

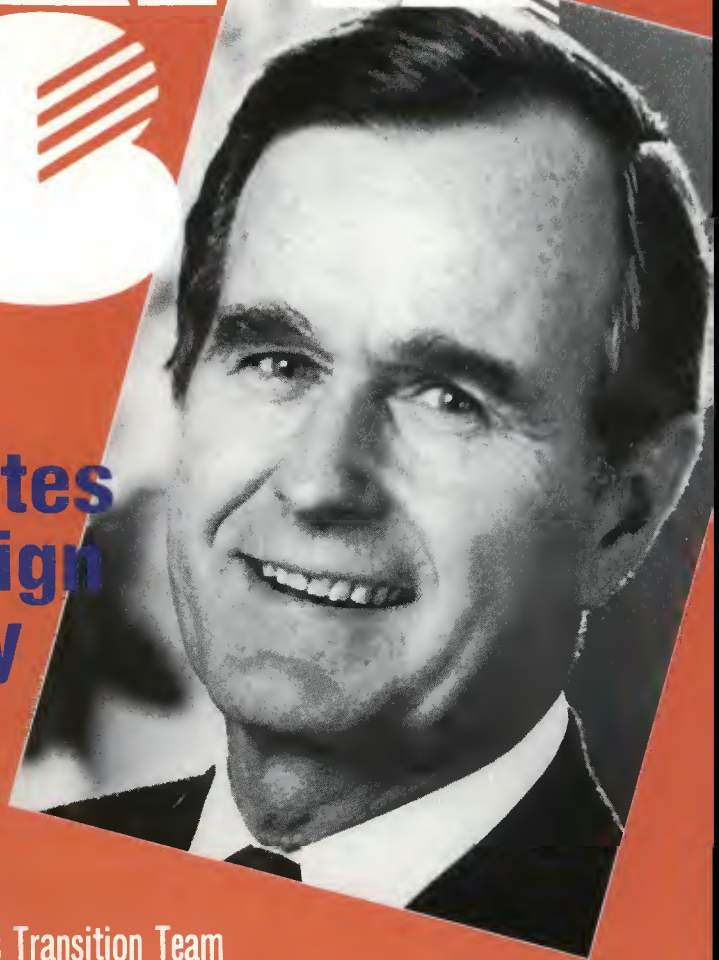
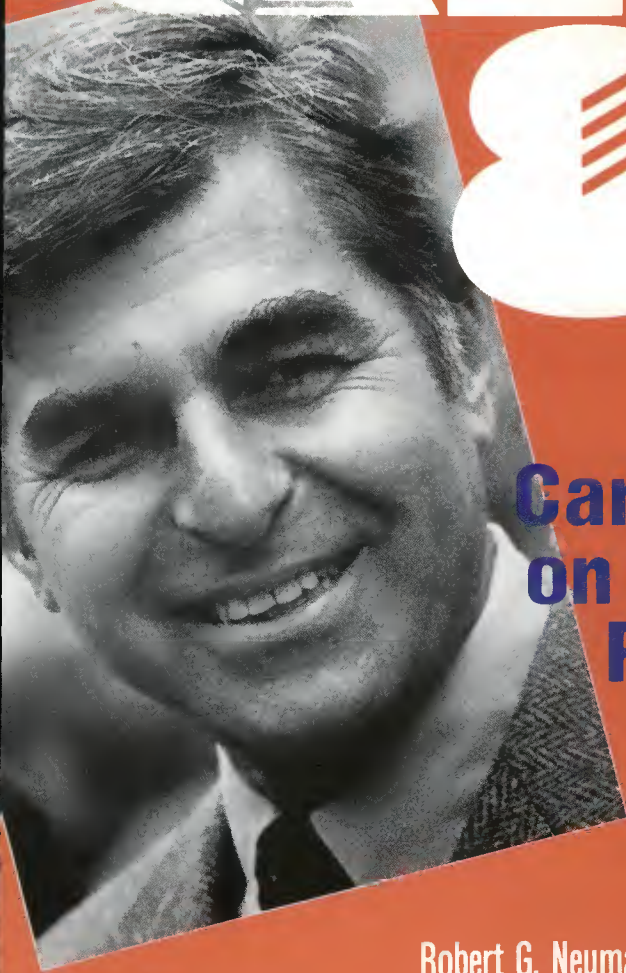
# FOREIGN SERVICE

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## CAMPAIGN



### The Candidates on Foreign Policy

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Robert G. Neumann on State's Transition Team

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After Reagan: Please, No New Beginnings, by Simon Serfaty

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Also:  
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*The Foreign Service on the Hill*

With some notable exceptions members of Congress are quick to proclaim their support for the Foreign Service. Congress came to our rescue last year when the Department's proposed solution to the budget crisis was to cut us by ten percent. Congress saved the Foreign Service from that "solution." We have some friends on the Hill who know what the Foreign Service is; Senators Pell, Lugar, and Sarbanes, and Representatives Neal Smith and Jim Leach come to mind.

In spite of this our reputation in Congress is not good, and Congress does not hesitate to pass legislation that can only be described as punitive, targeted on the Foreign Service. Many of the more than eighty amendments to the State Department Appropriation Bill last winter fell into this category, and Congress passed them without a murmur. To the best of our knowledge no member spoke up to defend us against any of the amendments.

Many in Congress think we are more interested in perks than duty, more interested in careerism than professionalism. This is patently unfair and unwarranted, but we must take a hard look at ourselves and our relations with Congress, both members and staffers, to try to understand how we have fallen from grace (if ever we were there) and what to do about it. In particular, we need to generate a better appreciation of the Foreign Service and its work by members of the appropriations committees.

We need your help. Working the Hill is expensive, and we have begun the annual drive for AFSA's Legislative Action Fund. We also need your ideas, energy and involvement. We are planning a congressional relations program which will involve Foreign Service members in Washington and abroad, and we will be looking for your participation in this.

But there are things we can do now. CODELS and STAFFDELS provide opportunities. They are here to stay. Serving them is a part of our job and we should do it with style. They rely on us and we should prove to them that they are right in doing so. A while ago Evangeline Monroe suggested opening a State Department office on the Hill. The Department continues to debate the wisdom of the idea and says there is no money anyhow. We believe it's an idea whose time has come and we will pursue it with the next Administration.

To state the obvious, we need to create a better, more realistic perception in Congress of the Foreign Service so that our friends are as passionate in our defense as our enemies are in their attack. We believe the leadership of the Department shares this goal, but it has credibility and political problems in speaking out. There is a legitimate role for members of the Service here, for all of us, not just AFSA activists, to speak up and to use every opportunity to influence Congressional thinking and attitudes in favor of the Foreign Service. To give them pause when next anti-Foreign Service legislation is proposed.

—Perry Shankle



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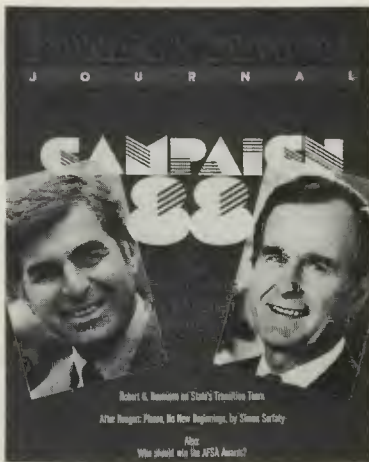
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Cover: Campaign 88—As election time draws nearer, we examine the candidates' foreign policy statements, and discuss the transition time from both a personnel and policy viewpoint.

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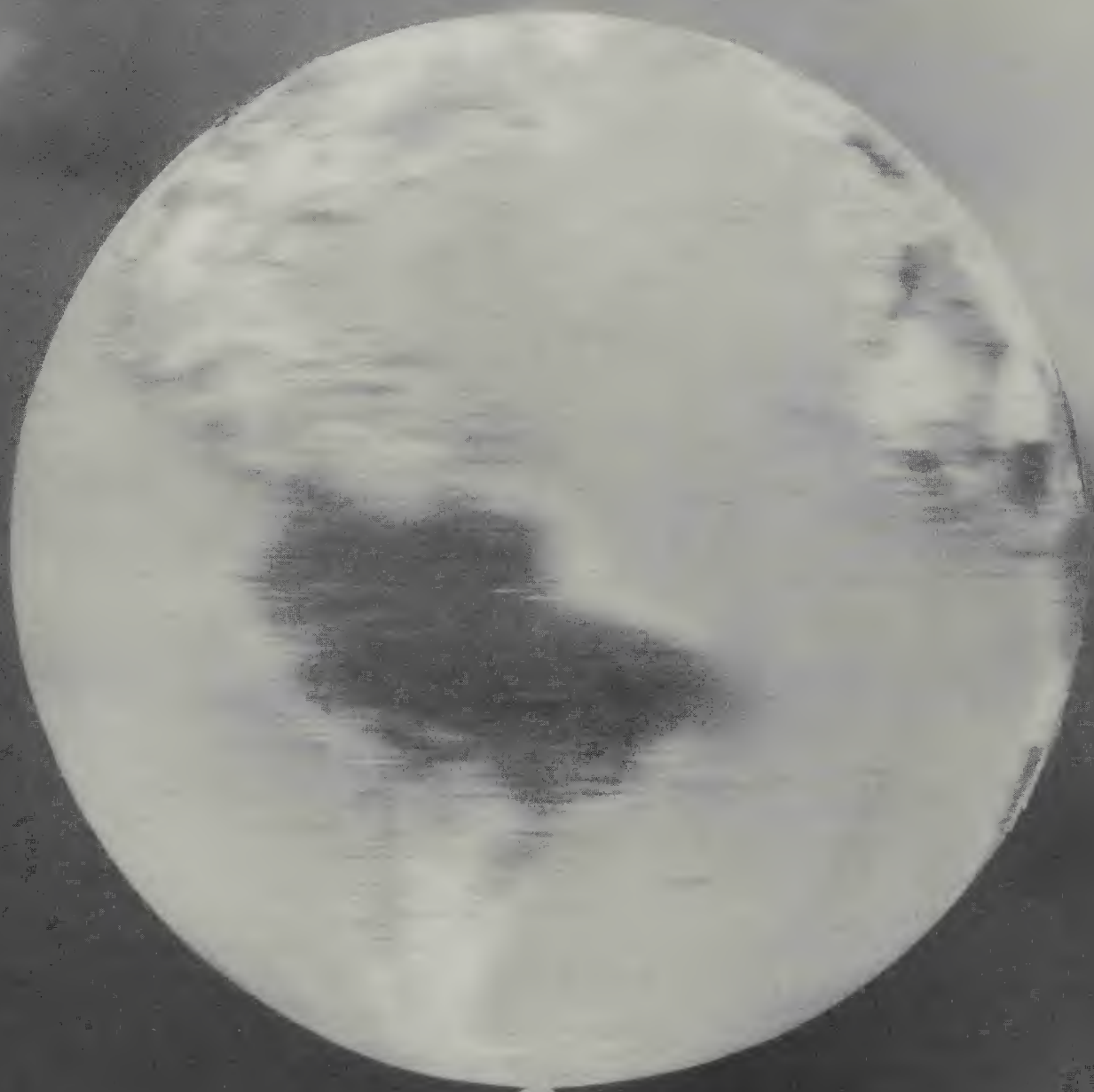
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**Quayle Criticizes State  
"Attitude"**

Sen. Dan Quayle of Indiana, the Republican vice presidential nominee, criticized unnamed State Department officials today for failing to "put American interests first" when it comes to farm exports and other trade matters. He said that he and his running mate, George Bush, will insist on more "aggressive" promotion of American products, "notwithstanding the diplomatic niceties."

At a news conference [in Atlanta], Quayle expanded on a statement he made Thursday to a farm group in Montgomery, Ala., where he said the GOP ticket would "put the State Department on the side of our farmers, instead of our trading partners."

Despite repeated questions, Quayle did not cite the instances where, as he said, "I always have had a lot of problems from time to time getting the State Department to put American policy and American interests first."

But he said businessmen and farmers widely recognize the problem. He blamed it on "an attitude . . . an environment, a culture" in the State Department. "Diplomats trade things off," he said.

As questioning continued, Quayle appeared to become concerned that his remarks might be seen as too critical of the Reagan administration. George P. Shultz, he said, is "one of the best secretaries of state" in history, but "there is a huge bureaucracy there," whose members often "have a fundamentally different idea of what makes America tick than the average man and woman."

*David S. Broder*

*The Washington Post, September 3*

**Don't Weaken USIA**

There are moves to change the character of USIA. Senator Pell [D-RI] proposed reordering the agency at a public diplomacy conference in Washington last September. . . . Hearings may come up this fall. It is believed drafting of legislation may already be under way.

Senator Pell believes USIA's information and advocacy role should be located within the State Department, which would thus run public diplomacy alongside traditional

diplomacy. Assigning these functions to the State Department raises formidable questions. Much of State's traditional diplomacy is discreet. Public diplomacy requires a different, outgoing technique, perhaps with different resources and personnel.

Perhaps the biggest flaw in these proposals to break up USIA is the extent to which they would weaken the individual parts and lead to duplications and inefficiency. The agency's units currently share many resources, ranging from technical to personnel. USIA officers in the field, particularly in smaller embassies, handle an array of functions.

The challenge for the next American president is to see that USIA promotes American interests best. . . . We should improve the form in which USIA has been doing the job, not dismantle it.

*John Hughes*

*The Wall Street Journal, August 8*

**Number One Issue**

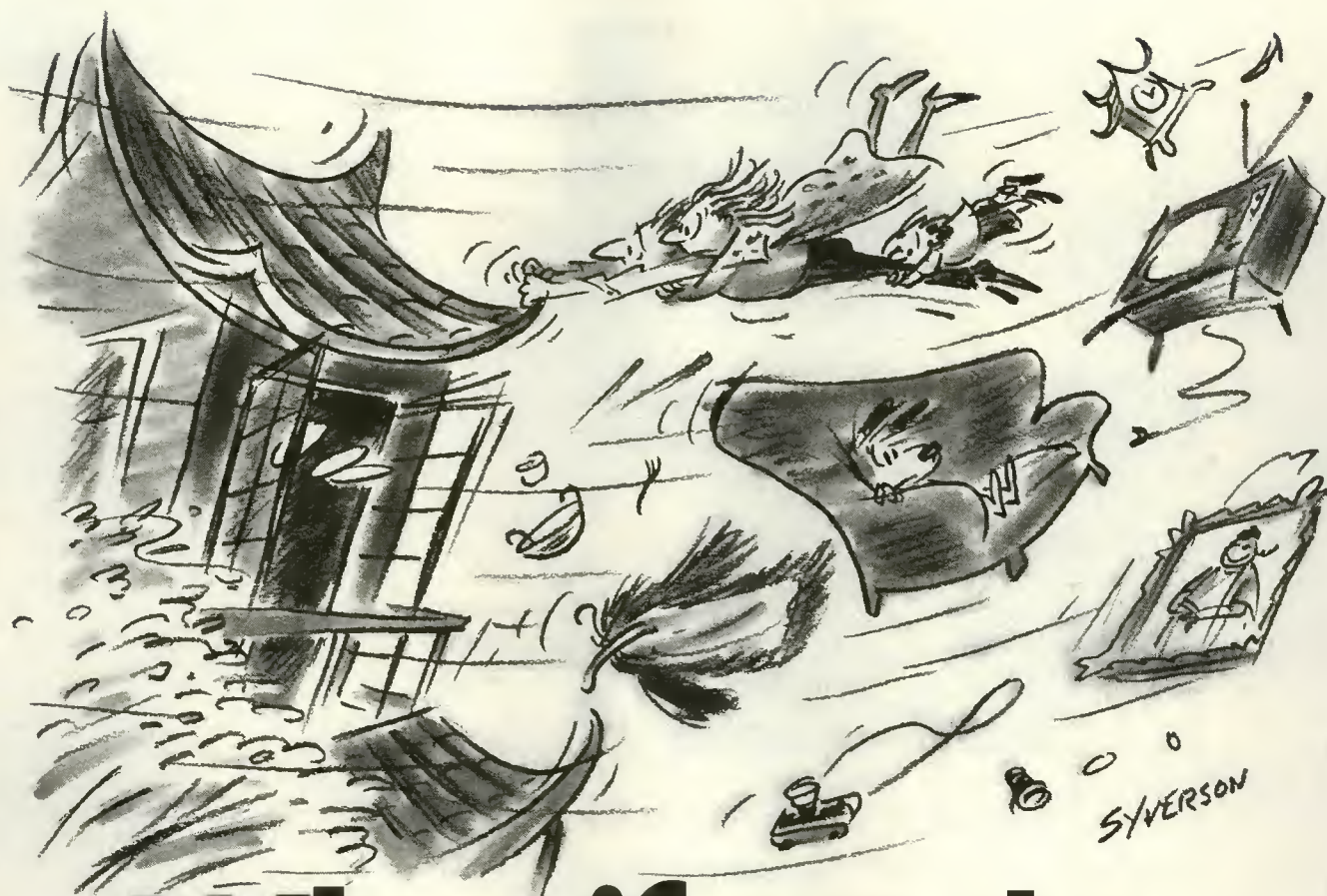
The defense budget has been well chronicled in our media. But when was the last time an event such as a 30-percent cut in the foreign affairs budget gamcared top headlines? Unfortunately, few Americans know or care that the financial resources of U.S. foreign affairs agencies dropped like a stone from \$26.5 billion in fiscal year 1985 to \$18.6 billion in the current year (1.5 percent of total federal spending).

Secretary Shultz has labeled the problem as his number one foreign policy issue. The secretary gets \$1.7 billion, or less than 10 percent of the \$18.6 billion total foreign affairs budget, to run the State Department, the smallest cabinet department, and the 256 posts that make up the Foreign Service. Major weapons systems cost many times that amount.

The rest of the budget goes mostly for economic aid, military assistance, and contributions to international organizations. All are important tools to maximize our influence beyond our shores. None, however, enjoys the political backing which the "iron triangle" of Pentagon, congressional committees, and defense contractors provide for weapons procurement.

*Ambassador Robert Ryan*

*The Daytona Beach News-Journal, July 23*



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To make matters worse, the Government will most likely only reimburse you for the *depreciated* value of your possessions. And they hardly pay you at all for items with "limitations," such as jewelry, furs, cameras, fine arts, and antiques.

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## LETTERS

### Spouse Issue Readdressed

In Nancy Light's article about accompanying spouses "Joined in Service," (JOURNAL July/August), her conclusion seemed to be that when spouses are unhappy, it is their own fault: they have failed to adjust properly; they have unrealistic expectations; or they are not sufficiently flexible.

The fact Ms. Light failed to point out was that spouse discontent is a major reason why people leave the Foreign Service. An unknown number of other talented people never even apply, because the prospects for their spouses seem so bleak. Will the Foreign Service continue to be able to attract and keep the best and the brightest, given the increasing number of spouses who just do not fit into "traditional" roles?

What commitment is the Foreign Service willing to make to the spouse? Better opportunities at post? Greater access to language training or other types of skill development? In addition to the Family Liaison Office, what else could be done to improve the support and guidance offered to spouses? The problems encountered by professional spouses are real, their complaints legitimate.

MARY C. WHITE  
Jakarta, Indonesia

Accommodating two-career marriages is a difficult task for the department, and Nancy Light shows how some couples have made it work. However, her article is unfair to many spouses. Light essentially puts the onus on spouses. She praises those whom she considers "flexible" and "imaginative"—invariably women who have opted for traditional female roles. By implication, unhappy spouses are inflexible, unimaginative, uncommitted to their families and possibly less patriotic. This is unfair to the many talented, energetic spouses who find it difficult to achieve their personal or professional goals as Foreign Service spouses.

A woman, or man, who manages issues, staff, and money in Washington is not going to be equally content at an embassy which offers tennis, word

processing, and crafts. Light's article is replete with such value judgments, which allow her to ignore the genuine obstacles a Foreign Service life imposes. Let's instead recognize that there are all sorts of men and women among our Foreign Service families, some who contribute to society in Foreign Service-portable realms, such as teaching, nursing, or painting, and some who contribute in business, scientific, or other spheres. This latter group must have realistic expectations of Foreign Service life. However, in order to recruit and retain the best possible officer corps, the department for its part must continue its efforts to assist them, by negotiating more bilateral work agreements.

MARY ELIZABETH DALY  
EUR/WE, Desk Officer  
Department of State

### Separate is Never Equal

Regrettably absent from Foreign Service Day observances (JOURNAL, July/August) was any single mention of the concerns, achievements, and sacrifices of the majority of the members of the Foreign Service as defined by the Foreign Service Act of 1980. I refer to the Foreign Service nationals who, side by side with their U.S. citizen colleagues, serve with dedication and heroism at posts throughout the world.

Foreign Service Day should honor all members of the Service—particularly those who have been killed or wounded in the line of duty. A year or so ago the department, in a sad little five-minute ceremony, "honored" its FSN heroes by unveiling a minuscule plaque attached to a water fountain in the courtyard of the department. Officials who attended both that obscure event and the Foreign Service Day observances this year must finally concede what we, as a people, have long since learned—that separate is never equal.

JOHN O. GRIMES  
FSO, retired  
Arlington, VA

### History of Simulations

I noticed with interest the article "Emergency at Post: Simulating a Catastrophe" (JOURNAL, June). You may be interested in the genesis of these exercises.

U.S. EUCOM-(PATCH BARRACKS, Stuttgart) conducted several evacuation exercises in the 1970s and 1980s. The intent

was for military planners and embassy representatives to join in an exercise situation to understand how military assets could be employed in an evacuation situation.

The Foreign Service Institute recognized the potential value of such exercises and decided to incorporate an exercise program in its mid-level training course. The FSI asked Bill Miller, who had been consul general in Stuttgart, to return from his retirement home in France and write the scenario for the first State Department conducted exercise. Bill spent two weeks in Washington in 1981 putting the exercise together. It was this seed that gave birth to the program described.

ROSS E. BENSON  
Consul  
Barranquilla, Colombia

### U.S. to the Rescue

I read with interest the comprehensive article by Charles Macchling, Jr., "Monroe Go Home" (JOURNAL, June). I would submit that the background to the 1983 Grenada intervention was not correctly described in one important respect. The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States may be "obscure," but five of its members in addition to Barbados and Jamaica, did provide the initial argument and justification for United States action. These states, all U.N. members, were clamoring for outside help to end the bloody grab of power by the Revolutionary Military Council, which was responsible for the killing of Prime Minister Bishop and scores of others and was enforcing a curfew. The United States for a variety of reasons came to the "rescue," as Grenadians to this day say. "Invasion" is not their term for it.

In the Grenada case, the immediate region was too weak to police itself and called in someone to restore order and give Grenadians freedom to decide their own destiny. I recall comparisons with Soviet actions in Afghanistan, an emotional opposition to this particular use of its military power. Other criticism rested on the ignorant presumption that, because they were small or "obscure," what Grenada's neighbors said did not count. It is unfortunate that former Ambassador Sally Shelton was initially outspoken in her opposition to what the Reagan administration had done—until she began to hear from her friends in the Eastern Caribbean. To her credit, a week later she publicly voiced support.

