van Dyke, Sterling Heights, MI 48077.** Those stationed overseas, **Telex 961320 MCSNEWCAR WDBY, Attn. Diplomatic Sales.**

In the U.S. only, simply mail the postage-paid reply card in this magazine.

*Based on a sticker price comparison of comparably-equipped competitive compact cars. †With optional Seven-Passenger Seating Package.

CHRYSLER MOTORS
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS