

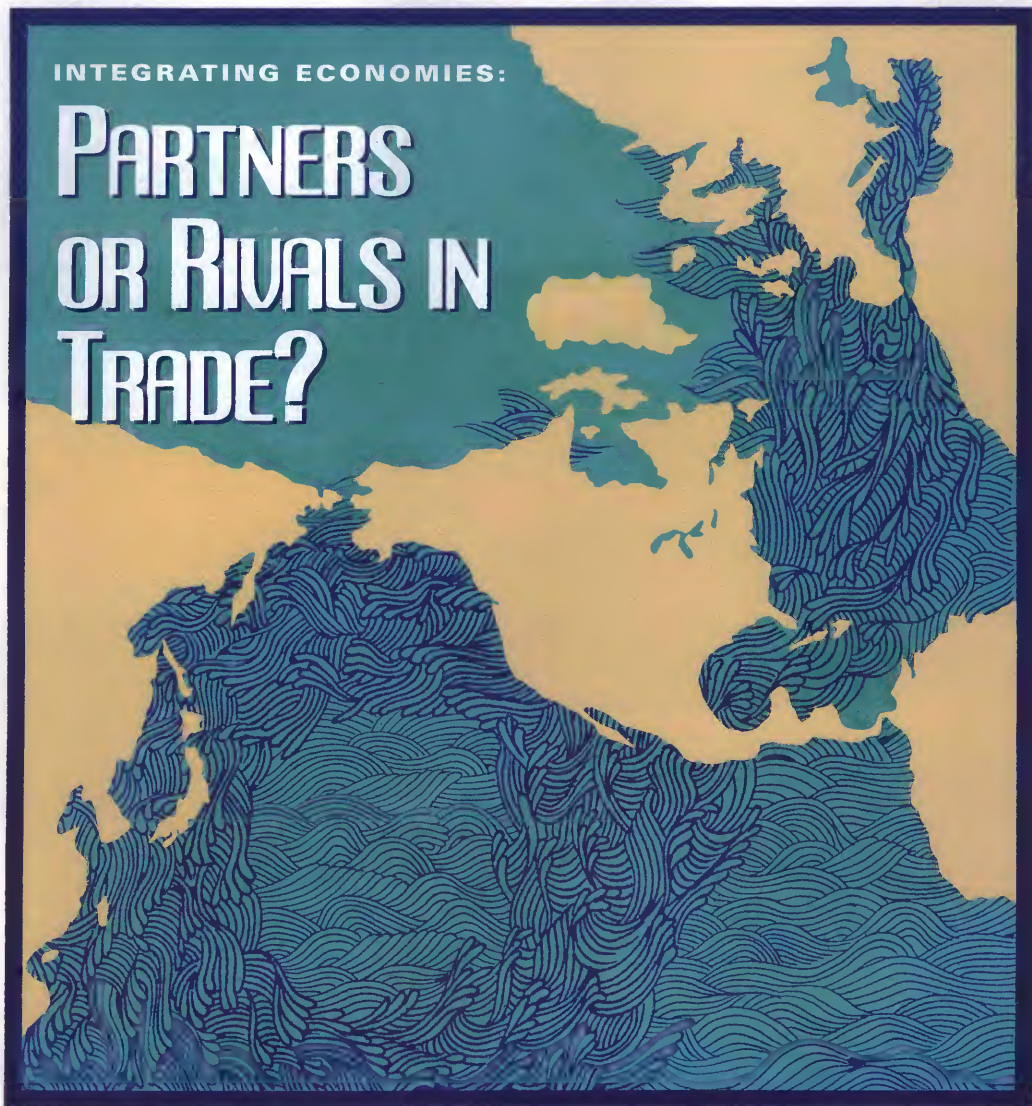
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

JUNE 1991

\$3.50

INTEGRATING ECONOMIES:

PARTNERS OR RIVALS IN TRADE?



■ COLD WARRIORS OF TRADE—Doral Cooper
■ THE U. S. - MEXICO FTA—Susan Kaufman Purcell

■ THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY—Robert Pollard
■ AMERICA INC.—Edward J. Markey



DARE YOU MOVE IT?

They represent the memories of a lifetime. Some very valuable, but all important and precious to you. To move, or store them, you need a company you can TRUST. Years of meeting and exceeding State Department requirements and 48 years refining our skills in packing, moving, and secure storage have given us pride you can trust.

READ FOR YOURSELF . . .
about our *Top Hat Service*
 Hundreds of original letters from satisfied customers available at our office.

INTERSTATE

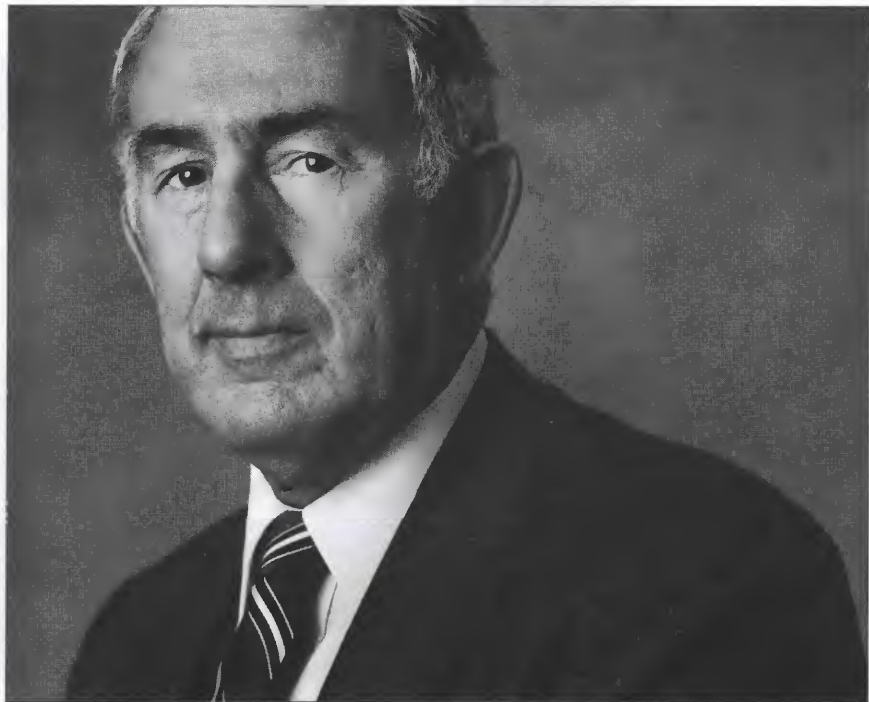
EXCELLENCE IN MOVING & STORAGE



5801 Rolling Road
 Springfield, VA 22