KENNETH A. KURZE  
FSO, retired  
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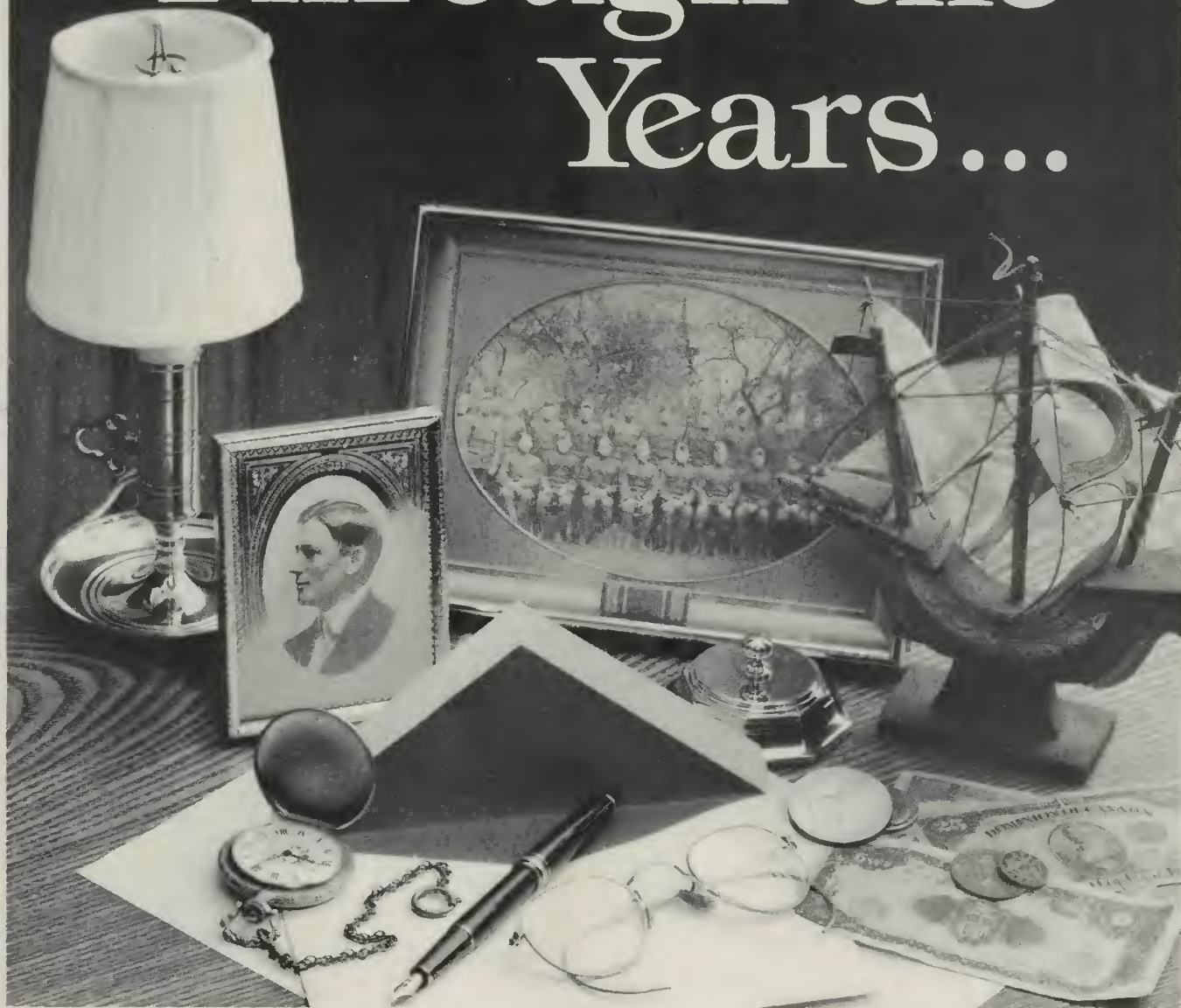


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## Speaking Out

### A Case for Legalizing Drugs

The recent State Department report on the production and sale of illegal drugs worldwide clearly demonstrates that the problem is global in scope and out of control. In the words of the report "nations are outmanned, outgunned and outspent by narcotics traffickers."

The report has produced the predictable response in the U.S. Congress. Penalize the producers such as Mexico, Peru, and Colombia for failing to take more effective action to control both the production and the exportation of illegal drugs. This reaction, like the report itself (which similarly faults these and other countries for their failures in the fight against illegal drug trafficking), fails to place the major share of the blame where it belongs. Namely, here in the United States.

The largest and most profitable market for drugs in the world is the United States. If the richest and most powerful country in the world cannot cope with its domestic drug problem and cannot afford or is unwilling to spend the billions required to fight a multi-billion dollar industry, how can we expect poorer, less stable, and less developed countries to deal effectively with their side of the problem?

The illegal drug trade is not just a threat to the health and life of people in the United States and elsewhere. It is a threat to the very foundations of society and ultimately to the security of the United States, Latin America, and many other countries. The secretary of defense is correct in his stand against committing the armed forces of the United States to the war on drugs, not only because of the dangers inherent in turning a fighting force into a police force in a democracy, but because of the danger of having our security forces corrupted in the process. The military forces in other countries have been corrupted as a result of their involvement with the drug fight. Why assume that ours will be immune? Remember what happened to our military in Vietnam. Indeed, the immensity of the drug problem in the United States is in part a legacy of the Vietnam war.

What can we do? The State Department report is right when it says that the prob-

lem is a global one, and cannot be dealt with effectively by one country. However, I see no possibility of obtaining either the funding required within the United States or the international cooperation needed to wage a real war on drugs. Instead, I believe that we should seriously consider the possibility of opting for an international agreement to legalize the production and sale of marijuana, cocaine, and heroin. We would have a better chance of obtaining international cooperation in this endeavor than in enlarging the war on drugs to the point at which it might be effective.

It is difficult for anyone involved in fighting the illegal narcotic problem to admit that the war has been lost. But I believe that it has—we should be willing to face this grim reality and decide what to do next. An international agreement would wipe out the racketeers in the United States, Latin America, and around the world. Let us learn from our experience with Prohibition in the United States, namely, that declaring something illegal often makes it more attractive, especially to the young, and stimulates the growth of racketeering and the corruption of officials.

Driving the drug barons out of business would be one of the greatest advantages to be derived from legalizing the narcotics trade. It would eliminate the largest source of official corruption throughout the world, a type of corruption that has reached the highest levels of government in many countries. Legalization would also eliminate one of the greatest causes of violent crime in our society and make our country and our streets safer, particularly for our young people. For those of us who live in the District of Columbia and surrounding areas, such an achievement alone would make it worthwhile to try the legal route for dangerous narcotics.

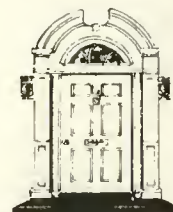
Drug addicts, like alcoholics, should not be permitted to endanger the lives or property of others. This would be true whether drugs are legal or not. By decriminalizing drugs we make it easier for victims of drugs to admit to their problem and accept treatment. Moreover, legalizing drugs does not mean that society finds abuse of drugs ac-

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ceptable. Society can still wage a campaign against narcotics. The difference would be that there would be much more money for this campaign. Legalization would produce taxes and legal profits, including income taxes on these profits, and would provide a level of funding for education to prevent drug addiction and for rehabilitation for those already victims of addiction far beyond that available now or in the foreseeable future. With large sums of money dedicated to preventive education and rehabilitation and the glamour of illegality removed from narcotics, we could begin to make headway against drug addiction in our society. Think of the progress that has been made in the last decade or so against smoking in the United States! With adequate funding there is no reason to think that we could not be at least as successful against drug addiction as we have been against addiction to tobacco.

By bringing illegal drugs into the legal marketplace, the quality of those drugs could be controlled and most of the deaths due to impure drugs and overdoses would be eliminated. Moreover, control of the forms in which these various drugs would

be sold would make it possible to eradicate those variations such as crack which are the most deadly.

An international agreement to legalize the drug trade will not be easy to obtain. You can be certain that it will be opposed by the drug barons around the world who will fear the loss of their exorbitant profits. It will also be opposed by moralists who refuse to admit that it may be better to exchange a greater evil for a lesser one if both cannot be eradicated from society. Some officials in Colombia have already suggested such an exchange only to be met with cries of indignation at home and abroad. My question is, could the results of such an exchange be any worse than our present condition?

DOROTHY DILLON

Former Assistant Director  
U. S. Information Agency

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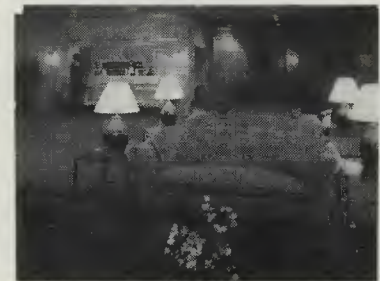
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## B O O K S

George C. Marshall: Statesman 1945-59. By Forrest C. Pogue. Viking Penguin Inc., 1987.

The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-52. By Michael J. Hogan. Cambridge University Press, 1987.

George Marshall retired as army chief of staff in 1945, winding up a remarkable military career. Eight extraordinary years of service followed, after which he returned to Leesburg, Virginia with the Nobel Peace Prize. This fourth and final volume of Pogue's monumental biography of Marshall covers the years from the end of World War II to his death in 1959. They were the climactic years of Marshall's career.

Appointed special envoy to China in December 1945, he devoted a year to the hopeless task of mediating the crisis in China. Two years as secretary of state, a brief term as head of the American Red Cross, and a year as secretary of defense followed. This was the period in which not only postwar American policy but the entire alignment of the modern world took shape. Apart from Josef Stalin and Harry Truman, hardly anyone played a larger part in this immense process than George Marshall.

Reading Pogue's biography, one is struck by the breadth of Marshall's contribution. The book is virtually a history of America's relations with the world in the 1945-51 era. It's all there: the Truman Doctrine and aid to Greece and Turkey; the split between East and West culminating in the Berlin Blockade; the months of negotiation and persuasion that produced the Marshall Plan; the birth of Israel (accompanied by rare disagreement between Marshall and Truman); China's entry into the Korean War; the sacking of Douglas MacArthur. Marshall was at, or close to, the center in each of these seminal events.

The underside of our national behavior during those years is also portrayed in such incidents as the nasty fight over Anna Rosenberg's confirmation as an assistant secretary of defense and the unspeakable personal attacks on Marshall by Senators McCarthy and Jenner.

Pogue does a fine job of pulling all this together in a straightforward, lucid, well-documented narrative. His portrayal of Marshall as a public figure is

impressive: a mediocre speaker, not given to flashes of brilliance or innovative insights, Marshall nonetheless emerges as an example of democratic leadership at its very best. Reasonable, thoughtful, immune to personal ambitions, tough when necessary but a natural compromiser, he comes across as a man of supreme moderation and common sense, qualities that helped steer us through one of the most difficult and perplexing periods in our history.

What you don't get from Pogue's admirable book is much sense of Marshall as a private person. But we should be content with the outer image—as Eisenhower put it, he was “the best of the bunch.”

Michael Hogan's book, a detailed study of the origins, creation, and implementation of the Marshall Plan, could be a companion piece to the Marshall biography. It offers a fascinating insight into the interminable negotiating, maneuvering, scheming, and bickering that marked every phase of the Plan. Hogan has had access to hitherto unavailable British documents, as well as carloads of American records, and he draws a lively picture of the often conflicting goals of the participants: the British determined to carve out a special, separate position between America and Europe, the French preoccupied with Germany, the Americans intent on creating (as one Britisher put it) “an integrated Europe looking like the United States of America.”

Interestingly, if not entirely persuasively, Hogan traces the American ambition to restructure Europe in our own image back to the 1920s, when, he argues, Hoover's Republicans sought unsuccessfully to impose on devastated Europe the same unifying, transnational system of “corporative neo-capitalism” that had evolved in the United States. Hogan concludes that the Marshall Plan, despite its success in rebuilding Western Europe, failed to meet that American goal: Western Europe was, indeed, remade, but on Europe's own terms.

The reader will find it a textbook in the infinite complexities of carrying out such a massive multinational pro-

gram, as well as a fascinating account of what Hogan terms “one of the most successful policies launched by the United States in this century.” It is also, of course, the policy for which General Marshall will always be remembered.

—EDWARD C. INGRAHAM

**Brother Enemy, The War After the War, A History of Indochina Since the Fall of Saigon.** By Nayan Chanda. Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1987.

**Democracy, Strategy, and Vietnam, Implications for American Policymaking.** Edited by George K. Osborn, Asa A. Clark IV, Daniel J. Kaufman, Douglas E. Lute. U.S. Military Academy, Lexington Books, 1987.

*Brother Enemy* is an outstanding work. Nayan Chanda gives a full account, rich with detail, of the events leading up to the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, the war itself, the subsequent occupation, and the battle for world approval waged by both sides within the United Nations and in the Western news media. The book is governed by a world view of events founded on both history and a consistent clarity of vision. The author writes that China has had two vulnerable flanks throughout its history: the Huns, the Mongols, the Manchus and other barbarians came from the north, and in the south the Vietnamese were a constant source of trouble.

Today's world is not that much different from the past. The northern ‘barbarian’ sits armed to the teeth, more numerous than ever; the southern ‘barbarian,’ aided and encouraged by his northern counterpart, has conquered all Indochina and has megalomaniacal illusions of power. It is only natural for China to seek out and encourage the enemies of its enemies. Pol Pot is re-armed and re-supplied; ideology takes a back seat to geopolitics as working relationships evolve with Thailand, and, of course, there is the great Sino-American rapprochement. Indeed, the little role ideology has in today's events is illustrated by the Cambodian-Vietnamese war, a conflict generated almost entirely by racial and ethnic antipathies. Thus Southeast Asia seems to be settling back into ancient patterns of racial dynamics and aspirations.

Implicit in the book's point of view is that the famous domino theory had no validity and that geopolitical concerns will inevitably prevail over ideology. America's involvement in Vietnam despite its immense cost in both blood and treasure was in a sense irrelevant, since regardless of which government held sway in Hanoi—or Saigon—Vietnam would be forced to be in opposition to China. One can, however, question the immutability of the outcome by looking at Korea, at one time beset by problems not unlike those of South Vietnam.

*Democracy, Strategy, and Vietnam* is quite a different book. It asks the question: Did Vietnam make a difference in how we make policy, in our use of force as a political weapon, and in the conduct of our foreign policy? The answer, not surprisingly, is that since world problems and world dynamics have not changed that much our institutions and procedures continue much as before.

Bundy, in his article on the relative importance of force, points out that when the U.S. Army was at its height of power under Eisenhower, the use of force in the conduct of foreign affairs was at a minimum. As U.S. power ebbed under succeeding presidencies, the use of force rose, culminating in the Vietnam War. Since that time, surprisingly, the use of force has continued at the same frequency as before the war, despite the undeniable trauma that war produced in American society. At the moment, for example, we have a heavy military commitment in the Persian Gulf with objectives no more clearly defined than they were in Vietnam, and certainly with no more public support than Vietnam had; but our role there continues.

The U.S. Army comes under scrutiny, but a more basic question might be what is the role of a foreign army in a civil war effort. Are there not situations when the army is simply inappropriate, and when the use of force is self-defeating? It is noteworthy that the Department of Defense during the last decade has invariably been the last element of government to opt for the use of force.

There is an old belief that we learn more from failure than success. These two books are evidence of that learning process. I would hope the process continues.

—SOL SCHINDLER

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**The New Expatriates: Managing Human Resources Abroad.** By Rosalie L. Tung. Ballinger, 1987.

There is much to ponder in this book by Dr. Tung, who has done extensive research on the subject of international business and the management of personnel in cross-cultural settings. Admittedly, the title misleads the reader into thinking the book is about a new class of expatriates. It is not. Rather it is a description of research about how corporations from different cultures prepare their employees for a cross-cultural assignment.

The author begins with her contention that "human resource planning is pivotal to the successful operation of a multinational corporation" and that American expatriates lose substantial portions of their market share to foreign competitors for this very reason.

In the first segment of her book, Tung describes management programs for expatriate assignments among corporations from several countries. She concludes that American company expatriates fail at a much higher rate than those from Europe or Japan because of "lack of relational skills and problematic family situations."

Then, Tung writes in detail about training institutions and programs which are used by European and Japanese companies and account, in part, for their greater success abroad.

The third segment describes, in ponderous detail, the workings of several major European corporations vis-a-vis their expatriate policies.

What emerges repeatedly from all of this is how poorly prepared most American businessmen are for what they will experience abroad. The consequence is that they are negatively perceived both by host country nationals and by businessmen of other countries working in the same environment.

Tung describes European and Japanese corporate cultures as ones that are clearly different and better-suited for international work, and says that American corporations and their personnel are "short-sighted" and, too often, "self-satisfied." She writes, "this self-satisfaction may often be interpreted as arrogance and thus arouse hostility and resentment among non-Americans. In short, many Europeans still view the 'ugly American' syndrome as alive and thriving, particularly in less-developed countries."

While the study results are generally interesting, it is Tung's recommendations to American companies which makes this

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book particularly useful reading for any Foreign Service personnel working with American businessmen overseas.

—NANCY PIET-PELON

**Mexico in Transition. Implications for U.S. Policy.** Edited by Susan Kaufman Purcell. Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1988.

For those with more than a passing interest in events in Mexico this volume of essays, put together by Susan Kaufman Purcell, an and respected scholar on Mexico, is well worth looking at. Most of the essays were first presented orally to a Council on Foreign Relations study group, which met over an extended period to discuss Mexico and its relationship with the U.S. Those meetings were thoughtfully led by former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt, who demonstrated keen knowledge of Mexico and appreciation of its programs.

The title of this volume, *Mexico in Transition*, is an understatement. Dynamic change would be more descriptive of what's now happening to our southern neighbor. Its economy is in serious difficulty, and the PRI's domination of the political process is breaking down. This collection helps explain these changes and suggests more to come.

The essays are presented in a most interesting way. Each general subject is treated by both Mexican and American authors, a method that clearly points up how perceptions differ on both sides of the border. Most of the authors have impeccable credentials as Mexico watchers, a proliferating breed. Some, such as Mexican scholar Jorge Casteneda who questions Mexican commitment to democracy, are provocative. Some, such as former Ambassador to the United States Jose Juan de Olloqui who faults the States for not having a coherent policy toward Mexico, which he calls "malign neglect," are predictable.

Ambassador de Olloqui may not be far off the mark. Serious work on Mexico, as done here, will make a valuable contribution, even if it is not more than helping us focus on the importance of Mexico to the U.S. Developments in this country over the next several years and how we react to them will have greater influence on our well-being than might be the case for any other country in the world. It is time to know more about this huge and troubled neighbor.

—PERRY SHANKLE

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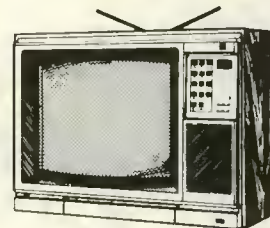
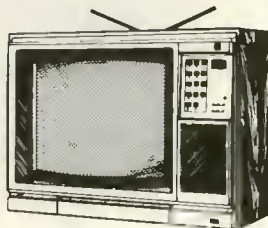
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**Respect for Dignity: Cost and Promise in Latin America.** *Commission on Peace, Episcopal Diocese of Washington. Washington D.C., 1987.*

Like many other American church groups, the members of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington, D.C. were concerned over the conflicting reports coming from Central America and decided to take a first-hand look on their own. In 1986, a 20-member fact-finding mission was organized and dispatched to the area with a mandate to try to understand the crisis, to sort out truth from falsehood, and to suggest directions for a solution, "based on an understanding of our biblical faith."

In Central America, the mission members interviewed political, business, and church representatives of various persuasions on human rights, economic development, military and security matters, and American policy toward the region. The opinions they elicited were as diverse as those they had encountered among their interviewees in the United States before beginning the visit. Although not all mission members concurred in every aspect of the final report, a consensus was never-

theless reached on the main conclusions.

The final report, published in 1987, could not anticipate the current cease-fire negotiations, but its main findings are still timely. Unlike some groups who arrived in Nicaragua as "innocent pilgrims" and allowed themselves to be manipulated by the Sandinistas, the commission members seem to have retained their objectivity. Thus, the Sandinistas do not escape criticism for their human rights abuses, their mistreatment of the Miskito Indians, their mismanagement of the economy, and their intolerance of opposition or criticism.

The report reveals that there were sometimes sharp differences among mission members regarding the Sandinistas. For example, when members attended a meeting of a Sandinista neighborhood committee, some compared it favorably to a New England town meeting, while others deemed it an exercise in Orwellian thought-control.

The report endorses the initiative of Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, which seeks to eliminate outside interference in the region and to achieve peace through cooperation among Cen-

tral Americans themselves. According to the report, the revolutionary violence poses little threat to U.S. security, and our policy of support for the contras is morally and legally flawed, as well as ineffective. Negotiations, not military policy, should be given the highest priority, say mission members.

The paper is well-researched, balanced, and readable. It is obviously the product of people motivated by a strong sense of Christian fraternity, as its humane and compassionate approach makes clear. Its authors and editors include people like Frederick Hartley, a retired USIA information officer with many years of experience in Latin America.

After reading this otherwise excellent report, however, a question still remains. Would the Sandinistas be able to resist the temptation to provide covert assistance to Communist movements in neighboring democracies in a peaceful Central America? When *The Washington Post* reports that Soviet ammunition is still being funneled from Nicaragua to anti-government guerrillas in El Salvador, the picture is not reassuring.

—JOHN CROWLEY

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**Bipartisan Objectives for American Foreign Policy.** *By Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance. Foreign Affairs. Summer, 1988, Vol. 66, No. 5.*

Kissinger and Vance present a basis for a bipartisan consensus in U.S. foreign policy. There will be some disagreement on specific means, the authors concede, but a clear definition of, and widespread agreement on, the basic goals and general approaches they describe is essential so that the U.S. may escape its "national tendency to fluctuate between exaggerated belligerence and unrealistic expectation."

The authors contend that international economic concerns will dominate the attention of the next secretary of state. They argue that "market forces more than governmental intervention will affect the trade deficit" with countries such as Japan. Ja-

pan should not be encouraged to dramatically increase its defense spending. The United States should encourage the transfer of technology to China.

A central concern of U.S. policy in Latin America should be reducing Soviet and Cuban involvement in the region. Latin American countries should restructure their economies to promote expansion and investment and the United States should seek larger imports of goods from countries with high debt and provide "substantial economic assistance" to Central America. Mexico will require special attention including a "central and high-level coordinator for U.S. policy with good access to the president." The U.S. and Mexican presidents should meet early and often.

U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict should be based on three principles: "Israel should not and cannot stay where

it is on occupied territories; Israel has a right to secure and recognized borders; and the Palestinians have legitimate rights that should be recognized provided they unambiguously recognize the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized borders."

The authors caution against basing U.S. policies toward the Soviet Union "on the presumed intentions of a Soviet general secretary." Regular summits between U.S.-Soviet leaders are a good idea so that these "meetings . . . are not seen as rewards for good behavior or reasons for concessions." The authors favor trade with the Soviets, provided some care is taken to limit exports that might have military utility. NATO should concentrate on the issue of conventional arms control and a study should be undertaken by a "distinguished group of private citizens" to make broad reassessment of general NATO policies, force pos-

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ture, revised alliance structure, and arms-control parameters. No further reductions of battlefield nuclear weapons should be made without significant, asymmetrical Soviet reductions in conventional forces. Talk of the denuclearization of Europe, elimination of all ballistic missiles or promises of a "no first use" policy are destabilizing. Kissinger would link a START or chemical weapons agreement to European conventional arms-control talks. Vance would not make one agreement contingent on other negotiations.

Finally, the authors warn against making decisions to cut defense, foreign affairs, and foreign-assistance budgets on the basis of budgetary reasons alone rather than in response to changes in the strategic environment. For example, the authors argue that it is "absurd" that we are hard pressed to find \$200 million for the Philippines in our \$4.5 trillion economy. Such short-sighted cuts in the foreign-affairs budget have weakened morale and hindered the performance of Foreign Service officers stationed abroad and at the State Department.

**Funding Foreign Aid.** By David Obey and Carol Lancaster. *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1988, Vol. 71.

If the United States is to adequately perform its role as a world leader, the next administration must recognize and deal with the severe political challenges to the foreign-aid program. The central problem is the U.S. budget deficit—and the political vulnerability of most foreign-aid programs in such an environment. With the implementation of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Bill in 1986, the amount of foreign aid appropriated by Congress has declined every year, particularly in economic and humanitarian assistance. In the absence of a political willingness to raise taxes or to make drastic cuts in entitlement programs, Congress must take most of the cuts from the discretionary funds where foreign aid is budgeted. But in this environment, competing against popular domestic programs such as cancer research, foreign aid has little political support. Moreover, the public no longer sees foreign-aid programs as particularly efficacious.

Obey and Lancaster argue that it is illusionary to call for increased foreign aid (as former President Carter and Secretary Shultz have) until the budgetary crisis is resolved. Redressing this issue will require a stronger, more direct leadership role by the president to sell foreign aid to Congress and the public and a greater reliance on increased taxes rather than budget cuts.

Obey and Lancaster also call for a shift-

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ing of the priorities toward increased humanitarian and economic assistance. These efforts at foreign assistance must improve the way that Third World nations handle their debt problems. Finally, the U.S. "must scrap the implicit idea that many aid programs are entitlements for favored recipients." Aid to Egypt, Israel, and Pakistan should be continued to the extent that it is "buttressed by active efforts at resolving regional differences." Aid must never be used as merely "as a crutch for avoiding difficult problems." The practice of using promises of foreign assistance to help secure military bases abroad should be reexamined. "If the bases must be maintained, the NATO allies should carry more of the burden in financing them," the authors contend.

**The Forgotten Resource.** By Jodi Jacobson. *World Watch*. May-June, 1988, Vol. 1, No. 3.

U.S. foreign assistance has not improved, and in some cases has even exacerbated, the economic and social situation of women in the Third World. "Assistance agencies (such as AID), staffed mostly by men with a decidedly Western view of the world... have tended to ignore or misunderstand the role of female labor," says the author. In many rural agrarian societies, the men plant the cash crops (often for their own individual profit) while the women are responsible for much of the labor required for subsistence crops. Unfortunately, many recent AID programs have put more of an emphasis on encouraging cash crops. Not only does this perpetuate food-supply problems in these countries, but such a policy hurts the economic and social situation of women, who garner little benefit from it. The author calls for a "new ethic of international development," one that reduces women's "economic dependence on men." She endorses the Women in Development Act, presently under consideration in Congress, which would provide a five-fold increase for AID's Women in Development Office. The act would mandate that "AID incorporate women and local women's groups into all its projects in proportion to their traditional participation."

— Philip Rogers

*Philip Rogers is an assistant professor of political science at George Washington University.*



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**Foreign Service Journal, October 1978**

Even the best of language and area studies students finds that there remains gaps in his understanding of another culture. On occasion, one gets lucky and is shown a short cut.

A British colleague in Singapore once imparted to me, in a single sentence, what a cultural anthropologist would assuredly have taken a complete chapter to describe.

"I would never trust a fellow Englishman," he said, "who called me by my first name a half-hour after our introduction to each other." After a moments thought, he added, "Or an American who did not."

—S. I. Nadler

**Foreign Service Journal, October 1963**

Revisiting a post where you once served provides a reminder of something that probably doesn't need restating but can bear emphasis: It's the FSNs, at their desks year in and year out, often decade after decade, who give our operations continuity and a

fund of expertise we could not do without. Five or ten years after your life vans moved off, it is only luck if you encounter a familiar American face in the chancery corridors. But there are plenty of other familiar faces.

There are no more loyal employees anywhere than the great majority of these FSNs. There are none who better merit that tattered accolade "dedicated."

—Ted Olson, "Overseas Letter"

**Foreign Service Journal, October 1938**

The JOURNAL is publishing in this issue the announcement of the appointment of an AFSA committee to study the special problems connected with the education of

Foreign Service children.

There are few positions more difficult than that of the internationally educated child who is familiar with all places and at home in none. If the Foreign Service is to be representative of this country in the best sense of the word, its children must be given the fundamentals of an American education. This does not mean that they should not profit from the exceptional opportunities which they have for becoming acquainted with the tongues and personalities of other people. It does mean that their American education should be supplemented, not replaced by this broader cultural training.

—Editor's Column

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## What Characterizes AFSA Award Winners?

We are often asked to expand on the meaning of the criteria for the AFSA Awards—the Christian A. Herter Award for FS-OC and above level officers, the William R. Rivkin Award for FS 1-3 officers, the W. Averell Harriman Award for FS 4-6 officers, and the Avis Boblen Award for a family member. We therefore offer the following comments, contributed by past judges and winners, with the intention of broadening rather than restricting the area of choice.

All of us, I think, believe that the Foreign Service as a whole represents the best in public service. Those who originally established and endowed these awards certainly believed that. But in doing so they were looking for something even beyond that—those qualities that speak for an individual's capacity for extraordinary accomplishment, something beyond the norm of excellence; a readiness, for example, to challenge conventional wisdom in the charge we all carry, the defense and promotion of our national interests abroad.

To put it in the vernacular, the awards are

meant to recognize those who were prepared to stick their necks out in a way that involves some risk. In sum, the awards recognize the kind of demonstrated service and a capacity for creative dissent that marks an exceptionally able and productive public servant.

There has been a tendency to nominate political or economic officers, but officers of any cone could be strong candidates for the officer awards. The administrative field, for example, presents problems requiring extraordinary accomplishment for their resolution involving all the criteria for the awards. A consular officer might qualify for insisting on correcting a wrong being done to one or a class of visa applicants.

We hope that, by reading the following comments from individuals in a position to know what should characterize an AFSA award winner, you will be prompted to nominate deserving individuals.

—PERRY SHANKLE

The AFSA awards go back a long time, and the accomplishments of the winners vary with the seasons, usually recognition that they had risked careers, not necessarily over policy, to do something honorable. For example, Craig Johnstone and Lionel Rosenblatt went back to Saigon just before the evacuation to pull out Vietnamese associates of the embassy who would have otherwise been left, as countless others were, to the mercies of Hanoi. Our ambassador wanted them fired; Kissinger refused.

The origins of the Harriman Award, and the Rivkin and Herter Awards which followed, antedate Vietnam. Governor Harriman had in mind, as I understand his purposes, the need to foster courage, to counter the fear left by McCarthy that if you stuck your neck out, you might get your career ruined or worse, for officers who are by and large a patriotic lot, branded as disloyal. McCarthyism dampened initiative, which the wisest of policy makers look for in subordinates. Harriman encouraged

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not only willingness to challenge conventional wisdom but the general quality of initiative. All this is still relevant. The conventional wisdom is sometimes wrong. And initiative, even when the times encourage it, is unlikely to be in oversupply.

Johnstone, Rosenblatt, and I got our respective awards at the most remarkable of all the AFSA ceremonies, a lunch at the eighth-floor dining room honoring the China hands: John Stewart Service, John Emmerson, John Carter Vincent, John Patton Davies, and O. Edmund Clubb. All but Emmerson, for whom I had the pleasure of working in Tokyo, had their careers ruined. Ironically, Nixon's opening to China vindicated them, but not all were alive to savor it. Even the ceremony, moving as it was, carried a caution. Someone distributed a fly sheet among the guests, dredging up ancient slander to protest AFSA's decision to honor these officers.

The experience of the China hands illuminates the criteria. They were doing their jobs well, but so do most officers. The distinguishing element was risk, not the crazy risk of taking a cake to Iran, but a sober judgment to press, in-house, a considered point of view, a lawful and reasonable action that displeased powerful people. Only the FSOs' cable from Chungking could be termed dissent, counter to General Hurley's arrogant faith in his ability to keep Chiang Kai Shek in power.

The AFSA awards are not simply for extraordinary performance; for which there are promotions and Department awards. For example, recent winners, John Finney and John Monjo, along with other players in what became a successful policy toward the Philippines, ran significant career risks, what with the nostalgia attached to Marcos in powerful quarters.

Among the criteria, "creative dissent" provokes the most unease, perhaps derived from concern that fanatics will not look kindly upon AFSA's endorsement of the principle. (I dislike "creative," with its Hollywood flavor, and prefer dissent "constructive," contributing to policy or analytic debate.) But before anyone throws away dissent, remember that America's most important post-war decision began with dissent: George Kennan's cable from Moscow analyzing the sources of Soviet behavior, the origin of what would become the policy of containment.

None of us has dealt with anything so momentous, but a foreign affairs system in which analysis or policy is congealed in amber begets disasters (e.g. the habits that led some to coddle General Noriega). The awards have a larger meaning, encouraging officers to do the right thing even if

it may cost them, and as modest stimulus to a more agile foreign policy, one open to timely correction.

—FRANK MCNEIL

The Herter, Rivkin, and Harriman AFSA awards are meant to be a salute to excellence, to the best in public service, to those qualities particularly important in a diplomatic service; initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent.

By conferring the awards, we put the spotlight on those whom a panel of judges determines have best demonstrated these qualities of performance. But in doing so, and particularly in the nominating process, the Foreign Service in effect is also putting the spotlight on itself—to see if it measures up to the high standards that the public expects of a Service uniquely important to the nation's interests.

The opportunity to demonstrate the qualities of which the awards speak will vary, depending on assignment, the quirks of fate, the luck of the draw. But sometimes the more routine the function, the greater the opportunity for *performance*—and that word should be the bottom line—that stands out above the norm. That surely assumes initiative, thinking beyond the routine, coming up with those new ideas and new approaches so important if this country is to promote its interests in a world where change is the name of the game.

Integrity? Yes, and to a fault—a commitment to service evident in the honesty of one's convictions, the time one is prepared to give to the job, the way in which one speaks to and promotes those values expected of a disciplined Foreign Service.

Intellectual courage and creative dissent? We get hung up on those words sometimes, even though the qualities of which they speak should be found in everyone true to his or her oath of office. To express them differently, what is involved is a demonstrated readiness to stand tall for one's convictions, to be prepared to say so and why, to go out on a limb, to challenge conventional wisdom. It need not necessarily involve falling on one's sword, although the Service can expect to have and should respect those with views so strong that they resign rather than stay aboard with a policy with which they disagree.

The term "creative" was an adjective, I assume, quite deliberate in the original choice of words for these awards. It speaks of the fact that the Foreign Service is one that expects its officers to challenge and at times to disagree in the process of policy formulation, to have the courage to do that

with both peers and seniors, but then to be prepared to accept that in a disciplined Service the policy process must go forward.

In the final analysis that readiness to challenge, buttressed by a command of the facts and an understanding of their implications for U.S. policy interests, should be the norm in the Service. The fact that it is not always so makes it especially important that these AFSA awards exist and that they have the active support of leadership in the Service at all levels.

—L. BRUCE LAINGEN

The essence of any AFSA award should be Foreign Service professionalism. The department already recognizes in a variety of ways and with considerable generosity sustained superior performance, whether by communicators, administrative officers or political reporters. The department, however, is less concerned about initiative, integrity, courage, and creativity. The purpose of the AFSA awards is to recognize those officers who are truly outstanding in their commitment to excellence. These awards should not project an image of the Foreign Service at odds with the administration of the day in some kind of process of dynamic dissent, rather they should emphasize creative achievements. The Foreign Service is an institution whose task it is to help formulate and implement the foreign policy of the United States.

AFSA should seek through its awards to encourage officers to use their intellectual talents, area and linguistic expertise, and pride in the concept of service to promote critical and constructive solutions to issues of foreign policy and national security. The awards should recognize those men and women of the Service who are willing to tackle tough and complex problems head on, to call the shots as they are, and to propose practical and creative solutions. In short, the greatest challenge for the Foreign Service is how to help the President and Secretary with their principal problem: the management of ambiguity in the national interest. To do that successfully requires that Foreign Service officers demonstrate a combination of those qualities for which the Herter, Rivkin, and Harriman awards were established: a zeal for creative accomplishment, intellectual courage, and moral excellence.

—ANTHONY C.E. QUAINTON

Over the years there have not been many USIA award nominations or winners. Why?

Perhaps it is because the awards have generally been associated with those who show intellectual courage and dissent creatively over foreign policy issues, and USIA employees are not as involved as their State colleagues in the formation and implementation of foreign policy.

Whatever the reasons, USIA employees need have no hesitation in participating much more fully in the nominating and award process. This is especially true in the past few years, when USIA has gone through the most innovative period in its history, when many new ideas have been tested and put into practice, and when much is being done to make public diplomacy a more central part of how this country carries out its foreign policy.

USIA is no stranger to controversy, and USIA employees tackle tough issues no less frequently than their colleagues in other foreign affairs agencies. For example, some areas where there have been stimulating internal debates in recent years include such things as the role of VOA editorials, the value of field operations, the impact and potential of Worldnet, and the effect of new policies regarding physical security + . Surely there are many USIA employees who have been unusually effective in developing and carrying out programs and activities which have expanded the role of public diplomacy or defended activities vital to our mission.

What might be the criteria for nominating USIA employees for AFSA awards? In practice, nominations often read like OERs and some recipients who are clearly excellent officers have nevertheless not really been involved in any tough issue or controversy. I would therefore suggest that we try to nominate people who have faced a difficult and/or controversial issue or problem, and have demonstrated some of the above qualities in achieving a better outcome than would have been the case without their involvement. In other words, people who have made a difference.

USIA has come a long way in its brief history, overcoming early skepticism about its value, learning much about the difficult art of political communication across cultures, and finally expanding the parameters within which foreign policy is conducted. There have been many USIA employees who have made unique contributions to the development of public diplomacy, and the AFSA awards offer an excellent chance to insure that more of them get the recognition they have earned.

—WILLIAM LENDERKING

When the awards were initiated in 1968, the purpose seemed to me to be recognition of professionalism and creativity, thereby promoting the entire Foreign Service. The Rivkin judges were chaired by Vice President Humphrey. His remarks and those of others at that first ceremony stressed the importance of the Foreign Service to the nation and praised the high professionalism and achievement of the Service in its entirety.

As numerous non-AFSA awards—most more monetarily significant—have been introduced over the past 20 years, the AFSA awards may have lost luster and drifted from the original purpose. Many do not note that AFSA awards uniquely are determined by panels of judges independent of the official hierarchy. It is perhaps because of this independence that the element of “dissent” assumed greater importance. The hierarchy seldom gives rewards for pointing out its policies are wrong, but AFSA can award such initiative and at times has.

I think this dissent focus can be overdone. There is danger that it introduces a political element. Too often the dissent has echoes in partisan issues. What the Foreign Service needs is less emphasis on the political disagreements in American foreign policy and more on the professional abilities of the Foreign Service to serve well whatever administration is elected.

The award phrase “exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent” provides a generous basis for emphasis on professionalism. The emphasis should be on the extraordinary accomplishment; presumably this is the bottom line that benefits the American collective and thus is the key selling point for Foreign Service professionalism serving the national interest. If the accomplishment is truly extraordinary, it almost certainly involved considerable creative dissent; at a minimum bureaucratic toes were stepped on, likely some in high places. But give extra points if the officer used diplomatic skills to minimize the dissent and emphasize the creativity—the positive alternative. Creative dissent means inventing a better mousetrap. The basis for such accomplishment should be the core of bipartisan agreement on foreign policy, not emotional partisan issues.

Many of the awards, particularly the senior awards, seem to have involved the promotion of ideas at the core of our bipartisan consensus, especially promoting democracy and human rights. The more the general public comes to see how key the daily work of the Foreign Service is to the promotion and defense of these core American values the stronger the support for the

Foreign Service will be.

Finally I would like to add two cents on the issue of awards for one super accomplishment versus only a great accomplishment capping a long period of steady important achievement. If the awards are to emphasize to the public the non-partisan professionalism of the Foreign Service, at least for the Rivkin and Herter awards, judges should award peaks from plateaus of steady superior performance over the Mount Everest arising from years of sea level performance.

—JOHN ALDEN BUSHNELL

The Avis Bohlen Award is unique in that it is designated for a family member who is not an officer. It recognizes outstanding family members who choose to work toward the attainment of the objectives of the Service and the United States in the American tradition of cooperation, participation and community spirit.

In 1972, the Department's Policy on Wives of Foreign Service Employees clarified the voluntary character of wives' participation. While some took that to mean an end to community activities, others recognized that this meant an end to imposed obligations. Concern for others, involvement in bi-national activities, and representation of the United States continue now as then to have a place in overseas life.

Avis Bohlen was a Foreign Service spouse who accompanied her husband on assignments to Moscow, Manila, and Paris. Through her close contact and support for the members of the missions she served in and by her outreach to host country representatives, she presented the best of American values and traditions and enhanced the image of the United States and the American way of life.

Recipients of the award have been lauded for the many ways they advanced American interests through outreach to the American and host country: rebuilding relations after a period of no formal relations, responding to the needs of a country devastated by civil strife, strengthening bilateral relations through school activities, and enhancing contact between the host country and Americans through cultural and charitable activities. The Foreign Service has remarkable family members who display dedication, sensitivity, thoughtfulness, integrity, and perseverance in enhancing relations between Americans and the host country. The Avis Bohlen Award was established to honor them.

—MARYANN MINUTILLO

# Transition Time: The 1989 Changeover

*A former State Department transition-team leader  
discusses the pitfalls and problems  
of a new administration's first months*

ROBERT G. NEUMANN

**L**ENGTHY TRANSITIONS between administrations are an unfortunate but unavoidable American peculiarity; in most other countries transitions follow swiftly upon elections. Perhaps we ought to be grateful that our transitions now last only two and a half months and not four months, as was the case until the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Our political system is equally unique in that it deprives party organizations and experienced party leaders of real control over candidacies. Hence, every candidate for public office, especially a presidential candidate, has to build his own vast and costly election mechanism. This is usually composed primarily of young people, high on enthusiasm and low on government experience, many of whom will accompany the newly elected president into office.

It lies in the nature of propaganda that the propagandist quickly becomes his first and best customer. Hence, this throng arrives in Washington full of their hyped-up impression that the preceding administration was terrible, that all who served it are suspect, and that history began on Inauguration Day.

This was particularly true in 1980, when a cast of hundreds manned a multilayered transition monstrosity that engulfed the entire government structure. Transition team directors had little or no choice in the selection of their members, and early multiple-deadlines burdened the process further. From this experience, I have distilled the following advice re-

garding the transition team and the State Department itself.

The leader of the transition team should be appointed the week following the election. The rest of the team should also be appointed as quickly as possible, not later than ten days after the election. The team should be small, 10–20 people maximum, chosen for their knowledge of foreign affairs substance, knowledge of the governmental process, and such political criteria as the president deems appropriate. The transition team should generally not include congressional staff members, as experience, especially in the 1980–81 transition, has shown that some of them, though by no means all, are prone to leak information to their principals.

The transition team leader should immediately choose an in-house chief-of-staff who knows the department, but also feels comfortable working with political people. Many FSOs are not. The department will be cooperative in placing other required personnel on temporary duty. Hopefully, the president will instruct the transition-team leader to refrain from all media contacts; this directive should be made public.

The secretary of state should be designated very early. If for some reason the selection is not announced immediately, his or her identity should definitely be made known to the leader of the State Department transition team. However, the secretary of state-designate should not be the leader of the team. He will be too busy preparing for his senatorial hearings, and getting his personal and financial affairs in order. But the work of the transition team will be most effective if it, or at least its leader, knows for whom it is preparing recommendations and what the priorities are. For all practical purposes, the transition team should consider itself working for the secretary of state-designate.

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*Robert G. Neumann was director of the Reagan administration's State Department Transition Team in 1980–81. He has been a former U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia; and is currently senior adviser and director of the Middle East Studies program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.*

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*Loyalty  
to the new  
administration  
is essential,  
but so is  
competence.*

Occasionally, after a change of administration, individuals have appeared in foreign countries claiming to have a mandate from the new administration. The appearance of such alleged representatives of the incoming administration while the outgoing one is still in office is a very bad idea and should be strongly discouraged by the president-elect and his staff. A worldwide State Department telegram, sent by the director of the Foreign Service to all U.S. missions, should instruct them to report such occurrences by immediate telegram to the director general. Until such claims have been confirmed or denied, ambassadors and their staffs should be instructed to refrain from all public statements. On my suggestion, such instructions were sent out worldwide by the then director general of the Foreign Service in 1980. While they were generally obeyed, a few politically motivated ambassadors of the preceding administration chose to ignore them.

**T**HERE CAN BE only one president and one secretary of state at a time. The president, the secretary of state-designate, and the transition team should resist all attempts by the bureaucracy (there will be many) to make substantive policy decisions or express policy preferences. This will assure good cooperation between the outgoing and the incoming administrations and hold confusion to a minimum.

Under the direction of the secretary of state-designate, the transition team should quickly identify those priority issues, hopefully not more than four or five maximum, on which the president will have to make policy decisions in the first three months. The work of the transition team should concentrate on those areas and prepare options in such forms as the president and the secretary of state-designate may direct.

The transition team should not be loaded down with the task of identifying openings for political appointments. That can be done by the president's personnel-selection mechanism. The president should make this known, so that the team can concentrate on its primary task. However, if it is desired that the transition team exercise this function, a small, separate unit should be created (also under the team leader's authority) for that purpose. That unit could be staffed by congressional aides; such a separate unit would keep them out of the main flow of business.

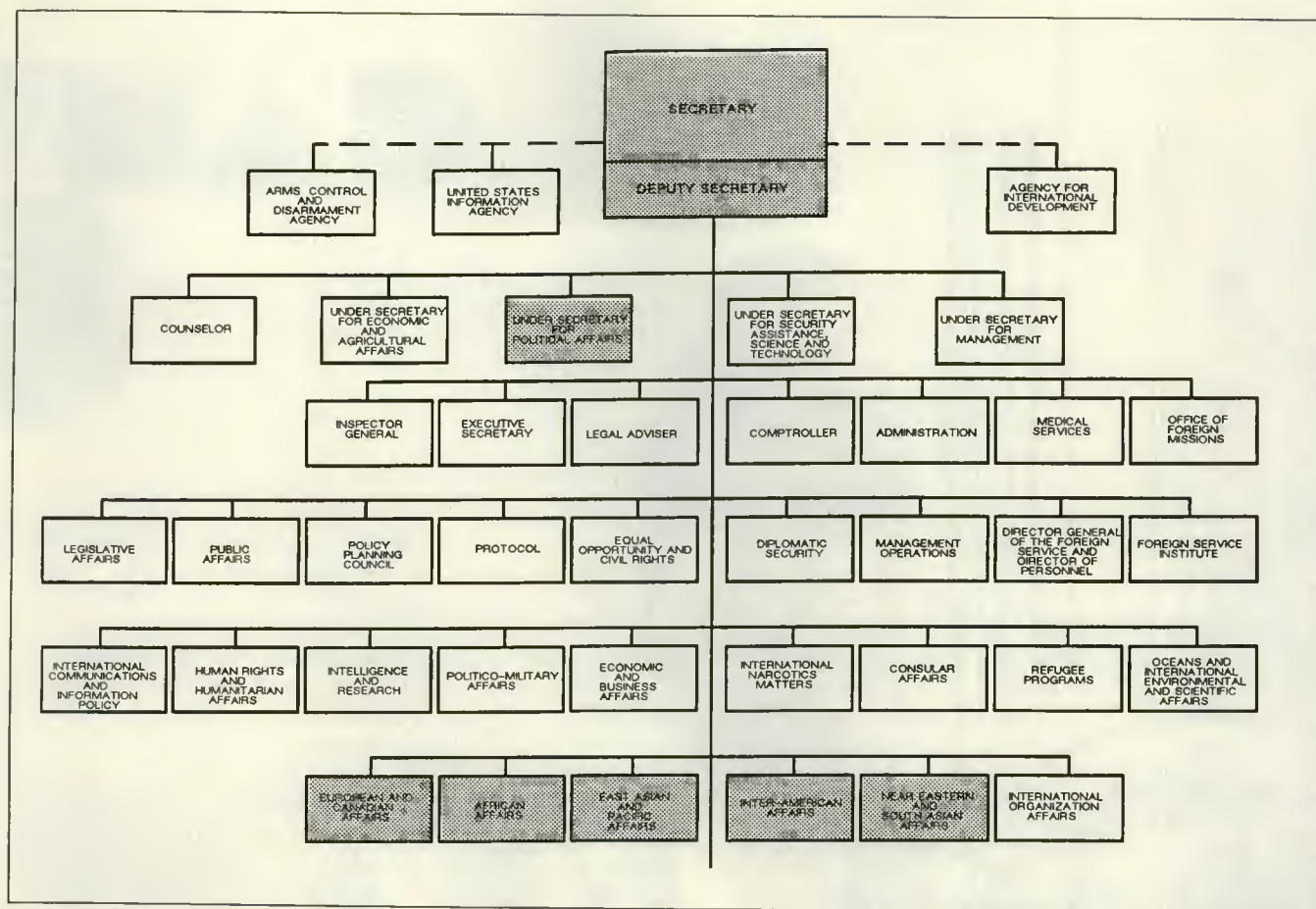
The president will, of course, have his own criteria for the selection of the secretary of state. He should bear in mind that no diplo-

matic initiative will succeed that does not have the support of the American people and, as far as possible, the Congress. To that end, the secretary of state should be capable of frequent and plausible, usually public, explanations to the Congress and the U.S. public of the purposes, aims, and, where appropriate, the strategy of the new administration's foreign policy. He should be prepared to do this on a fairly regular basis, not only when support is needed for a specific action. On occasion, the president himself may wish to present such explanations.

**B**OTH THE deputy secretary of state and the under secretary for political affairs also should be designated as soon as possible. The latter should function as the "traffic cop" of the department. To play this role effectively, the under secretary should be a career Foreign Service officer who knows the department well. Since the deputy secretary will and should be a political appointee, he may be new to the department and would have too much to learn to function effectively as the "traffic cop." But the deputy secretary should be given major areas of responsibility. He should be sufficiently knowledgeable not to have to spend too much time "learning on the job." He should be able to work harmoniously with the secretary and complement him, but not be a carbon copy of him. The secretary's job is very demanding and he needs as much help as possible.

The assistant secretaries, especially those for the main geographical areas, are policy officers. But that does not mean that they should be automatically and always political appointees. To be sure, loyalty to the new administration is essential, but so is competence. Loyalty without competence creates "yes men" who have led past administrations to disaster. Competence without loyalty is obviously dangerous. The president needs both. Experience has shown that a mix of career and non-career persons is best. There have been competent and incompetent assistant secretaries from both the career and the political domain. Selectees will have to keep in mind that, as principal policy officers of the administration, they will bear the administration's stamp, whether career or not. When administrations or basic policies change, they must expect to be removed, but those who are career officers presumably will be given other assignments.

The appointment of the five regional assistant secretaries is crucial to the ability of the new administration to function smoothly in



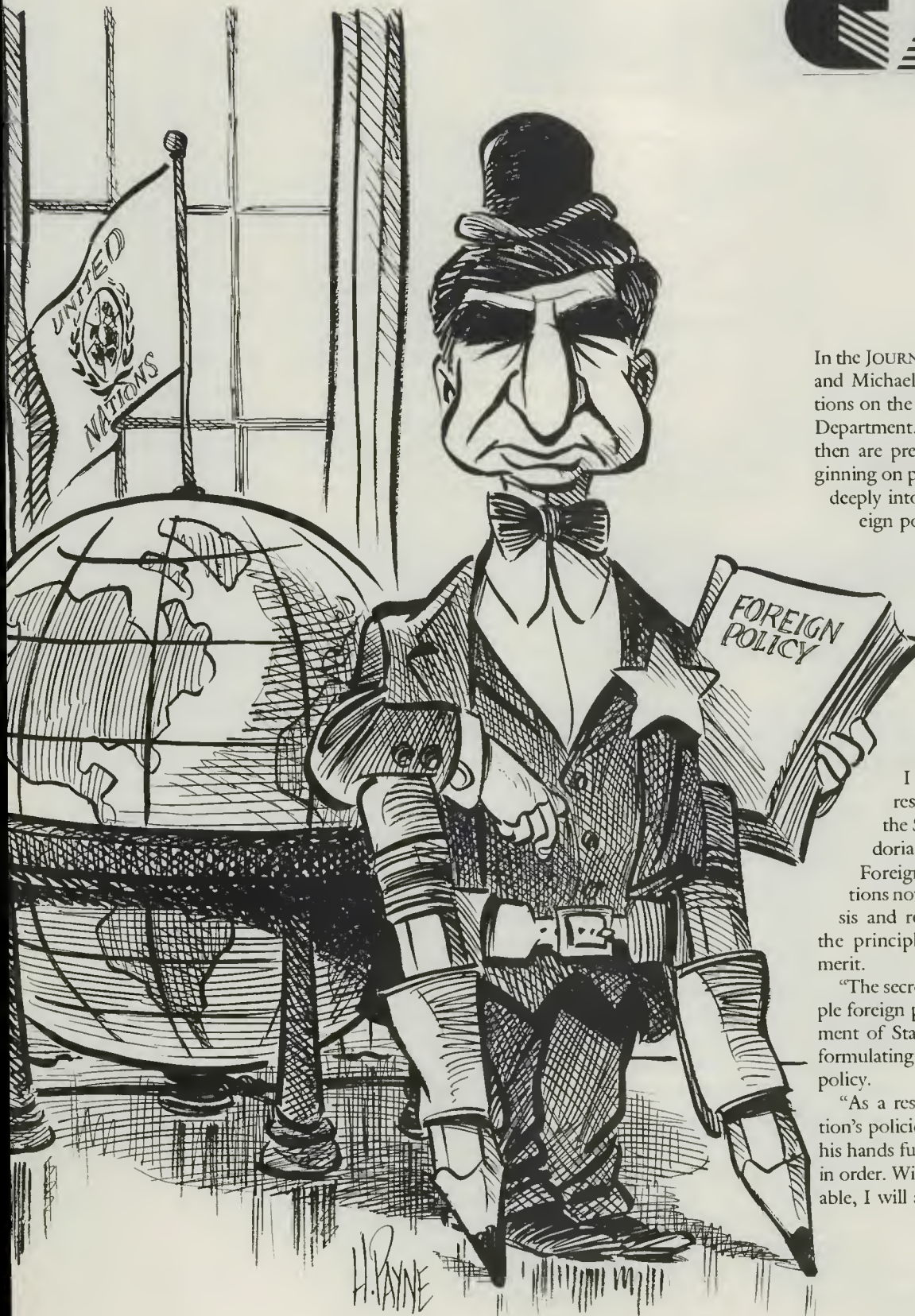
its first days. They should be designated by mid-December to permit a brief overlap with their predecessors. They are the secretary's "A-Team" to implement his policies smoothly. If the bureaus are headed for long periods by acting assistant secretaries or holdovers, there will be noticeable hesitation in the conduct of policy. Having a policy management structure in place is essential to allowing the administration to concentrate on its priority issues. A range of lesser issues will clamor for attention. If the secretary of state cannot delegate these issues to persons of competence whom he trusts and with whom he is comfortable, he will inevitably be drawn deeply into secondary issues. As a result, habits of dealing with the White House and the NSC will get off to a shaky start and concentration on major issues will suffer just when such concentration is most essential.

Some past administrations have decreed that all political appointees of the preceding administration must vacate their desks on January 21. That is unnecessarily demeaning and causes needless confusion. In view of the increasingly lengthy confirmation process, unnecessarily long vacancies in important offices and posts should be avoided.

LAST, BUT FAR from least, I want to discuss the Foreign Service. The professional Foreign Service is not an enemy and is not disloyal. On the contrary, it will be more than anxious to prove its loyalty to the president. However, it does have its own agenda, as do all departments. That agenda is not necessarily the president's and could be highly parochial. Hence, it is important that the president appoint key officials who are sufficiently knowledgeable and experienced to hold their own and listen carefully to expert advice, but who can then chart the government's course as the president's views dictate and as he may have committed himself to the electorate.

Occasionally the bureaucracy—in the State Department and elsewhere—may try to wait the president out. That must not be permitted. The president, his cabinet officers and their immediate subordinates must not only see to it that policy decisions are made promptly, but also follow up on them to make sure that they are speedily and effectively carried out. A hands-off administration does not work, least of all in foreign affairs where crises develop every week. □

The State Department structure is shown in this 1988 chart, with the positions Neumann suggests are key during transition time in grey.



In the JOURNAL last February, George Bush and Michael Dukakis responded to questions on the Foreign Service and the State Department. Excerpts of what they said then are presented on this page, and beginning on pages 32 and 36 we delve more deeply into the candidates views on foreign policy.

**Dukakis:** "I believe that today there are too many political appointees in the Foreign Service. All too often, politically appointed ambassadors have lacked the skills necessary to represent the United States in host countries. As president, I will seek to tap more fully the reservoir of diplomatic talent at the State Department for ambassadorial positions. For placing career Foreign Service officers in such positions not only guarantees quality analysis and representation, it also upholds the principle of advancement based on merit.

"The secretary of state will be my principle foreign policy adviser, and the Department of State will have responsibility for formulating and carrying out that foreign policy.

"As a result of the current administration's policies, the next president will have his hands full trying to get our fiscal house in order. Within the resources that are available, I will support a strong and balanced

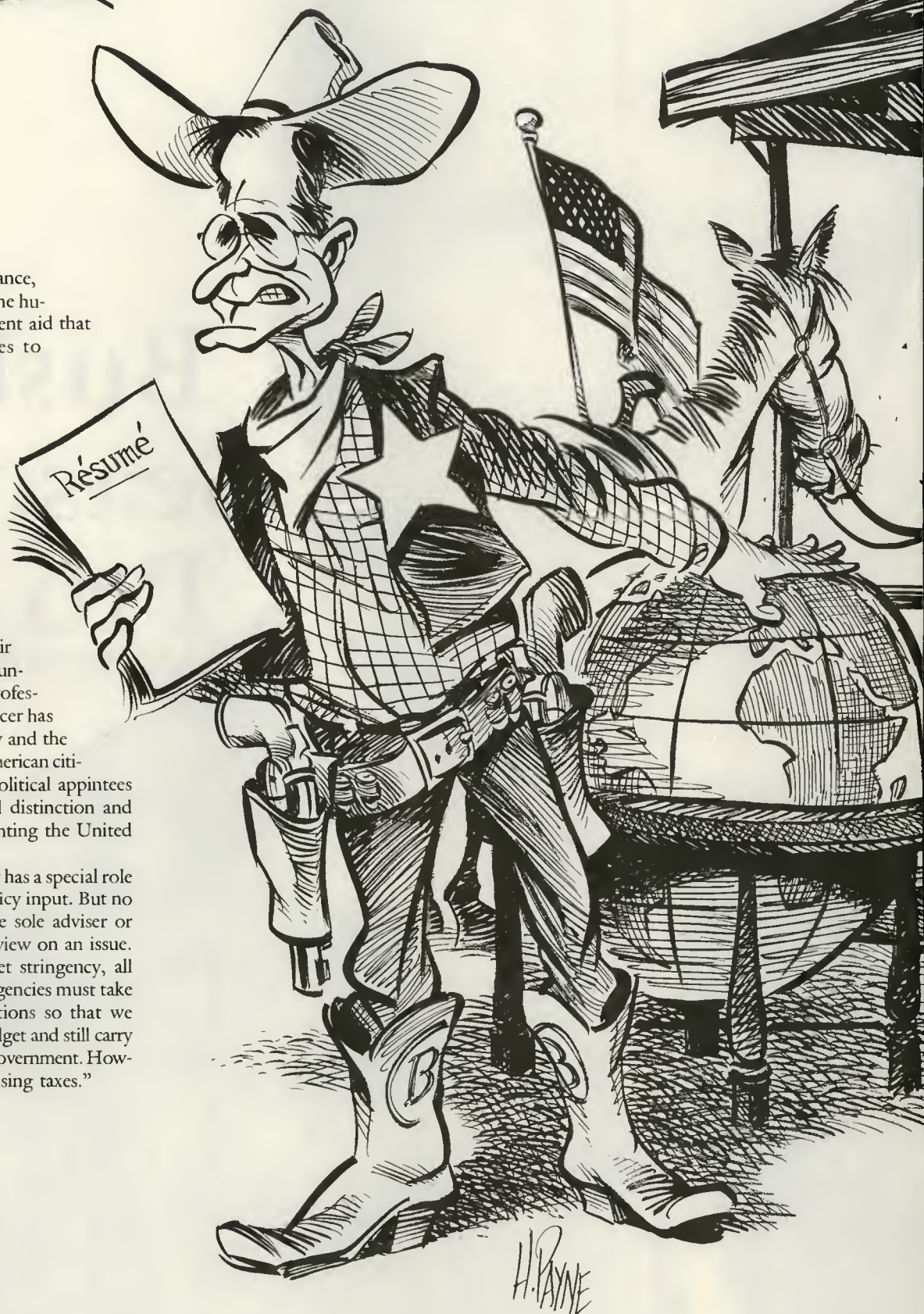


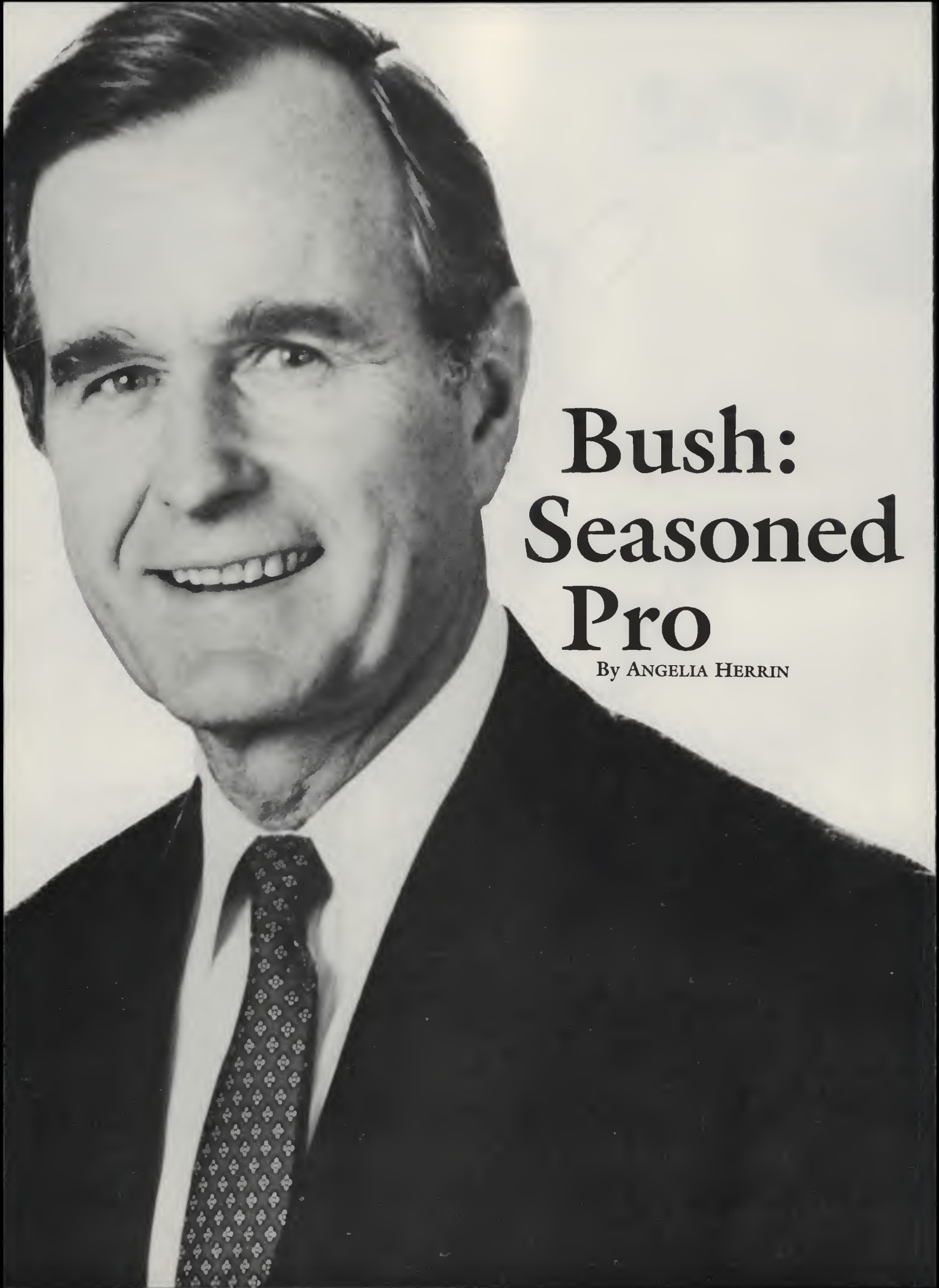
program of foreign assistance, with special emphasis on the humanitarian and development aid that will help other countries to grow and create opportunity for their people."

**Bush:** "The American people can be proud of the men and women who serve their country as members of the Foreign Service. They are chosen for their intellect, their enthusiasm, and their ability to represent this country on foreign soil. The professional Foreign Service officer has been trained in diplomacy and the various special needs of American citizens abroad. I feel that political appointees can serve with honor and distinction and do have a place in representing the United States.

"The State Department has a special role when offering foreign policy input. But no one agency should be the sole adviser or should offer the sole purview on an issue.

"In this time of budget stringency, all of our departments and agencies must take their fair share of reductions so that we can achieve a balanced budget and still carry out the responsibilities of government. However, I am opposed to raising taxes."





# Bush: Seasoned Pro

By ANGELIA HERRIN

**R**ONALD REAGAN delivered a dramatic speech to a group of University of Moscow students during the May summit meeting. Standing under a bust of Lenin, the president praised Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reform efforts and voiced hope for its success. "We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where a man creates his own destiny," Reagan waxed lyrically. But just one month later, the same speechwriter, Josh Gilder, wrote an equally dramatic speech for George Bush, in which he took a more skeptical tone toward the very reforms which Ronald Reagan praised.

On July 29—the day after Gorbachev proposed the most radical restructuring of the Soviet government and the Russian economy in the 70 years since the Bolshevik Revolution—Bush soberly warned Americans not to become too enamored of "the promise of *glasnost*, of *perestroika*."

"Remember the Cold War is not over," Bush told the San Francisco World Affairs Council, "We must be bold enough to seize the opportunity for change, but at the same time be prepared for the protracted conflict."

Laid side by side, Gilder says that the Bush and Reagan speeches offer an instructive road map to Republican foreign policy—particularly the foreign policy approach of George Bush as the 1988 Republican presidential candidate.

"The question people keep asking is, how is George Bush going to be different from Ronald Reagan in foreign policy, when the real question is how is the world going to be different when George Bush is president," says Gilder, who left the White House in May to join the Bush campaign. "That means acknowledging the opportunities made possible by the changes during Reagan's tenure. But while George Bush embraces the hopes, he is telling us we are not beyond skepticism."

If that sounds like a man writing speeches for a candidate eager to sound a little more like the Ronald Reagan of 1976 than the Reagan of 1988, that is just what George Bush had in mind. "Rather than break new ground

and attempt to impress voters as some dazzling, innovative foreign policy wizard, Bush wants to remind voters that he is the seasoned pro who knows better than anyone just how tough it was to get to this point," one aide said. "We don't want to sound a retreat from our achievements, but to be able to take a healthy, skeptical step back and ask ourselves, how did we get where we are today?"

Raymond Garthoff, a Brookings Institution Fellow and author of a study of U.S.-Soviet relations from Nixon to Reagan, agrees with that assessment. "Bush has not really mortgaged his position when it comes to foreign policy," says Garthoff. "So far, this is more about tone and image. It suggests possibilities, 'if and when'—but doesn't go too much farther in the specifics."

Brent Scowcroft, former National Security Advisor to Gerald Ford and now part of Bush's team, cautions that although the rhetoric is toughened, a Bush foreign policy is best understood as part of a Republican continuum, whether on Moscow, El Salvador, or the Persian Gulf. "George Bush is in the mainstream of Republican foreign policy over the last 10 years," Scowcroft recently told reporters. "He has a traditional Republican outlook: not isolationist Republican, but internationalist Republican." Bush enters the general election battle with high hopes that he can showcase his extensive international credentials—former U.N. ambassador, envoy to China and CIA director—and contrast that with the state-government-only record of Michael Dukakis. But crucial to that plan is Bush's efforts to link himself to Ronald Reagan's foreign policy successes—while dodging the blame for troubles, such as the Iran-contra scandal and U.S. dealings with Panamanian strong-man General Manuel Noriega. In a recent interview, Bush somewhat plaintively volunteered he would "take all the blame" for the Iran-contra scandal, if he could get "half the credit for all the good things" in recent foreign policy.

This summer, Bush's campaign experienced a windfall of peace, from a settlement in the Persian Gulf between Iran and Iraq to the continued wind-down in Soviet-backed conflicts in Afghanistan and Angola. Now, in the general-election season, Bush is campaigning to convince voters that it is the Reagan administration's "peace through strength" stand

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*Bush is eager to promote the image that he is a man with foreign policy experience of his own.*

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*Angelia Herrin covers national politics for the Knight-Ridder newspapers. She has been covering vice-presidential candidate Dan Quayle.*

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*The vice president has not been shy about describing himself as an integral part of Reagan's foreign policy success.*

that has been one of the most influential factors in the de-escalation of hostilities, particularly with the Russians. "We provided the Mujahdeen in Afghanistan with weapons and now the Soviet tanks are rolling home. We liberated the tiny island nation of Grenada from Cuban dictatorship," Bush said in August. "We struck back against terrorism, teaching Qaddafi a lesson he'll not soon forget. President Reagan and I set about returning America to its strategic role as peacemaker."

**B**USH HAS MADE clear that his foreign policy would be based on the premise of keeping up a certain pressure. Along with enthusiastically endorsing the development of the Strategic Defense System, Bush has pledged to keep the pressure on by moving ahead with MX and Midgretman missiles. He has pointedly rejected the idea that domestic economic problems in the Soviet Union helped bring about most of the Soviet accommodations that led to the ratification of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty. Instead Bush attributes the negotiation to the deployment of INF in Europe and modernization and buildup of the nation's military forces. "The lesson is clear. Real arms reduction, real improvements in East-West relations, and real security can only be achieved through strength and consistency. To halt the modernization of our strategic deterrent forces is to disarm unilaterally," Bush said in a recent speech.

Along with taking a tougher-than-Reagan rhetorical line on Gorbachev, some observers believe Bush has been outlining an arms control strategy more likely to delay than accelerate the next agreement with the Russians. In a July *Washington Post* interview, he doubted that Reagan could win the U.S.-Soviet agreement for reductions in long-range nuclear missiles, which he has sought in the START talks, before leaving office. If he succeeds Reagan, Bush's negotiations will give great emphasis to reductions of conventional forces in Europe—pushing the slow-moving talks on conventional forces to a position that could block the negotiations on long-range missiles. All of this talk, coupled with speeches in which Bush has sounded his "rollback of communism" theme by calling for free elections and self-determination for all European countries, has been met with much enthusiasm by the GOP right wing. "The SDI speech was extremely important. SDI is the kind of cutting issue that separates Democrats from Republicans," says Senator Gordon Humphrey, New Hamp-

shire's conservative senator.

But that rhetoric is also important in sharpening the contrasts with Michael Dukakis, whom Bush struggles to portray as dovish, isolationist, and inexperienced. "It is not a time for timidity, hesitancy, and on-the-job training," Bush asserts. His aides do not want Dukakis to take advantage of the fact that the truculent anti-Soviet rhetoric coming from the White House has been toned down recently. And it may be to Bush's advantage in November to urge voters to stay in a state of alert against the Soviets. As Bill Pascoe of the Heritage Foundation notes, "To the extent that the American electorate sees the Soviets as a threat, they vote for Republicans."

The vice president has not been shy about promoting himself as an integral part of Reagan's foreign policy success. Earlier this year, for instance, he invoked the memory of his 1983 trip to Europe, when he was charged with reassuring the NATO alliance of U.S. commitment to the two-track policy of negotiations backed by deployment. Bush told his audience that while visiting Krefeld, West Germany, the car in which he and Chancellor Kohl were riding was attacked by demonstrators. "Luckily no one was hurt, but we could not be so certain at the time that the NATO alliance would escape equally intact," Bush said.

His chief foreign policy adviser Dennis Ross predicts that voters might see more of a "hands-on style" in foreign policy from George Bush, in contrast to Ronald Reagan, whom the Tower Commission roundly criticized for his "leisurely management style" in the Iran-contra affair. "In temperament and experience, George Bush is going to want to be much more involved," Ross says, adding that Bush shapes his views in concert and consultation with a wide range of experienced advisers on foreign policy. Ross himself joined the campaign after leaving a position handling Middle East affairs at the National Security Council. He is widely published, with a background that includes experience in Soviet and Middle East affairs at both the State and the Defense Departments.

Ross says Bush regularly consults both Scowcroft and former Senator John Tower in thinking through foreign policy issues. Donald Rumsfeld talks regularly to Bush, and so do Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger. According to recently published reports, Kissinger in the past sometimes cut George Bush out of the foreign policy loop. For instance, in 1971, *The Washington Post* said that U.N. Ambassador Bush learned that Kissinger blocked any direct access to Nixon on for-

eign policy issues. In addition, Bob Woodward writes that Bush was kept in the dark about much of the secret China diplomacy while he was at the United Nations. When Bush became ambassador to China in 1974, he again discovered Kissinger controlled much of the foreign policy. Ross said he could not comment on the stories, nor on charges by conservatives that Kissinger has not been spotlighted in the Bush campaign because many in the right wing oppose him. "George Bush is his own man in foreign policy," said Ross. "The important thing to note in his list of his advisers is that he is not afraid to cast his net widely."

**A**LTHOUGH BUSH'S FOREIGN POLICY may in many ways mirror Reagan's, Bush is eager to promote the image that he is a man with vast foreign policy experience of his own. That image was showcased most recently when Reagan sent the vice president to the United Nations to present the administration's case in response to the shooting down of the Iran Air jetliner. Similarly when asked to describe Bush's "world view," foreign policy adviser Ross quickly said that Bush's thinking is "first shaped by experience. His view is that the United States must be engaged, that there is really no substitute for the United States' leadership and responsibility," says Ross. In recent speeches, Ross noted, Bush has outlined areas where the United States cannot resolve problems on its own: Third World debt, terrorism, drugs, and the proliferation of chemical weapons and missiles. Bush recently warned that Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Libya are working to develop the capacity to acquire and possibly produce missiles. He promised to "revitalize" the efforts of six Western industrial democracies, including the United States, to control such missile technology. Declaring that "I am not new to this field," Bush said, "There are few developments more frightening than that of unstable, sometimes irrational, Third World regimes being able to press a button and deliver weapons of terror across great distances."

But while Bush says that such problems demand a "multinational" response, he is adamant that the United Nations is not the proper forum to work out such agreements. Such a stand might be puzzling from a former U.N. ambassador, but Bush intends to make a campaign issue of his difference with Dukakis on the usefulness of the United Nations. He recently said he would continue to trim U.S. financial support for the U.N. on the grounds

that it has not repealed a resolution equating Zionism with racism. "Dukakis would turn it all over to the U.N. But you don't work through those institutions because they are only going to be effective when there is total agreement inside and out," says Ross. "Unless we take the lead in dealing with other countries on these problems, it will look like an abdication of responsibility by the United States."

In other areas, Ross offered a thumbnail sketch of Bush's policy:

- Latin America. "The Bush view is that we've done very well promoting democracy there. The Sandinistas have broken every promise that they've made. Our approach should be to make them live up to their promises, by applying the pressure (of contra aid) and trying to keep them honest."

- South Africa. "Apartheid is morally repugnant, but we should not try to end it in a way that makes life worse for the blacks in that country. Bush does not support economic sanctions. He believes in keeping the heat up, doing so in a more common effort with our allies."

- Israel. "Bush is committed to Israel's security. The single biggest threat to that security is going to come from ballistic missiles. That is why he pledges American support to help Israel develop an antimissile system. But he has made the point that you can't have it both ways—you can't say that you are committed to Israel's security and then say that you are against defensive systems such as the SDI."

- Israel and the Palestinians. "We must foster an environment for negotiation. You could do that politically and psychologically. But you must have a Palestinian presence you can deal with. Now that doesn't exist."

Bush himself may have best captured his approach to foreign-policy making in a 1987 speech to the American Legion in San Antonio, Texas, where he said politics and foreign policy aren't so different from combat. "One thing I learned in the Navy was the importance of steadiness," he said. "But if you've done the hard work of training, day after undramatic day, you're ready for anything and all of that practice and self-discipline and dedication pays off. There's a place for brilliant concepts and strategies and tactics. But bright ideas can fail if they aren't carried out by people who have clear goals and a steady hand—who know how to persevere and how to stand up under pressure. Steadiness, character and courage—those are the keys to success." □

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*"Real arms reduction, real improvements in East-West relations, and real security can only be achieved through strength and consistency."*



# Dukakis: Pragmatic Approach

By STEPHEN ENGLEBERG

**T**HROUGHOUT HIS POLITICAL career, Michael S. Dukakis has defied attempts to pin him with a label. As governor of Massachusetts, he mixed liberal rhetoric with tough budget decisions, displaying instincts that were, above all, pragmatic. Asked by an interviewer near the end of his first term whether he was part of a new breed of "fiscally conservative liberals," the governor snapped: "That's nonsense, we just don't have the money."

Campaign aides say he is likely to bring the same approach to foreign affairs. "Michael Dukakis is not an ideologue," said Madeleine Albright, a Georgetown University professor who has been serving as a senior adviser on national security. "His approach is that of a pragmatist, a problem solver."

Those who know him say that Dukakis has instinctive distrust of over-arching theories, and many of his foreign policy addresses and remarks have touched on broad themes rather than specifics. This is not to suggest that the Massachusetts governor would, if elected, arrive at the Oval Office without definite ideas on how to reshape the State Department and American foreign policy. Over the past year Dukakis has been steadily developing his positions on the issues and has met regularly with members of Congress as well as academics in Boston and Washington. From those sessions has emerged a world view that is very different from that of Ronald Reagan or George Bush.

Dukakis would oppose any resumption of military aid to the contras in Nicaragua. His aides say his speeches calling for a foreign policy consistent with American values mean that in a Dukakis administration, there would be more pressure on countries like Chile that have poor human-rights records. And the Democratic candidate has gone on record favoring the tougher sanctions against South Africa contained in a House bill opposed by the Reagan administration.

He has argued repeatedly in his speeches for channeling America's power and influence

through multilateral approaches. More than any national politician in recent memory, Dukakis has sought to highlight the potential for a stronger American role in such institutions as the Organization of American States or the United Nations. While the United States has a role to play in this vision, Dukakis has made it clear that he is uncomfortable with some of the unilateral deployments of military power, such as the invasion of Grenada, that have marked the Reagan years.

As for the State Department, Albright says that Dukakis intends to reverse the trend of the Reagan administration toward the use of political appointees for the post of ambassador. In addition, she said that Dukakis would not carry with him the instinctive distrust of Foreign Service officers that characterized some of the senior officials in the Reagan administration. "Dukakis respects professionals, people who have devoted their life to a particular career," said Albright. "The Foreign Service appeals to him and he recognizes a lot has to be done to restore its morale."

A summit between the president and Latin America's leaders is one proposal aides say would get early attention in a Dukakis administration. The economic issues that would likely be the focus of such a forum, such as the debt crisis, form the basis for another broad foreign policy theme. Dukakis is more likely to emphasize the frictions—and possibilities—that arise from the dialogue between North and South, rather than the global competition between East and West, the free world and "evil empire," as viewed by President Reagan. Those who have talked to Dukakis about Soviet affairs, however, say that he is by no means overlooking the importance of U.S.-Soviet relations. Indeed, they say Dukakis sees the next president as having a chance to make epochal, once in a generation, changes in the relations between the two superpowers.

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*Stephen Engleberg covers intelligence for The New York Times.*

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*Over the past year, Dukakis has been steadily developing his positions on the issues.*

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*His case-by-case method to international affairs lies in the experiences that have formed his view of the world.*

**H**IS LACK OF experience in foreign policy has been a frequent focal point of attacks by his opponents—both Bush and his opponents in the Democratic primary campaign. At one point earlier this year, Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri complained that while he knew what the Massachusetts governor opposed in foreign policy, he was having a hard time understanding what he was for. More recently, Bush has charged that a Dukakis election would make the world a more dangerous place.

Dukakis has been quick to respond. "George Bush has never negotiated any treaties," he told *The New York Times*. Aides to the Democratic candidate point out that he speaks French, Spanish, and Greek and has traveled extensively in South America as well as having visited China, Japan, Hong Kong, Israel, Sweden, Greece, and Ireland. Moreover, Albright said that while serving as governor of Massachusetts, Dukakis has had contact with a range of international issues, particularly those involving trade.

Dukakis has also counter-attacked in the face of criticism from Bush. At one recent campaign appearance, he declared that it was his opponent who "doesn't have what it takes to lead this country when it comes to foreign policy." As for Bush's assertion that he lacks experience on international issues, Dukakis has told reporters: "He made the same comment about the Republican candidate for president in 1980 and now he's trying to succeed him. What can I say?"

In Washington, many Republicans deride him as another Jimmy Carter, a state governor with a lot of ideas about management likely to be over-matched by the complex international challenges that will confront the next president. These critics are fond of reminding voters of President Carter's acknowledgement that it was not until the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 that he fully understood the true nature of the United States' Soviet adversaries.

Representative Lee Hamilton (D-IN), one of the Congressional Democrats with whom Dukakis has been discussing foreign affairs, dismisses the comparison. "I just don't see it," said Hamilton. "There's no naivete in him; he's a very pragmatic man." Hamilton said that events will force the next president, Bush or Dukakis, to turn more attention to the North and South equation. He said that Dukakis has also talked with him at length about the implications of the far-reaching changes in the Soviet Union and its approach

to the world. "He sees significant opportunities in that relationship, particularly in the arms control negotiations that will be confronting the next president."

Dukakis has said that the next president will have the best opportunity for arms control reductions of any president in recent years. But he has described the process as a series of incremental steps, stressing the value of verifiable agreements in terms similar to those used by President Reagan.

As described by Hamilton, Dukakis has an inquiring, probing approach to what has been nearly a year of studying issues that had little to do with his current role in Massachusetts government. "He is very curious, and he asks an awful lot of questions, some of which I can't answer," the congressman said.

**G**IVEN THE CIRCUMSTANCE that Dukakis has virtually no previous record on foreign issues, predictions about how his campaign positions would translate into policy are even more uncertain than usual. That suggests that the best chance of forecasting how President Dukakis might apply his case-by-case method to international affairs lies in the experiences that have formed his view of the world.

One of these formative experiences, Dukakis has said, came at age 20 when he spent several months in Lima, Peru as a student at the University of San Marcos. That summer made him fluent in Spanish and it left him with several strong impressions of the region. The year was 1954, and the big news in Latin America at the time was a coup in Guatemala which was supposedly carried out by a home-grown opposition to the country's left-leaning government. In fact, as Dukakis has recounted his impression of the event to interviewers, the rumors of the Central Intelligence Agency's involvement in the coup were so widespread they reached Peru. Years later, it was disclosed that the CIA had managed the operation from start to finish.

It was one of many covert operations by the United States in Latin America, and it left a deep impression. Associates of Dukakis say this incident continues to inform his thinking about the perils of American intervention overseas, particularly when it relies on covert means.

"Our problem has been that we've tended to view, or at least we've had some people who occasionally govern this country who tended to view all regional conflict through an East-West prism, and it's one of the rea-

sons we're failing in Central America," he told *The Los Angeles Times*. "You support Somoza for 40 years, you support Batista in Cuba, you support these people and then you get radical revolutions and you wonder why. It's one of the reasons why we'll continue to fail—if we continue to view these kinds of conflicts as being nothing but a mirror image of the Cold War."

According to adviser Albright, Dukakis is uneasy with the idea of using covert action as a tool in foreign policy. "It's not something that appeals to him as a general approach, doing something covertly that you could not do overtly. But he has talked about the value of covert action in gathering drug intelligence," she said.

The point is not an insignificant one. Over the past eight years, the Reagan administration has poured large amounts of money into the CIA's clandestine service and has substantially increased the number of operations being used to influence events abroad. The agency has also been used to support large-scale paramilitary operations, such as the war waged by the contras in Central America.

**W**ITH DUKAKIS having clearly stated his opposition to the contra program, it would seem doubtful that he would support any aid to the various anti-Communist guerrilla movements in the Third World. But it remains uncertain how much Dukakis would be guided by his distrust of covert action. Would he, for example, shut down the CIA efforts now underway to build pressure against Manuel Noriega, the Panamanian leader? Would he work with opposition groups inside South Africa on a covert basis?

One CIA program that Dukakis has made it clear he would cut off is the roughly \$15 million annual aid to the Angolan rebels led by Jonas Savimbi. In his interview with *The Los Angeles Times*, Dukakis termed that policy "absolutely bizarre" and he said, "We've got a situation where we're supporting this group, whose principal patron is South Africa, which attacks American oil companies defended by the Cuban Army. If we're serious about building the kind of relationship with the front-line states that I think we must, if we're getting tough with South Africa, this policy has got to end."

Dukakis himself says in virtually every interview that the figures who strongly influenced his early intellectual development were Senator Joseph McCarthy and President John

Kennedy. Dukakis was a student at Swarthmore in the mid 1950s and has spoken proudly of his role in recruiting members of the campus American Civil Liberties Union. Dukakis' aversion to ideology, associates say, stems in part from what he believes were the lessons from that period.

**A**NOTHER SET of experiences that have had an effect—and contributed to his unease with unilateral interventions, overt or covert—was Dukakis' reliance as governor on building what he calls "partnerships" between government and industry. He has extended that concept of partnerships to international affairs in his campaign speeches, praising such efforts as the Central America peace plan worked out by all of the countries in the region under the leadership of Costa Rican President Oscar Arias. He has said that the American approach toward South Africa should be worked out in concert with the front-line states in the region.

He was critical of the American reflagging operation of tankers in the Persian Gulf, saying it should have involved a multilateral force. In a letter published in *The New York Times*, he responded to an assertion that he opposed an American military role in the Persian Gulf by writing: "The United States clearly has a role to play—in cooperation with our allies—in maintaining freedom of shipping through the Gulf. Unfortunately, the Kuwaiti reflagging operation contributes nothing to that goal or our other objectives in the region." The letter illustrates an important tension in Dukakis' thinking. While he insists that the United States has a role to play in the world, he is reluctant to back any approach that calls for this country to impose its will.

"There are obviously differences region by region," said Robert Lieber, a professor of government at Georgetown University who has been advising the campaign. Lieber noted that Dukakis has left open the possibility of pursuing unilateral actions in specific circumstances, such as military attacks against terrorist base camps.

When it comes to the Middle East, Dukakis has expressed strong general support for Israel and has urged Arab leaders to make the type of decisions that motivated the late Anwar Sadat to negotiate a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Dukakis has also said he backs moving the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Lieber said, however, that the candidate has not yet taken any public position

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*Dukakis has sought to highlight the potential for a stronger American role in such institutions as the OAS and the U.N.*

on how American policy would deal with the uprising in the West Bank, or King Hussein's decision to end Jordanian support for that area.

**W**HILE DUKAKIS shares the Reagan administration's willingness to countenance the use of force against terrorists, some of his other defense policies have drawn protests from Republicans and conservative Democrats. He favors spending more money on conventional forces while scaling back research for the Strategic Defense Initiative. He opposes plans for production of additional MX missiles and is also against the Midgetman, a missile program supported by many military reformers in Congress.

Making his case for increased emphasis on conventional weapons at an appearance in California, Dukakis said that "we are spending billions and billions of dollars on exotic weapons systems of very questionable value and we are cutting and cutting into the fiber and muscle of our conventional forces. I want to change that." Days later, in a speech at the Fort Dix, New Jersey Army base at which he did his basic training before his two-year stint in Korea, Dukakis said of the Pentagon budget, "We've got to use those dollars that buy weapons that work, and we've got to strengthen our military forces, not line the pockets of dishonest contractors and wheeler-dealer consultants."

Dukakis' support for better conventional weapons, coupled with his proposals on arms control, have worried some military analysts who say his policies could be both costly and potentially destabilizing. On the one hand, Dukakis has made it clear he would like to negotiate a ban on accurate missiles that carry multiple warheads, based on the view that these sorts of weapons increase the temptation to launch a first strike. Thus, Dukakis has said he would delay deployment of the Navy's D-5 missile, an accurate long-range weapon that would carry multiple warheads. On the other hand, Dukakis has also expressed opposition to the Air Force's Midgetman missile, the only accurate single war-head missile now on the drawing board.

It is not clear how Dukakis would proceed with modernization of this country's nuclear arsenal, given his opposition to the D-5, the Midgetman, and further production. In addition, Dukakis support for the strong interpre-

tation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty would make it impossible to unilaterally deploy Star Wars. In interviews, Dukakis has refused to endorse the concept of "no first use" of strategic weapons, an idea put forward by Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Gerard Smith, and George Kennan.

**S**HOULD DUKAKIS WIN, many people will be asking in November and December who he is likely to appoint to the senior national security posts. The campaign has deliberately decided not to put out lists of advisers on particular issues, and only two people, Madeleine Albright and Robert Murray, hold titles with the campaign. He is the senior defense adviser, and she is the senior foreign policy adviser. Among the other people working with and advising the campaign are Graham Allison, Albert Carnesale, and Joseph Nye Jr., all professors at Harvard University.

Associates of Dukakis say he puts a lot of trust in elected officials, and could well name one to the post of secretary of state. Among the names mentioned in that connection have been Representative Hamilton and Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ). But the Dukakis campaign has been more circumspect than was the Mondale camp at the same point four years ago, and so predictions about particular posts are little more than guesswork.

A final and personal caveat about predictions is worth noting. Four years ago, this reporter interviewed many of the same people involved in the Mondale campaign for an article on Walter Mondale's prospective foreign policy. There were many differences, of course, between the Mondale plan and the Reagan formula. The central thrust of what the Democrats were saying in 1984 is that there would be an opening for a new relationship with the Soviet Union. And so it has come to pass, in large measure, that President Reagan implemented the Mondale foreign policy.

All of which suggests that the most powerful force in shaping any candidate's foreign policy is ultimately events far beyond control of the occupant of the Oval Office. When one of the Dukakis advisers listed all of the important issues the administration might have to confront, an interviewer recently said: "You realize that the most important thing is probably one we haven't thought of yet."

"I hope we have the chance to find out," the adviser replied. □

# After Reagan: Please, No New Beginnings

*The next president should not squander  
the present momentum of foreign policy with rash  
promises of "fresh starts"*

SIMON SERFATY

EVERY NEW PRESIDENT comes to office determined to provide the nation with a foreign policy that he can legitimately call his own. Accordingly, every four years, anticipation of change dominates the foreign policy agenda as we and others around the world get ready for the "new beginning" announced by at least one of the presidential candidates.

In 1980, Reagan's promise of a new beginning readily captured the attention (and the votes) of the nation. By evoking the promised land of recovery at home and assertiveness abroad—without any explicit, or explicitly defined, cost—Reagan resurrected images that America had traditionally held of itself. These, remember, were to be the years of renewal: Reagan's convincing mix of immoderate optimism about the country's potential and blunt pessimism about Soviet realities, was aimed at ending a protracted decline that had reached its nadir in Iran.

And it worked, though at a price that included the brutal recession suffered in 1981-82 and the tragedy of Lebanon in 1983-84. During Reagan's first term, his administration restored a dynamic, vibrant, and coherent American model that stood in sharp contrast with the inert, stagnant, and fractured Soviet system. It articulated a doctrine that resumed America's battle on behalf of democracy in the Third World. It provided for an average increase in military spending of eight percent a year after inflation, which, together with the Strategic Defense Initiative, boldly challenged Moscow's ability to compete. It used force decisively and effectively in Grenada, breaking a pattern of apparent American passivity. And it gained the commitment

of Western governments for the deployment of Intermediate Nuclear Forces that eventually prompted Moscow's ill-advised walkout from the 1983 arms-control negotiations in Geneva.

Late in 1984, Reagan's boast, "America is back," was sufficiently credible to earn the president his reward: a landslide victory over his Democratic opponent Walter Mondale. Central to Mondale's criticism of Reagan's foreign policy throughout the campaign had been, of course, the relationship with the Soviet Union: the bellicose rhetoric, the arms-control deadlock, and the overall irrelevance to the settlement of specific conflicts that continued unabated. Early in 1985, therefore, in spite of growing complaints from some of the president's closest supporters, arms-control negotiations were resumed in search of an agreement that Reagan now described as his most important goal for the balance of his presidency. Simultaneously, broad exploratory talks got under way between Washington and Moscow—"to review the bidding," as Secretary Shultz explained—on a wide range of regional and political issues.

The transformation of the Reagan foreign policy after the 1984 elections—from its initial confrontational tone to its new accommodating mode—was all too predictable. Over the years, each president has come into office with a set of assumptions and priorities about the world that were developed in opposition to his predecessor's policies and concepts. But in all cases, these early designs have been progressively muted, ignored, and finally reversed.

During his second term, Reagan was true to form. As his administration grew older, its foreign policy changed—even though the president and his team could arguably claim, as they did, that this evolution was a measure of their success: the previous years of American steadfastness were now forcing Gorbachev's hand.

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*In 1988,  
history is  
smiling again.  
American  
diplomacy is on  
a roll.*

However, following the first Geneva Summit in November 1985, the foreign policy transition was stalled, primarily because of the administration's inability to resolve the many contradictions and divisions that prevailed in its own midst. The moment of opportunity described by Secretary Shultz in early 1985 could not be exploited. The sentence for such sterility might be, it was widely feared, a heavy burden of unsolved problems for the next administration. As Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote, in early October 1986, "an apparently successful foreign policy is likely to bequeath to his successor an ominous global agenda."

For, even in a world that had grown less hostile to American values, the Reagan administration was yielding few specific achievements. Instead, in October 1986, the failed summit at Reykjavik appeared to end any serious prospects for an arms control agreement. A few weeks later, congressional elections left the executive branch exposed to the whims of Congress—over defense spending (now on a downward spiral), and over policies in the Third World. By the end of 1986, new revelations and investigations about the follies of the president's men seemed to signify the premature end of the Reagan presidency.

**T**HE EARLY CLOSE of a popular presidency is hardly without precedent. In the last year of the Eisenhower presidency, the administration also sidestepped many pressing problems and difficult dilemmas, such as the U2 incident and the aborted Summit of May 1960; conflicts in Laos and throughout Southeast Asia; Cuba; and the anti-ballistic missile system (ABM) debate.

As Kennedy came to office, this legacy—geostrategic, regional, political, and economic—added up into a dangerous array of impending crises, many of which matured quickly: from the Bay of Pigs fiasco in April 1961 and the heated summit in Vienna, Austria, in June of that year, to the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962 and the Atlantic disarray shown in Nassau later that year. These crises forced upon the Kennedy administration a foreign policy of confrontation that was in a sense inescapable and for which the previous administration shared the blame.

In 1987, once again on the eve of a new electoral season, it was therefore feared that a similar legacy might await the next president. Yet, the fears that the first six years of the Reagan administration would leave such a legacy did not come to pass after all. In-

stead, in 1988, history is smiling again. American diplomacy is on a roll that extends most pointedly to its two most difficult relationships, those with the Soviet Union and Iran.

In Moscow, after years of embarrassingly weak and corrupt leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev has been displaying publicly an extraordinary disdain for the very system that made him general secretary. The domestic reforms he seeks reflect the disarray of a system whose failures feed the rising attraction of democracy for countries and peoples around the world. The agreements he signs, the troops he withdraws, and the diplomatic normalization he envisions (with China or Israel) hardly reflect any new wisdom, but are instead the ultimate evidence of his predecessors' failures.

Communist governments in Eastern Europe and Asia explore the boundaries of political diversity and the new frontier of free enterprise, even as, in some cases (Cuba and Vietnam especially), they, too, appear ready to withdraw from their foreign adventures (Angola and Cambodia) and seek better relations with the United States.

In Tehran, after years of sowing the seeds of religious fanaticism, an aged Ayatollah publicly recognized Iran's inability to go on with a war that he could no longer win and had already lost. The cease-fire Khomeini sought confirmed the exhaustion of a revolution whose aspirations and terror were said to threaten the region and the rest of the world.

Elsewhere in the Third World—in Afghanistan, in Angola and Namibia, and in Cambodia—cease-fires have occurred as preludes, however fragile they may be, to early negotiations, and receive an encouraging assist from the United Nations.

**H**ISTORY'S FAIR disposition can be felt among our allies too. In the major capitals of the industrial world, voters no longer throw their governments out of office, as used to be the case during the previous decade. Political battles are being waged over issues of competence and management: what may be right about the left readily merges with what is left of the right, as in France, for example. Within such a political context, economic policies are being formulated by accountants: theorists have become a thing of the past. And, with the approval of the electorate, the new great debates are limited to a contest over the most appropriate balance between the temptation of compassion—what is desirable—and the imperative of arithmetics—what is feasible.



Such a cascade of good news in a presidential year is clearly unusual. In previous post-war cases of orderly presidential turnover, the party in the opposition pointed to war (Korea in 1952, and Vietnam in 1968), or to the decline in American prestige (Kennedy in 1960), values (Carter in 1976), and power (Reagan in 1980) to move foreign policy to the forefront of the political debate and stir up public support on its behalf. Now, however, Governor Dukakis chooses to applaud—at least selectively—the “new” Reagan who, understandably enough, prefers to stay away from an embrace that is not compatible with his vice president’s political interests.

**T**HIS ABSENCE of vociferous calls for “new beginnings” is especially notable with regard to East-West relations, where the challenge awaiting the next administration will be to pursue and strengthen the process launched by Reagan. This does not mean that there is no room for improvements, adjustments and the like. But adjustments will not be achieved without a long-overdue consensus within the Executive branch and between the Executive and Congress: this is a task which the outgoing administration has failed to complete, and which the next administration must address with no less urgency than that of negotiating the agreement proper.

But whatever consensus may now exist about the desirability of improved relations

with the Soviet Union will not endure long if the next president does not succeed better than the last two in maintaining a proper balance between rhetoric on the limits of the desirable and actions that acknowledge the limits of the feasible. Thus, East-West relations call for continuity (in seeking accommodation) and prudence (in proceeding with the related agreements).

With regard to West-West relations, the enduring reality of the vital interests that tie together the countries of the West also argues forcefully against any illusory new beginning. Yet, apprehensions raised among our allies over the past 18 months—especially in Western Europe—now call for some adjustments from current policies and attitudes.

To be sure, apprehensions and strains within the Atlantic Alliance are not unusual. But many of the events that caused the present malaise in the alliance are truly unprecedented, including the scope of the issues placed on the negotiating table at the Reykjavik summit in October 1986, the dramatic collapse of the stock market twelve months later, and the circumstances that shaped the negotiation of the INF Treaty last December.

In 1989, the new president ought to waste no time in reasserting the steadfastness of the American commitment to the defense of Europe. In that context, he should be reminded that previous presidents who did best in managing the allies are also those who went to Europe earliest, including Kennedy in 1961 and Nixon in 1969. But he should also set

**At the height of the Grenada crisis in 1983, U.S. Army Rangers assembled at St. George’s airport to watch a military aircraft take off with American students aboard.**

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*This absence of vociferous calls for "new beginnings" is especially notable in East-West relations.*

in motion procedures that might serve notice upon our allies that some changes in the Western Alliance can no longer be postponed indefinitely: we are, after all, well into the fifteenth year of the Year of Europe, and the collegial examination of the changes that Henry Kissinger called for in April 1973 should be made a priority of the new administration.

As to the Third World—where, not surprisingly, can be found the sharpest and most serious differences between the two candidates—especially in Central America and Southern Africa—the next administration's policies can also find room for both continuity and change.

Initially, the Reagan doctrine appeared designed to help anti-communist resistance movements roll back recent Soviet advances in some Third World countries. Yet, for the three main targets associated with the doctrine—Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua—its record over the years appears uneven.

Support to the Afghan rebels began with the Carter administration and the flow of aid was increased under Reagan at the insistence of Congress. Such American assistance harmed the Soviet war effort, of course, and influenced Moscow's decision to withdraw, but it did not cause it. In Angola, support of the rebel forces was weakened by the uncertainty over the consequences that an agreement on Namibia might have on U.S. assistance to Jonas Savimbi. And in Nicaragua, the administration's determination to help the contras against the admittedly oppressive and anti-democratic government in Managua became so obsessive as to lead to actions of deceit that ultimately harmed the cause they sought to promote.

In all of these cases (and others as well, including Cambodia, Mozambique, and Ethiopia), the Reagan doctrine failed to define its objectives: whether it was aiding anti-communist forces, defeating a communist government and/or replacing it with a new democratic government, or even gaining additional leverage for negotiations elsewhere. Accordingly, the doctrine failed to gain the resources required to fulfill those objectives, whether money, force, and/or diplomacy. In the meantime, whatever the concern with the ideological color of the government in Managua, events in Panama, Mexico, and Bolivia have shown that the threats in Latin America are elsewhere; and whatever the reality of our commitment to the rebel forces in Afghanistan and in Angola, the cease-fires in these two countries are showing that our interests were elsewhere.

More generally understood as a commitment to the promotion of democracy world-

wide, the Reagan doctrine has been successful in various areas of the Third World where the "Reagan revolution" stimulated impulses that had already been awakened by Carter's persistent emphasis on human rights. In the Philippines and in South Korea, the administration played a central role in keeping democratic revolutions peaceful. Elsewhere in Asia, free economic systems are thriving. Throughout Latin America, a large majority of countries are now democratic or in clear transition toward democracy. This aspect of the doctrine, as distinct from the single-mindedly anti-communist dimension it occasionally embraced, is worth pursuing, and should also be extended to those regions, such as southern Africa, that have been ignored.

But democracy does not come cheap, and the belief that inmoderate expectations can be met at moderate cost is self-defeating and even immoral. In this case too, the next challenge is perhaps less to foster new or better relations with allies and adversaries abroad than to promote new and better relations with Congress at home.

During fiscal years 1980-85, the foreign affairs account of the federal budget grew at an annual rate of about eight percent. Since that time, it has declined at the rate of about ten percent a year. With much of the aid explicitly earmarked by Congress, funds available for programs favored by the State Department have been squeezed even more.

Foreign aid has never been truly popular, of course, and a consensus on behalf of foreign assistance remains difficult to build. Yet the next administration will have to make its case in Congress and to the American public more effectively than its predecessor did if American values in needy Third World countries are to be promoted while U.S. interests are preserved.

Whatever its legacy at home—including the inescapable burdens of unprecedented deficits—the next administration is now likely to inherit a momentum for peace, resulting, in part at least, from the unprecedented activism shown during the last year of the outgoing administration. This momentum will hopefully not be dissipated by the verbal fancies of the campaign: denouncing the failures and errors of the past may help pave the way for power; rhetoric alone, though, is usually of little operational relevance or utility. Hopefully too, the victorious candidate and his team will not squander this momentum with intellectual fantasies about new beginnings and the like. For in the end, foreign policy is not about new beginnings. □

# Fleet Visit

CONSUL GENERAL Michael Davidson sat in the captain's cabin of the USS Washaw and sipped the weak bilge-water that doubled as Navy coffee. The young commander who'd welcomed him aboard with the proper number of side-boys and the shrilling of bosun's pipes was discussing the luncheon he planned to host for civic officials and prominent local citizens.

Davidson nodded from time to time to show he was listening but his mind was wandering. Why did these Navy officers think their port visits were an automatic treat for all concerned? Didn't they realize their presence was a matter of slight concern to most of the population . . . with the exception of some merchants, the bar owners and the prostitutes? He stole a glance out the open cabin door. The Mediterranean sun had reached its zenith, bathing the harbor with a white hot light. A fishing boat, its engines thumping like a pile driver, slid past with its hallow of squalling gulls. A stubby Greek freighter was dropping its mooring lines on the other side of the *quai*.

"Why can't the mayor come?" the commander was asking.

"Oh, he sends his regrets," Davidson replied. "He's up to his ears in a political campaign," he lied, "but he'll be sending one of his top men."

That too was a lie. He surprised himself. How easily the half truths slid off his lips. The truth was that the prefect, the mayor, the commanding

*A Navy ship in port  
is cause  
for celebration*

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

general and almost all the top officials of the city had decided, long ago, that visits to American naval vessels were a bore; the overeager reception, the language difficulties; the inevitable tour of the ship and the dull food. The fact that the ships were dry was the real clincher. It was hard to explain to these straight-arrow "black shoes" but no local official in his right mind—unless he was having a *crise de foie*—would go through his lunch or dinner without his aperitif and ration of wine. It wasn't that they were all confirmed alcoholics. It was a simple historical-anthropological fact, cultural reality.

Once, during the port visit of the 6th Fleet Flagship, Davidson had managed to corral a cross-section of high officials for the admiral's dinner. They'd been served fruit juice cocktails under an awning on the cruiser's stern. Once seated in the wardroom, they'd been asked to raise their crystal glasses to Franco-American friendship. The invitees had followed the admiral's example, draining their glasses of . . . ice water. If looks could have killed that night, Davidson would have been long

buried.

The same officials eagerly sought invitations to other naval ships, be they Italian, Spanish, German, or Portuguese. They knew that popping corks and generous libations would soon impose a friendly, jocular ambience. Even the British—never forgiven for Mers-El-Kebir—always filled their guests with gin, soaked them in claret and topped them off with port.

Davidson had given up trying to explain. All the American skippers who eased their ships past the breakwater expected the ancient and cynical port city to be in ecstasy over their arrival. Americans still wanted to be loved and there wasn't much he could do about it.

"And we'll be glad to paint an orphanage or a church," the commander was telling him.

"Yes," Davidson said, "One of my staff is working on that."

If I let every ship that came into port re-decorate an orphanage they'd all have collapsed long ago under the weight of successive coats, Davidson thought. Somewhere, he guessed, there must be a Navy public affairs manual about winning hearts and minds with a damn paintbrush! He imagined it all dated from Marshall Plan days when Europe was a mess and paint was difficult to find.

He glanced at his watch. He had to get back to the consulate before 1300 hours. He wanted to check the incoming cable traffic before he went to

lunch with some Socialist labor leaders. He reached into his jacket pocket and laid a sheaf of envelopes on the commander's small metal desk.

"These are invitations to the reception I'm planning for you tomorrow night at the residence. A mix of people: naval, military and civilian officials; a few foreign consuls, our own staff and a scattering of media people. You mentioned nine officers. If you want to bring more . . ."

"No, that's fine, sir," the commander replied, "I'd be honored if you could join me for lunch. We're having stuffed pork today."

"No," Davidson declined, "I have a luncheon appointment. But thanks."

He was piped ashore, pausing at the head of the gangplank to salute the colors with one hand on his heart. Once on the *quai*, he climbed into his black sedan and sighed. His driver had also been aboard. A translucent bag was on the seat next to him. Davidson surmised it was full of cigarettes from the ship's store.

It was a perfect evening for the party. The sun hung low over the sea like a golden ball and a slight breeze tugged at the terrace awning. A bar had been set up on the terrace and a long table was laden with hors d'oeuvres. Davidson's wife had worked long and hard organizing the evening. She'd been to the market early to select vegetables and fruit, had swung by the bakery for fresh, crisp rolls and had loaded the car with two large wicker baskets of selected wines.

They always made an effort to invite some young women to receptions for the Navy. Davidson always grumbled that it constituted a refined form of pimping but he had had to admit that it would hardly be fair to surround the young officers with only women of "a certain age."

The prefect had confirmed his attendance. True to form, the mayor's office had announced he'd be represented by one of his first assistants, a jovial elderly politician with a raspberry nose and an eye for the women. Davidson surveyed the arrangements, found them to his satisfaction and munched on a tiny pizza from one of the trays. He'd had enough contact with the Soviets during his career to



agree wholeheartedly with their practice of drinking only on a full stomach.

The commander and his officers arrived exactly on time, well before the other guests. They disembarked from their grey sedan and van in dress whites. Some of the older officers wore ribbons attesting to Vietnam service. The sole Marine Corps officer in the group had three rows of decorations, including the Purple Heart. Good old burrhead, Davidson thought, remembering his own service in the Corps, he's about as much at home with those black shoes as a doberman in a kennel of poodles.

Beatrice, their Spanish maid, began passing the hors d'oeuvres and her husband Carlos was busy at the bar. The other guests drifted in and were duly introduced to the visitors. The prefect's Citroen skidded into the drive. He made his statutory one-drink appearance, his bored wife at his side, and was off to another reception.

Davidson drifted from the reception area to the terrace. Everything seemed to be going well. Two officers were talking to a young, attractive

female lawyer, hanging on every word of her painfully precise English. His staff was making every one at home. Davidson felt a firm hand on his arm. Dennis Horgan, the DEA special agent in charge, a wide grin on his Irish mug, raised his glass.

"Good party, Mike," he said. "I want to talk a little business later."

"Fine," Davidson said unenthusiastically. Horgan always had some deep, dark secret to pass along. He made sure Davidson was informed of all DEA business down to the most inconsequential wiretap. The consul general appreciated the cooperation but often wished Horgan weren't so diligent.

The mayor's representative arrived, his rum-blossom nose almost glowing in the evening light. He made a great ceremony of kissing Mrs. Davidson's hand. He was then introduced to the commander, a heavy whisky glass was put in his hand and he began a long harangue about his own Navy service in "Indo" during World War II. By now, most of the guests had arrived. The British consul general, a thin, priggish man with an enormous, good-

natured wife, was deep in conversation with his Dutch colleague. The British CG was an Arabist. For some unknown reason, he had been assigned far from the Arab world. To compensate he spent much of his time warning French officials of the potential fifth column formed by the North African emigrants in their country. From the look of bored martyrdom on the Dutch consul general's face, the Brit must have been on his hobby horse again.

It was at this moment that things began to go wrong. Beatrice, negotiating the swinging door to the kitchen with a large tray of hot canapes, misjudged her distance. The door caught the tray, spun it out of her hands and launched it into the air like a slow-moving projectile. The resultant crash and splatter produced a shocked silence. The dress whites of three officers were prime casualties.

Everyone pitched in to clean up the mess and reassure the penitent Beatrice. Davidson's wife caught his eye and raised her eyebrows. He reassured her with a smile. It was a minor incident but it set the stage for what followed. The mayor's representative's voice had increased in volume and he was becoming slightly unsteady on his feet. Davidson became aware of the corpulent Frenchman's condition when he saw him slip his arm around the waist of the vice consul. She was an attractive junior officer with a very serious outlook on life. As Davidson watched, fascinated, the mayor's assistant slipped his hand lower until it rested on the vice consul's bottom. She threw Davidson a desperate glance, an obvious appeal for help.

He stepped forward. "An old friend of yours has arrived," he said, disengaging the vice consul and propelling her across the terrace. The lecherous hand dropped innocently to the Frenchman's side. Still prattling on, he didn't seem to notice what had happened.

"Did you see . . .?" the vice consul began.

"Later," Davidson said reassuringly and reached for his first drink of the evening.

The next incident was a considerable escalation. An officer suddenly passed out. The lieutenant JG fell like

a pole-axed calf. One minute he'd been standing by the bar, the next he'd gone down flat on his face, hitting the tile floor with a thud. His shipmates leapt to his aid, dragging him up into a sitting position. The officer had cut his lip. There was blood on his chin and uniform. He was deathly pale. He looked like a child dressed in his father's uniform. He opened his eyes, focused them on the circle of concerned guests and shouted a four-letter word. Then he was sick.

Davidson, mouthing his own four-letter word, shouted for Carlos to bring towels and joined the commander to crouch over the casualty.

"Sir, I'm sorry about this," he said. "We'll get him out of here."

"No," Davidson replied. "Take him upstairs to the guest room. Let him lie down."

"Yes sir."

The commander detailed three officers to help. They half dragged the limp JG off the terrace. Mrs. Davidson paused by her husband's side. "I don't believe it," she murmured.

"I do," he sighed.

Most of the guests had drifted off the terrace. Davidson noticed the Marine officer leaning on the railing, looking out to sea.

"Sorry about that," the officer said, gesturing with his head toward Carlos who was busy cleaning things up.

"All in a night's work," Davidson said, taking a deep pull at his drink.

"These kids aren't used to booze," the Marine explained. "At sea they OD on milk. It's not good training for the real thing. I think he also had some inoculations today."

"No harm done," Davidson told him. He could see the Marine was older than he'd thought. He indicated the Purple Heart ribbon.

"Where did you get that?" Davidson asked.

"Hue," the Marine told him. They watched the beam of the lighthouse flash on the water.

"Mike," his wife was calling him, "the mayor's assistant is leaving."

The mayor's assistant had found the vice consul again and had backed her into an alcove by the door. Davidson got there just in time. They exchanged pleasantries and Davidson offered to

walk down the steep stairway with his departing guest. The Frenchman would have none of it. Other guests were leaving. Beatrice, recovered from her catastrophe, was busy handing out coats.

A black-clad chauffer appeared at the door, waving his hands frantically. The mayor's assistant had slipped and fallen. He was "wounded." Davidson hurried down the stairs. The injured party was sitting on a low stone wall examining his ankle. It had already ballooned to twice its size.

"It's nothing," he said, "Now I'll have to stay for another drink."

Consul General Davidson looked up when someone tapped on his open door. It was Horgan. He gestured the SAIC to a chair and braced himself for a long conversation.

"That was one hell of a party," Horgan said, shaking his head, "Nobody's going to forget it for a long time."

Davidson smiled but his heart wasn't in it.

"What can I do for you?" he asked.

"I wanted to talk about this last night but things got a little out of hand . . ."

Davidson waited patiently, tapping his pen on a stack of messages.

"The French narcs are going to knock over the Griselli lab tomorrow. Got enough on the old boy to put him away for a long time. I thought you ought to know in advance. You want to come along?"

"Come along?" Davidson asked, surprised.

"We're to be in place at 0500. It would be worth the price of admission to see the look on old Griselli's face."

"No thanks," Davidson replied. "Too early for me."

He got up to usher Horgan out and saw the vice consul waiting. He waved her in, expecting some problem about an imprisoned American or a lost passport. It was neither.

"A message from the 6th Fleet," she told him, reading from a sheet of telex copy. "The flagship's coming in on the seventh. The admiral wants us to set up a dinner party aboard for local VIPs." Davidson slumped into his chair. Somewhere out there, he was sure, there must be a better way to make a living. □

## FSO Turned Publisher: Donald Herdeck Gives Third World Authors a Voice

by STEPHEN DAVIES

When Donald Herdeck heard he was being transferred from Rome to Conakry, his first reaction was, "Where?" It was 1962, and economics officer Herdeck, who had served in Palermo, Naples, and Rome, was hoping for a fourth straight Italian posting, in Trieste. Instead, he received a telegram in January telling him to head to the Guinean capital in West Africa.

"I had never heard of Conakry," he says. He was not alone. His counterpart in the Italian foreign ministry was similarly puzzled. So, Herdeck set out to learn about the country in the few weeks before he left. He scoured the bookstores of Rome for something, anything on Guinea, but came up empty-handed—except for a chapter on Guinea in a book by an American—a chapter Herdeck found snide and patronizing.

And then there was *Mr. Johnson*, a novel that shed some light on Great Britain's colonial past in West Africa. The book by Englishman Joyce Cary, published in 1939, focuses on a young Nigerian, the product of a mission school, who goes to work in an upcountry British colonial office. It had been made into a popular Broadway play in the late 1940s, a fact Herdeck vaguely remembered before reading it. Herdeck recalled, "I found it a clever book, mildly amusing, but it was a brittle kind of thing." After three years of living in Africa, Herdeck picked the cockroach-frayed copy off his shelf and read it again, just before leaving Guinea. This time it left a distinct aftertaste.

"The book became absurd," he says. "It was gross, uniformed, embarrassing. It was a farce." Despite being a "wonderful" novel technically, "when you read it with any kind of half-ordinary experience of being in Africa, it becomes outlandish." Re-reading it was "like scales falling from your eyes."

Before going to Conakry, Herdeck didn't think he harbored any prejudices. But de-

spite his education—a master's degree in American and English literature from the University of Chicago, study in Europe, and two years of Ph.D. work at the University of Pennsylvania—he still held what he says are typical Western views of "the dark continent."

"I had read my Conrad, I had all the stereotypes," he says matter-of-factly. It is those stereotypes he now wants to shatter. In 1973, eight years after resigning from the Foreign Service, Herdeck started his own publishing company, *Three Continents Press*, to give ignored African and Caribbean authors a voice, to "fill gaps, broaden perspectives, dig around to find rare and worthy titles not yet in print or out-of-print, and to offer cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies."

"Someday, I hope, Conrad's *Heart of Dark-*

such a quiet life."

The business seems a natural product of Herdeck's life—his background in literature, and perhaps most important, his time in Africa as a Foreign Service officer. "What I'm doing is a carry-on. I wouldn't even be involved in publishing non-Western literature if I hadn't been in the Foreign Service."

The scope of the press has grown over the years, but its overriding philosophy hasn't changed much. "We do not publish creative literature by whites. If we're doing a novel on Morocco, we're going to do something by a Moroccan. It's kind of a racist thing," he acknowledges, but says that, even if he wanted to publish white authors from, for instance, Africa, he would have a difficult time, because "there aren't many," and many of them—such as South Africa's



Donald Herdeck in the office of *Three Continents Press*.

ness will be read only by historians," he adds. "The 'real' books from Africa and elsewhere from the non-Western world, south of Lisbon and east and west of the Suez, are already there."

Herdeck started *Three Continents Press* while teaching literature at Georgetown University and Howard University. He left Georgetown last year after 22 years. Now he devotes his time to the Press, without which, he says, sitting in his small Connecticut Avenue office, "I would have lived

Nadine Gordimer—are already being published. He admits, however, that it is a sticky subject, and one which has gotten him in more than one difficult argument about publishing and principles.

He has likely violated his own stricture, in any case, by publishing a collection of Argentine women's short stories. "It's the only book where we deal with people—let's put it this way—who are white." He adds that Latin America is a "special case" since its population includes blacks, Amer-

indians, and Europeans. For example, he says that when he was in the Caribbean working on a bibliography of Caribbean writers, "I don't think I found a single author who was totally European or totally African." With such a group, "I was not going to apply an ethnic litmus test."

His philosophy evolved from originally trying to expose writers who are following in the footsteps of such writers as Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka, Africans expressing themselves in their own words just as, politically, their people were forging inde-

pendence from Western colonialism. Struggles with both politics and poverty have produced a literature more real than that of the West, Herdeck believes.

Whether or not one agrees with his views, it is a fact that *Three Continents* has published works obscure in the West, starting with African and Caribbean authors. Among the first books were Zulu writer Jordan Ngubane's *Ushaba: The Hurtle to Blood River*, a contemporary novel about apartheid, and Solomon Mutsaers, whose *Zimbabwe: Prose and Poetry*, contains the

English translation of *Feso*, the first novel written in Zezuru, Zimbabwe's major language, along with English-Zezuru texts of 26 poems.

Today, works from such disparate places or societies as Morocco, Fiji, Papua, Guyana, Ecuador, Argentina, Sierra Leone, Amazulu, India, Syria, Iraq, Nigeria, Tunisia, Iran, Egypt, and Israel appear in *Three Continents'* catalog, many of them published for the first time in English. The list includes translations from Arabic, Farsi, Zezuru, Spanish, French, and Portuguese; 35 titles by or about women writers; works on music and architecture; critical and cross-cultural studies, bibliographies, biographies, and literary histories.

About 40 percent of the publisher's sales are to universities, 40 percent to wholesalers, and the rest to scholars, non-academic institutions, and travelers. "In effect, we have become a resource for non-Western regional studies programs." Yet Herdeck admits there's not much of a market for the books he publishes. "If the big publishing houses could make money doing it, they'd do it. Even if we advertised ten times more than we do, we couldn't sell a lot of books," Herdeck observes. "Ordinary persons, in my humble experience, are really not very interested in non-Western literature, or any literature, for that matter." He notes that after dinner parties he and his wife have given, "We couldn't even get the guests to carry books out the door. But I don't blame them. They're busy people."

Herdeck has sunk a lot of his own money into the operation to keep it going. Nevertheless, it's obvious that the years of publishing haven't cooled his ardor for the work. Perhaps the main reason for his enthusiasm is that without *Three Continents Press*, about 300 authors from around the world might never have had a chance for their names to become known to Americans.

Each year, another 15 to 20 titles roll off the press. "We believe," says Herdeck one last time, "that the world, or at least our American world, needs us—or ought to. The need is there, if not now, then in the near future."

*Stephen Davies is a free-lance writer who grew up in the Foreign Service.*

## Review

### A Tale of Tradition and Change

Driss Chraïbi is an excellent example of the kind of writer being published by *Three Continents Press*. A Moroccan whose chosen language is French, Chraïbi is a product of the cross-cultural, global sensibility that has produced many so-called Third-World writers. His major theme deals with the conflict between traditional societies and post-colonial modernization and its effect on class relations.

In his most recent work, *Flutes of Death*, beautifully translated into English for the Three Continents Press edition by Robin A. Roosevelt, Chraïbi states his theme simply. Two policemen have been sent from the city to a small Berber village in the Atlas Mountains. They are seeking a terrorist who is reported to be hiding there.

The policemen, one called Chief, the other, Inspector, both convinced of their greater sophistication and wisdom, treat the villagers in a contemptuous manner, speaking to them as if they are children and ignoring traditional forms of etiquette and behavior. But when the inspector invokes the "hospitality of Allah," a huge feast is planned, and the village seems to open up and embrace the two men.

During the feast a tale of a villager's arrest and torture by the State is told—torture that is avenged when the villager later stalks and kills a soldier every night. The policemen enjoy the tale, be-

lieving it entertaining fiction. The Chief wrongly interprets it as a moral tale about the rewards of working for the State. However, the next morning the Chief is found dead, and the Inspector leaves the village. He returns in a helicopter, to find the village deserted.

Chraïbi is a partisan writer. His sympathies are clearly with the villagers, who are depicted as simple but subtle and noble. The two policemen, on the other hand, are ugly buffoons, who chatter in bastard French to reassure themselves of their superiority, scorning the villagers because they don't follow American television.

For Chraïbi, post-colonial independence causes a whole class of people to don the manners and appearance of their colonial rulers, including the condescending contempt they feel toward those whom they govern. This is fairly old ground that has been covered by other writers, but Chraïbi's fabulous style, reminiscent of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, adds a mythic resonance, memorable both in meaning and in detail. While not surprising for a Moroccan, the fact that Chraïbi writes his fiction in French is interesting because it does not obscure his close affinity with other North African writers, such as Yusuf Idris, who work in Arabic.

—J. F. Smith

# In Memory

**NANCY ECHOLS CHAPMAN**, wife of retired USIA officer Dabney Chapman, died at home in Shepherdstown, WV, on July 27 after a decade-long bout with cancer.

Born April 29, 1933 at West Point, NY, she was graduated from the American School in Tokyo, where her father was General MacArthur's chief of public information, and from the University of Virginia with a degree in education. She taught school and tutored in the U.S. and Germany, Holland, Afghanistan, and Turkey. A Foreign Service wife from 1956 when her husband joined the Department of State until his retirement from USIA two years ago, Mrs. Chapman was active in community and church affairs in the countries mentioned above and in the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia. From 1981 to 1985 she was employed by the National Association of Secondary School Principals in Reston, VA.

Mrs. Chapman is survived by her husband Dabney, of Shepherdstown. She is also survived by a daughter, Sarah, and son Nathaniel, both of Washington, D.C., and sons William of Omaha, Nebraska and John of Colorado.

**KATHLEEN ETHEL McDONALD**, daughter of Ambassador John W. and Barbara S. McDonald, died in an automobile accident in Lisbon, Portugal, on her way to a business conference. She was 39.

Kathleen, a resident of Maplewood, NJ, was born in 1949 in Frankfurt/Main. After living with her family in Ankara, Turkey and Cairo, Egypt, she was graduated from Smith College in 1971. Upon graduating she engaged in a number of volunteer projects in the New England area, setting up several centers for battered women. This work led her to Baltimore, where she was instrumental in organizing hundreds of workshops at the Reisterstown YWCA dealing with women's issues.

In 1979, she received an MBA from the Wharton School of Business, and subsequently founded the nationwide MBA Women's Alumni Association. In 1979, she joined Exxon Enterprises in New York, where she worked in employee relations. In 1981, she transferred to Exxon Chemical Co., in Linden, NJ, as senior analyst. In 1984, she was named the EEO advisor of Headquarters Group/Exxon. In 1986, she became the coordinator for organization and development for PARAMINS, Business Group of Exxon Chemical, with worldwide responsibilities. In the spring of 1988, she received the Exxon President's Award

for community relations.

In 1983, she founded the Work and Family research council, which is affiliated with the conference board. She was council co-chairperson as well as program director, setting the council's agenda. She participated in many conference board meetings as a representative of Exxon.

At the time of her death Kathleen was manager of organization and development for the performances division of Exxon Chemical Co. She was recognized as a leader and industry expert on human motivation, family and child care issues, and diversity in the work place. She was a frequent lecturer on women's and child care issues, in the Washington area as well as nationwide.

She is survived by a son Sean, father John and Christel McDonald, of Arlington, VA, mother Barbara McDonald and J. Bradford, of Alexandria, VA, sisters Lynn McDonald and Laura Schneider, brother James, stepbrothers John and James Bradford, of Alexandria, VA, her grandmother Ruth Stewart, also of Alexandria, VA, and her fiance, Ken Hammill.

**HELEN W. DELANEY**, a former Foreign Service Officer and wife of retired FSO Peter H. Delaney, died on January 9, 1988 in Oregon. She was 71.

A resident of West Linn, Oregon, born and raised in Portland, she attended Reed College for two years and then was graduated in 1937 from the University of California at Berkeley. In World War II she was in the WAVES and worked as a control tower operator at Floyd Bennett Field on Long Island, NY, and at the Naval Air Station in Honolulu.

She attended Columbia University in New York City from 1947 to 1949, receiving a master's degree in political science. She later worked as an officer in the Department of State's United Nations Affairs Bureau. She also was a desk officer for India in the first postwar Point Four technical assistance program. When her husband retired from the Foreign Service in 1967, the couple moved to West Linn.

Mrs. Delaney is survived by husband Peter; a daughter, Sara D. Harmon of West Linn; three brothers, Charles A. Whittlesey of Portland, David Whittlesey of Tolovana Park, Oregon and James Whittlesey of Ocean-side, Oregon; and a grandson.

**SUSAN LOWE MODI**, a USIA Foreign Service Officer since 1968, died of cancer August 25 in Washington at the age of 46.

A native of Cleveland, Ohio, and a graduate of Goucher College in Maryland, Mrs. Modi served in Seoul from 1969 to 1970, in Bombay from 1970 to 1973, in Rome

from 1976 to 1980. She was assigned as a branch public affairs officer in Genoa, Italy, from 1985 to 1988.

Among her assignments with the USIA in Washington were duties at the Foreign Press Center and as desk officer in the European Area Office. At the time of her death, Mrs. Modi was a program officer in the Academic Exchanges Branch for Europe. She also was the coordinator of the Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Task Force, which is coordinating the 1992 celebrations of the discovery of America.

An AFSA member, she served as a USIA representative of the Association's Committee on Education, responsible for the Scholarship Program.

Mrs. Modi is survived by her husband, Sorab Modi of Washington; her mother, Betty B. Lowe Glueck Beedle of Shaker Heights, Ohio; a brother, James A. Lowe of Cleveland; and a stepbrother, Dr. Michael A. Glueck of Newport Beach, California.

Contributions may be made to the Susan Lowe Modi Memorial Scholarship Fund, c/o AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

**J. FREDERICK HARTLEY**, a retired Foreign Service officer with the USIA died August 28 of cancer at the age of 60 in Bethesda.

A native of Miami, Mr. Hartley received an undergraduate degree from Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, and a master's degree in history from Emory University in Atlanta. Before joining the Foreign Service in 1963, he served in the Army and as both a business editor and an editorial writer with the Atlanta Journal newspaper.

As a Foreign Service officer, Mr. Hartley was posted in Mexico, Costa Rica, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Belgium. In Washington, he worked with Voice of America, the international organizations office of the State Department, and the youth exchange program of the USIA.

A member of St. Alban's Episcopal Church in Washington, he worked on a report about developments in Central America with the Commission on Peace of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington after his retirement in 1986. He also served as a volunteer with Youth for Understanding, an international student exchange program.

Mr. Hartley is survived by his wife, Catherine M. Hartley of Bethesda; two daughters, Marie M. Hartley of Bethesda and Catherine E. Hartley of Cambridge, Massachusetts; and two brothers, Virgil A. Hartley of Atlanta and Wiley D. Hartley of Groveland, California.

# Tributes to Arnie Raphel

*Ambassador Arnold Raphel was killed in August when the plane he was flying in over Bahawalpur, Pakistan, exploded. The following are some thoughts about Ambassador Raphel as expressed by a friend, Leon Wieseltier, and by a Foreign Service colleague, L. Bruce Laingen.*

I DID NOT WORK WITH Arnie, though I knew about the excellence of his work. I was not a colleague, I was a friend — a lucky friend.

I want to describe my friend.

He was fearless.  
He was patient.  
He was gentle.  
He was intelligent.  
He was demanding.  
He was funny.  
(No, he was hilarious.)  
He was young.  
He was wise.  
He was restless.  
He was devoted.  
He was cunning.  
He was tolerant.  
He was mischievous.  
He was proud.  
He was generous.  
He was tireless.  
He was loving.  
He was delicious.

We will riot in our souls, always, at the thought of what happened last week, at the memory of this loss.

We are assembled here because this is true, not because this is just.

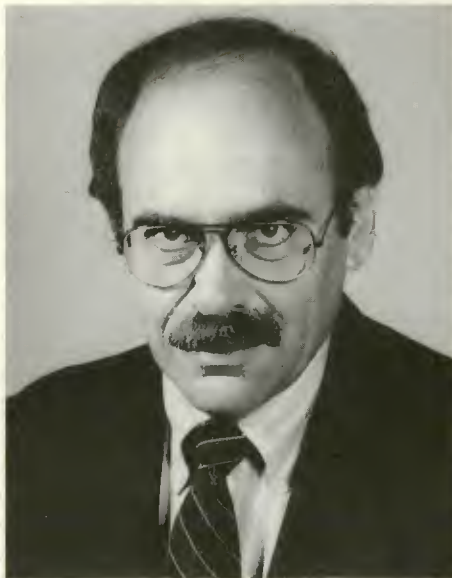
We will accept everything, even as we understand nothing.

For the rest of our lives, when we remember Arnie, we will wait, in the words of a poet, for the absolute to explain.

Dear, sweet Arnie, we needed you. Nancy needed you. Your family needed you. Your friends needed you. Your country needed you.

But we never needed you more than we need you today, because you would have known how to console us.

—Leon Wieseltier  
Arlington National Cemetery  
August 22, 1988



THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, the Foreign Service, all of us are lessened by the loss of Arnie Raphel—in so many ways the ultimate diplomat and public servant. But the 53 of his countrymen and women who were held hostage in Tehran feel a special loss. His work behind the scenes during that long drama, monitoring and helping coordinate the many and ultimately successful efforts to restore us to freedom, never received—certainly not adequately from us—the recognition it deserved. Unassuming, never without an idea, a constant optimist, Arnie was an unsung hero in the best of that tradition in the Service. We salute his memory.

—L. Bruce Laingen  
Executive Director  
National Commission  
on the Public Service

ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETARY Monday morning. The sun shone, and I saw the flag. Many hundreds came. The State Department seemed to have lost its favorite son. The men and women who filled the chapel at Fort Myer were not 'bureaucrats.' They were that thing that almost everybody thinks they are but almost nobody is: a community. They came to say goodbye, and also, in a kind of professional slap in the face of fate, to say, there but for fortune. In the valley of the shadow of death, they would represent their country. Then we followed Arnie to his grave. Americanness and Jewishness mingled sublimely there; the rabbi rent the garments of the crushed family, and the soldiers by the coffin, in the hard, precise choreography of military mourning, folded the flag; the kaddish was said and the guns were fired. But even two traditions could not contain the sorrow. For a long time we will wait, in the words of a poet, for the absolute to explain.

—Leon Wieseltier  
As published in the  
*New Republic*

## Foreign Service Students Awarded AFSA/AAFSW Scholarships

The AFSA Committee on Education has announced the list of Financial Aid Scholarships for academic year 1988/89. Once again the Committee expresses deep appreciation to all those who have supported the scholarship programs with their generous contributions, and in particular the Association of American Foreign Service Women for their contribution from the annual AAFSW Bookfair.

This year three special AAFSW Scholarships are given in honor of Susan Donnelly, Bente Littlewood, and Jesse and Violet McKnight for their special services to the bookfair. The names of the recipients of these 1988-1989 awards, the individual scholarships they have received, and the colleges and universities which they will attend are listed below.

Applications for the two scholarship programs, Merit Awards and Financial Aid grants are available for eligible dependent children of career American Foreign Service personnel by writing to the Scholarship Programs Administrator, AFSA, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037. Merit Awards based on academic excellence are limited to high school students who will be graduating in 1989. The Financial Aid grants are for full-time undergraduate study in the United States and are awarded solely on need. The deadline for receipt of applications for both scholarship programs is February 15, 1989.

The AFSA Committee on Education members include Jack Lydman, chairman; Charles Johnson, AID; Janet Biggs, AAFSW; David T. Jones, State; David W. Smith, State; and William Weinhold, USIA. The scholarship programs co-administrators are Janet Biggs and Joan McGinley.

### Financial Aid Grants 1988-1989

Rebecca Maxine Archer, *Timberlake Scholarship, University of California at Los Angeles*

Allison Jay Aschman, *Arthur B. Emmons Memorial Scholarship, Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania*

Consuelo Barrett, *Vietnam Memorial Scholarship, University of Lowell*

Terrance Michael Barrett, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Curry College*

Joshua Leitch Bonkovsky, *Julius C. Holmes Memorial Scholarship, Harvard University*

Glenn Addison Carpenter, *Robert Woods Bliss Scholarship, Colorado College*

Amy Rebecca Carter, *Anne Schmidt Gatch Memorial Scholarship, Juniata College*

D. Malama Chock, *Selden Chapin Memorial Scholarship, Drexel University*

Edward Alan Cottrill, *David K. E. Bruce Scholarship, Mary Washington College*

James David Crowley, *Timberlake Scholarship, University of Montana*

Jefferson A. Dolan, *Charles B. Hosmer Memorial Scholarship, California State University, Long Beach*

Stephanie Jayne Marie Dolan, *John Campbell White Memorial Scholarship, University of California, Santa Barbara*

James Mark Farrell, *Lowell C. Pinkerton Memorial Scholarship, Keene State College*

Amy Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, *Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Mary Washington College*

Anita L. Flood, *William Benton Scholarship, Providence College*

Pauline R. Flood, *Jefferson Patterson Scholarship, University of Maryland*

Jennifer Lynn Frederick, *Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Dartmouth College*

Miyuki Ken Furtado, *Timberlake Scholarship, The Maryland Institute College of Art*

Christopher German, *Adolph Dubs Memorial Scholarship, University of Maryland*

Elena Gravelle, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Seton Hall University*

Reynold Martin Harbin, *Harry A. Havens Memorial Scholarship, George Mason University*

Ruth Alexandra Hirsch, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Shenandoah College and Conservatory of Music*

Thomas Joseph Hohm, *Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Virginia Polytechnic Institute*

Gregory Joseph Hohm, *Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, University of Dayton*

Bruce Francis Hoof, III, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Portland State University*

Amanda Katherine Jackson, *C. Montagu and Frances M. Pigott Memorial Scholarship, Radford University*

Mark Jefferson, *Marcia Martin Moore Memorial Scholarship, Duke University*

Alexis Jale Johnson, *William Benton Scholarship, Lewis and Clark College*

Robin Tsehai Johnson, *Timberlake Scholarship, Reed College*

Candice Alicia Jones, *Association of American Foreign Service Women honoring Susan Donnelly, James Madison University*

Karen Lynn Kalla, *Landreth M. Harrison Memorial Scholarship, Evergreen State College*

Heidi Joy Kaurin, *Howard Fyfe Memorial Scholarship, Calvin College*

David Brian Kelly, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, University of Colorado*

Terri Lynn Kelly, *Betty Carp Scholarship, University of Maine, Machias*

Joshua Kerr Langen, *Mark G. Mattran Memorial Scholarship, Texas Tech University*

Douglas Edward Lee, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Eastern Washington University*

Elizabeth North Lee, *Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, University of North Carolina*

Sarah Fontaine Lester, *William Benton Scholarship, Vassar College*

Christopher E. Lester, *Robert E. and Florence L. Macaulay Memorial Scholarship, Pratt Institute*

- Carol Jeanne Lincoln, *Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
- Dennis Charles Lincoln, *Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Worcester Polytechnic Institute*
- Pamela Marie Lincoln, *Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Franklin Pierce College*
- Patrick Walter Loomer, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Sarah Lawrence College*
- Karen Lowe, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Asbury College*
- M. Celeste Marin, *Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of Virginia*
- Jonathan P. Marin, *Theodore A. Xanthaky Memorial Scholarship, University of Michigan*
- Tanya McKinnon, *Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Tufts University*
- Dale William McMIndes, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, John Brown University*
- Duncan Raleigh Miller, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, University of Wisconsin*
- Brooks A. Miller, *Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Denison University*
- Stephen P. Naya, *Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Southern California College*
- Nicole A. Neuser, *Association of American Foreign Service Women honoring Bente Littlewood, Salem College, NC*
- Christina Liane O'Donnell, *Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Southern Methodist University*
- Matthew Abram Peters, *Timberlake Scholarship, Seattle University*
- Nicholas Benedict Peters, III, *Charles C. and Jane K. Stelle Memorial Scholarship, Evergreen State College*
- Robert Carl Radicevich, *Timberlake Scholarship, University of Maryland*
- Roger Michael Rhoades, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Auburn University*
- George L. Ritchotte, *Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Franklin and Marshall College*
- John Patrick Ritchotte, *Beirut Memorial Scholarship, University of Pittsburgh*
- Jon Robert Roth, *William Benton Scholarship, California State University, San Bernardino*
- Suzanne M. Russell, *Jacq Bachman Siracusa Scholarship, Old Dominion University*
- Henry P. Sieloff, *Association of American Foreign Service Women honoring Jesse and Violet McKnight, Old Dominion University*
- Vanessa R. Silva, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Mount Saint Mary's College, MD*
- April E. Skinner, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Medical College of Virginia, VCU*
- Jalina Ianka Smith, *Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Columbia University*
- Christopher Taylor, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Rhode Island College*
- Tamara Kaye Thompson, *William Benton Scholarship, University of Oregon*
- Juan Luis Vazquez, *John Foster Dulles Scholarship, University of Southern California*
- Diego R. Vazquez, *Oliver Bishop Harriman Memorial Scholarship, Providence College*
- Tracy Lynn Villinski, *David C. Cuthell Memorial Scholarship, Macalester College*
- Jeffrey Theodore Villinski, *Edward T. Wailes Scholarship, Macalester College*
- Christopher Volciak, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Pennsylvania State University*
- James Webb, *William Benton Scholarship, Kilgore College*
- Daniel Alan Webb, *Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, LeTourneau College*
- Heather Ruth Wilcox, *Association of American Foreign Service Women in memory of Elizabeth K. DeLisi, Ithaca College*
- Nicole Wills, *Clarke W. Slade Memorial Scholarship, Georgia Institute of Technology*
- Michael A. Womack, *Association of American Foreign Service Women, Central Michigan University*
- Curtis Yarvin, *Hope Rogers Bastek Memorial Scholarship, Johns Hopkins University*
- Norman Yarvin, *Ernest V. Siracusa Scholarship, Johns Hopkins University*

1988

## Legislative Action Fund

*Your contribution helps AFSA*

- *maintain strong relations with members of Congress*
- *represent Foreign Service interests on Capitol Hill in ways management does not*

**In this election year, it is especially crucial that AFSA represent your concerns to the new Congress. Please donate generously to this special aspect of AFSA's work on your behalf. Send your contribution to AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Checks must be made payable to the "Legislative Action Fund."**



## Payroll problems increase as State Department issues new directives

Problems regarding State's Office of the Comptroller (M/COMP), such as untimely reimbursement of funds and inaccurate accounting of employee balances, are being brought to AFSA's attention in increasing numbers.

For example, AFSA recently helped an employee recover funds improperly deducted from his paycheck. M/COMP had begun to make payroll deductions for a balance of approximately \$2,000; at the same time, however, the employee was owed approximately \$6,000 by the department. AFSA subsequently got M/COMP to stop these deductions and elicited a promise that he would be reimbursed promptly.

M/COMP states that it is in the process of cleaning up all accounts dating back to 1980; once this is accomplished, the department hopes to resolve future

payments in a timely manner. In the meantime, AFSA continues to troubleshoot for employees, frequently accompanying them to meetings with M/COMP officials.

In a related development, the department has issued a directive stating: "Travelers who fail to adhere to department regulations regarding submission of travel vouchers within 30 days of completion of travel may be found deficient in compliance with their internal control responsibilities. Rating officers, therefore, should take this information into consideration in completing the employees' performance ratings." AFSA does not believe that employees should be held liable in their EERs for the submission of travel vouchers when internal controls in M/COMP remain problematic.

Management has argued that this is

not a negotiable issue. The department has been similarly unresponsive to AFSA complaints on a directive stating that employees with travel advances outstanding for more than 30 days are subject to payroll deductions. AFSA has informed the department that this provision does not adhere to 4 FAM 333.2-5, which allows for salary deductions only after an employee has been notified. The department has since acknowledged that the language of its directive was "incomplete," but has refused to revise the directive to reflect more accurately existing regulations.

AFSA is prepared to take legal steps in opposition to these directives should the department adhere to its current position. We will continue to monitor the travel reimbursement process and will keep members apprised.

## Hollings endorses AFSA plan for USUN housing allowances

As reported in the September *AFSA News*, Foreign Service employees posted at the State Department's United Nations mission (USUN) may soon face a significant hardship resulting from the IRS's recent decision to tax the housing allowance that many of them currently receive. This allowance is crucial, given the extremely high cost of housing in the New York metropolitan area. Taxing this allowance will place a severe financial burden on many USUN employees and intensify the Department's problem in recruiting quality personnel for this essential post.

Causing further concern is legislation proposed by Senator Lawton Chiles (D-FL) which would completely eliminate the USUN housing allowance. AFSA agrees that any mismanagement in implementing the housing program must be corrected. However, elimination of the entire program is an imprudent course of action. We believe that restructuring

of the housing program is a better answer. This idea is supported by Senator Ernest Hollings (D-SC).

In a letter to Deputy Secretary John Whitehead, Senator Hollings expressed his hope that a suitable plan could be worked out between his congressional staff and officials at the State Department for action by Congress when it reconvenes after Labor Day. "Something needs to be done to strike a balance between [the Chiles Amendment] and what we should be doing to maintain a top-flight staff at USUN," he asserted.

As a means of achieving the needed balance, Senator Hollings has forwarded AFSA's plan for restructuring of the housing allowance system to officials at the department. AFSA is enthusiastic about the possibility of a new policy that would prevent abuse of the allowance system while maintaining a strong U.S. presence in the United Nations.

The annual  
meeting of  
AFSA members  
is Tuesday,  
November 15,  
1988,  
12 - 2 p.m.,  
Dean Acheson  
Auditorium,  
Department  
of State

## FS-1 group grievance to be heard by Grievance Board

In late 1987, approximately 43 FS-1 officers filed common individual grievances against the State Department. They alleged, inter alia, that misleading departmental statements concerning promotion opportunities led many FS-1's to elect to compete for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service before the expiration of their time-in-class. AFSA intervened in the case on behalf of all FS-1s. In December 1987, the department denied the grievance, holding that the issues raised were not grievable, and that even if grievable and timely, the issues were without substantive merit.

On appeal the Foreign Service Grievance

Board held that the issues raised are grievable. The department then moved to dismiss the grievance. AFSA and the affected employees opposed the department's motion, and the Board decided in favor of AFSA.

Final briefs will soon be filed in the case. FS-1's subject to involuntary retirement for failure to be promoted by the senior threshold boards may still join the group grievance until October 1988, when the statute of limitations will expire. Anyone who wishes to join the grievance should contact AFSA or Jackson & Campbell, P.C., the FS-1 legal counsel.

## Precepts for Promotion Agreement

An agreement between the Department of State and AFSA on Precepts for Promotion was reached just in time to brief the selection boards meeting this summer. The agreement will be valid for two years with the next negotiations scheduled to be concluded at the beginning of the rating period. This should enable employees and rating officers to shape their work during the year with the precepts in mind.

Some highlights of the changes in the agreement are:

- FS-01 generalist officers who have opened their window will compete for promotion both in a multifunctional competition group and within their cone; they will not have to elect to compete in one or the other. All officers will be reviewed classwide without regard to cone for multifunctional promotion first. Those not reached for promotion will be reviewed functionally.

- There are substantial changes in the language of qualifications members should have for both functional and multifunctional promotions across the threshold. These changes are specified in State 213884 and will be incorporated into the Foreign Affairs Manual. The changes should provide for greater consistency in developing multifunctional experience throughout a career and should encourage all officers to develop managerial and leadership skills. The changes more realistically reflect career patterns of the four cones.

- Administrative officers will not be expected to have successful experience in all sub-functions. The effect of this

change should provide greater opportunity for generalists in the administrative cone, which is frequently in deficit, to gain out-of-cone experience which would make them more competitive for DCM and other managerial positions.

- FS-1 specialists shall be eligible for consideration for LCE's. This change should enable the department to retain needed specialists.

- Qualified senior Foreign Service, FS-01 and FS-02 officers may apply for competition for promotion in a separate generalist occupational category for science and technology officers.

- Secretaries appointed or promoted to class FS-4 prior to July 1, 1987, but who are ineligible for consideration for promotion, may be considered for a meritorious within-grade increase.

AFSA did not accept three major changes proposed by the department: 1) that the number of meritorious step increases be limited to 20 percent of the number promoted, 2) that a criticism of the review panel chairman's failure to note inadmissible comments be placed in the chairman's personnel file 3) that mid level boards refer to the multifunctional board only those files that were not reached for promotion. Comments from members were particularly strong against item two above. AFSA and the Bureau of Personnel will meet to find other ways to limit the number of inadmissible comments. Several AFSA chapters overseas have contributed useful suggestions. Concerning a change in the procedure for consideration of mid-level multifunctional promotion, AFSA re-

## D.C. tax case gains momentum

On August 4, AFSA's General Counsel, Susan Holik, appeared in U.S. District Court to discuss the case schedule for AFSA's lawsuit challenging the elimination of the D.C. income tax exclusion for Foreign Service officers. The judge granted a 60-day discovery period so that the parties may obtain further factual background information.

AFSA has decided to consult with a constitutional law expert at the law firm of Covington & Burling regarding this important case. Because the case only affects Foreign Service officers who reside in the District of Columbia but are domiciled elsewhere, AFSA is seeking contributions from concerned individuals to defray legal expenses incurred. Anyone interested in contributing to this fund should send their contribution to the "Legal Action Fund" at AFSA, and indicate that the contribution is specifically for the D.C. tax case.

Until this case is settled, all Foreign Service officers who reside in the District of Columbia are obligated to pay D.C. income tax for 1988. AFSA suggests that employees request that the Department withhold D.C. taxes from their pay in order to comply with current law. This tax may be withheld each pay period or paid on a quarterly basis. According to the D.C. Department of Finance and Revenue, it may not be paid annually without incurring a substantial penalty.

We encourage individuals who reside in the District of Columbia but are domiciled elsewhere to contact the elected representatives from their home state to seek the repeal of this legislation.

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jected the department's proposal because we believed the proposal would have disadvantaged consular and administrative cone officers.

AFSA withdrew a proposal that would have required language proficiency at a 3, 3 level or the equivalent in hard language for promotion across the threshold because it feared that the requirement would have disadvantaged employees who have already opened their window. AFSA remains committed to the principle that Foreign Service employees must be language qualified and will continue to urge the department to provide opportunities for language training to all employees.

## State Standing Committee



### Use it or Lose it

By Evangeline Monroe, Vice President

In the early 1970s the *Economist*, in commenting on a study of the British Foreign Service, said with characteristic wit that "eating and drinking for their country abroad" appeared to be high on the list of duties of the British Foreign Service.

The same criticism cannot be made of the American Foreign Service. By many accounts Foreign Service officers are using their homes for representational purposes with decreasing frequency. There are several reasons for this trend—inadequate representational allowances, changing life styles, long hours.

If decreasing use of the home for representation signifies a decline in representational activities, then we are permitting a significant diplomatic skill to atrophy. The purpose of representation is not to eat and drink at public expense but to build the personal ties that are necessary to promote a greater understanding of U.S. interests among foreign leaders. Without these personal links the job of gaining support for U.S. policies will be longer, more complicated and in the end result short of the mark. Another reason to invite host-country nationals, other diplomats, and members of the local community to your house

is to gain information. For this purpose a good dinner party can be a far more efficient use of taxpayer funds than expensive intelligence apparatus or networks.

Entertaining can take many forms, and not many of us can or should attempt formal dinners that are best suited to an ambassador's residence. Most of our guests do not live lavishly and those who do will still welcome American hospitality in whatever form. Not all representational activity takes place at home, of course. The business lunch, membership in organizations, attendance at public events all are legitimate representational activities.

Management is reviewing the use of representational housing. Not everyone needs quarters large enough to host large receptions regularly, but representational space should be appropriate to reflect the status of the United States as a major power as well as the place of the home in the American dream. It would be unfortunate if representational housing were to be provided only to ambassadors and their deputies. We should bear in mind that if we are provided representational housing abroad we should use it for that purpose or risk losing it.

### AAFSW BookFair

BOOKFAIR 88, sponsored by the Association of American Foreign Service Women, will open for Family Night, Friday, October 14, at 5:00 p.m. The location is the 23rd Street entrance to the Department of State, upper and lower levels. Entrance will be through C Street. More than 100,000 hard cover and paperback books in over 70 categories will be on sale, as well as close to one million stamps and art work from around the world. The cafeteria will be open and a children's program starts at 5:30 p.m. in Dean Acheson Auditorium. BOOKFAIR is open to the public October 15-17 and 20-22, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.



Ambassador Richard Melton, who was recently expelled from Nicaragua, spoke at an off-the-record AFSA "Professional Issues" lunch at the Foreign Service Club, August 11, 1988, on "Professionalism and Political Pressure: The Nicaraguan Example." He is now a deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.

## AFSA proposes modifications to State Department's guidelines for sale of personal property

AFSA has prepared comments regarding the department's interim regulations on the disposition of personal property by Foreign Service employees abroad. Under our collective bargaining agreement, the department is obligated to consider our recommendations prior to implementing the final version of the regulations. However, the department is not compelled by law to specifically incorporate any of our suggestions or to negotiate this issue because the legislation mandating the regulations is government-wide.

As reported in the April *AFSA News*, this legislation was proposed by Representative Jack Brooks (D-TX) at the request of the State Department. Motivated by the perception that "profiteering" abroad is widespread, the legislation prohibits all individuals under the

jurisdiction of a chief of mission from retaining any profit from the sale of personal property.

Although AFSA believes that this problem has been greatly exaggerated, we are making specific suggestions to make the regulations as fair as possible. These recommendations are based on numerous comments from Foreign Service employees in response to an AFSA cable sent to all posts in June.

Because the political and economic conditions that influence buying and selling decisions vary greatly in different countries, we suggest that specific regulations be negotiated at each post. General regulations cannot possibly anticipate the diverse conditions encountered at each post and should therefore serve only as basic guidelines.

We further recommend that individu-

als be permitted to retain an amount of the sale that is equal to the tax liability incurred by their unrealized capital gain. This would relieve the unreasonable tax burden created by this legislation.

We also believe that the eligibility of non-U.S. charities should be clarified. Many individuals would like to donate their "profits" to local charities within the community to which they are posted. However, donations to many of these organizations do not entitle the individual to a tax deduction under current regulations. If the new legislation is indeed motivated in part by the desire not to adversely affect the local economy, it makes sense to allow Foreign Service personnel the opportunity to aid the local economy through monetary assistance.

As to interest expense, AFSA suggests that it be included in the basis or purchase price of the item. The finance charges associated with a major purchase such as a car add significantly to the final cost. Because this cost is unavoidable for a majority of individuals who cannot afford to pay cash, it should be calculated as a part of the purchase price.

Finally, AFSA recommends that a grandfather clause be incorporated in the regulations to allow individuals a reasonable amount of time to dispose of personal property prior to implementation of the new regulations so they do not incur substantial monetary losses.

An additional recommendation from the field suggests that individuals be permitted to retain proceeds from the sale of personal property that represent fair replacement cost of the item. The differing regulations governing big ticket items like automobiles often necessitate the sale of a relatively new automobile that cannot be used at the individual's next post. Because this additional suggestion was received after the department's deadline for comments, AFSA has written to the Office of Accounting and Financial Management Policy requesting amendment of our comments.

These recommendations reflect the comments and concerns of Foreign Service personnel. AFSA hopes that the department will consider them carefully before drafting the final version of the new regulations.



### New Staffers

AFSA welcomes three new staff members: (upper left) Patty Meier has been appointed assistant editor and advertising manager of the Journal; (upper right) Bruce A. Henock is a member services representative; (left) Adam G. Spiegel is a part-time law clerk.

## Federal Health Benefits Insurance: Storm Clouds Ahead?



By Robert Beers, Congressional Liaison

Two recent developments have raised sobering questions about what the future holds for the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program (FEHBP). The first of these was the enactment by Congress and signing into law by President Reagan of the Catastrophic Health Care Act. The second was the release of a comprehensive study and critique of the FEHBP prepared by a firm of expert consultants under a contract with the Office of Personnel Management (OPM).

First, the Catastrophic Health Care Act. This legislation represents the most significant revision of Medicare since the program's inception in 1965.

Medicare coverage consists of two parts: Medicare "A," which applies to costs related to hospital care; and Medicare "B," which applies to costs related to treatment by physicians and other health care providers. At present, Medicare "A" coverage is available to all social security beneficiaries without charge. Beginning January 1, 1989, however, all persons enrolled under Medicare "A," after an annual one-time co-payment of approximately \$570, will be entitled to an unlimited number of hospital admissions and unlimited days of hospital care each year. This Medicare "A" catastrophic benefit will be financed and paid for (concurrently with their income taxes) by an estimated 40 percent of those Medicare beneficiaries having the highest incomes. Each enrollee's Medicare "A" premium payment will be calculated under a formula related to his/her federal income tax liability, up to a maximum of \$800 per year per person for 1989, increasing to \$1,050 per person in 1993 (or \$2,100 per couple.).

An expansion of other health care benefits, including partial payment for prescription drugs, will be phased in under Medicare "B" during 1989 and 1990. The increased cost for this coverage will be paid by all Medicare "B" enrollees. It may ultimately level off at about \$40 per month by 1993.

Since Medicare eligibility does not

begin until age 65, why would this Catastrophic Care legislation be of any concern to active and retired Foreign Service personnel who have not yet attained this age? The answer: most active and retired Foreign Service personnel are enrolled under the FEHBP and the addition of the catastrophic care provisions to Medicare benefits—at considerable additional cost to many Medicare enrollees—surely will result in basic changes in the FEHBP. Why? Because more than 40 percent of all persons enrolled under FEHBP, government-wide, are annuitants (either retirees or their survivors).

By way of background, the FEHBP program began operation on July 1, 1960. Initially, Blue Cross-Blue Shield and the Aetna Life Insurance Company were authorized, respectively, to establish a government-wide service benefit plan and a government-wide indemnity plan, each offering a high and low option. In addition, a small number of Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO's) and employee organization members-only plans were authorized to participate in the program. Initially only those federal employees who retired subsequent to the July 1, 1960 start-up date were eligible for FEHBP coverage, but in 1961 legislation was enacted to allow employees who retired prior to 1960 with at least 12 years' government service to enroll also.

In the 28 years since its inception, FEHBP has experienced a dramatic increase in the number of its beneficiaries, and in the number and the cost of the plans participating in the program. Today FEHBP covers 3.9 million persons (plus their dependents) each of whom has elected coverage under one of some 460 options, of which 427 are offered by HMO's. Approximately 1.5 million of all FEHBP enrollees are annuitants, of whom it is estimated that almost 80 percent are Medicare-eligible. Before 1983 only those persons eligible for social security benefits were eligible for Medicare, but now all federal employees

who retired subsequent to 1983 will be Medicare-eligible at age 65, irrespective of their social security status. Consequently, we may anticipate a steady increase in the percentage of FEHBP-enrolled annuitants who are also eligible for Medicare coverage.

Beginning in 1989 participation in Medicare (at least in Medicare "A" will be mandatory for all who are eligible. Since most of the new benefits provided under the Catastrophic Care Bill are already available to most FEHBP participants, this means that those who are Medicare-eligible will be obliged to pay an additional premium for coverage they already have. The Catastrophic Care Bill seeks to offset this to some extent by directing that OPM require all FEHBP plans to reduce their premiums to correspond with the reduction in risk resulting from eliminating their own catastrophic coverage provisions. Preliminary reports indicate that the initial reduction may approximate no more than \$4.00 per month, or about \$50 a year. While the reduction in FEHBP premiums is calculated to correspond to the savings resulting from the elimination of the catastrophic care provision, as already pointed out, the amount of an individual's Medicare "A" premium is not related to the estimated additional cost of providing this benefit, but rather to one's ability to pay, i.e., the level of one's income tax liability.

The annual FEHBP open season during which enrollees can switch plans is almost at hand. Obviously there has not been time for the insurance carriers to adjust to the impact of the new level of Medicare benefits, but the Catastrophic Care Bill requires OPM to submit by April 1, 1989 a report to the Congress "regarding changes to [the FEHBP] that may be required to incorporate plans specifically for Medicare-eligible individuals and to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the program."

The incorporation of catastrophic care into the structure of Medicare benefits is not the only problem now confronting FEHBP. Another important problem is referred to as that of "adverse selection." As stated in the OPM-

*If the program is to avoid encountering truly serious problems in the near future, it seems clear that corrective measures, both legislative and administrative, to realign the program are urgently needed.*

sponsored study, over the years "the enrollment pattern of federal annuitants, combined with the multiple choice structure of FEHBP, has undermined the very purpose of group insurance—i.e., the spreading of risk across a group of people." The study points out that high-risk employees—elderly persons (annuitants) and those with chronic health problems—have tended to remain enrolled in a small number of plans providing high benefit levels.

In contrast, younger, healthy employees have been attracted away from the traditional plans to lower-cost plans, including HMO's. The exodus of healthy persons from a plan thus has a spiralling effect: as the proportion of high-risk enrollees under a plan increases, the plan's premiums also increase, thereby driving out more of the healthy participants. The resultant fragmentation and stratification of risk levels that has taken place in recent years has led to the present condition of "adverse selection" within FEHBP. If the program is to avoid encountering truly serious problems in the near future, it seems clear that corrective measures, both legislative and administrative, to realign the program are urgently needed.

In evaluating the principal factors now portending fundamental changes in the federal health insurance field other considerations must be taken into account.

First, neither the Catastrophic Care Bill nor the FEHBP makes any provision for the medical catastrophe which everyone—especially the elderly—fears. This is the devastating cost of long-term home health care or confinement in a nursing home which can amount to upwards of \$25,000 annually, thus threatening bankruptcy to all but the affluent. Legislation to address this problem was recently introduced in the House by Rep. Claude Pepper (D-FL). Hearings were held, and sympathetic views were expressed. Since the Catastrophic Care bill was proceeding through the legislative process at the time however, it was decided to postpone action on Rep. Pepper's proposal until this legislation was enacted and further study could be devoted to how best to devise an affordable program.

In the face of soaring health care costs and escalating health insurance premiums, the word that has assumed key importance is the word "affordable." How much can federal employees and retirees be expected to pay for health care insurance coverage at present benefit levels?

In addition to requiring a report with recommendations from OPM on the FEHBP, the Catastrophic Care legislation establishes a United States Bipartisan Commission on Comprehensive Health Care. This body has six months to submit a report with recommendations to Congress on comprehensive long-term care services for the elderly and disabled, and one year to submit an additional report with recommendations for comprehensive health care services for "all individuals in the United States."

Out of all of these studies and recommendations, it may not be too much to hope that there may finally be a coordinated approach within our government to defining the health needs of our citizens, together with some practical suggestions as to how the cost of meeting these needs might be financed.

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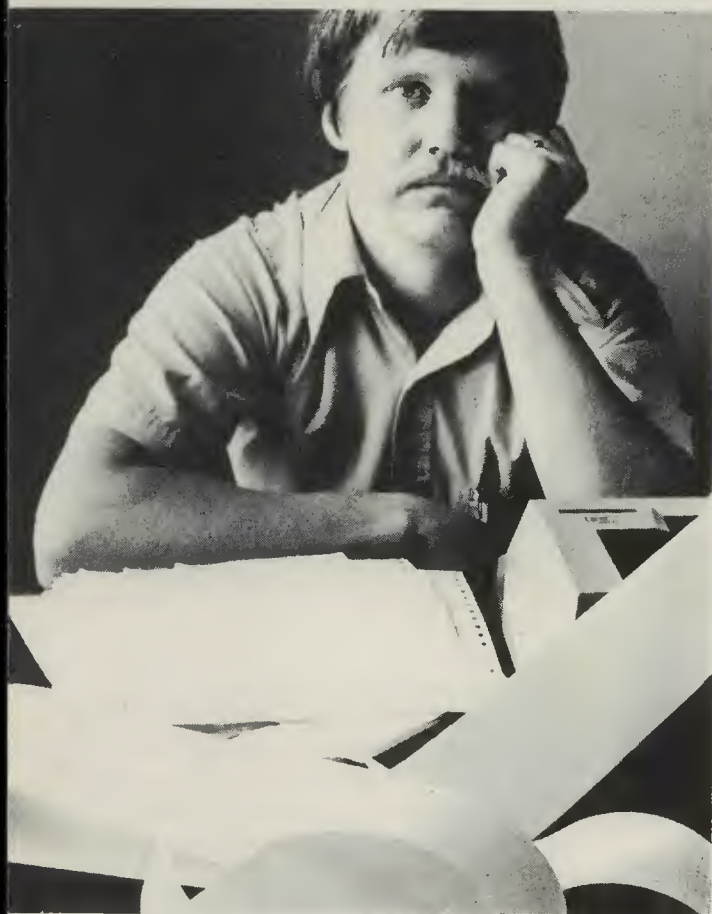
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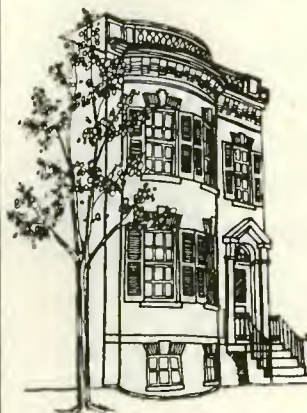
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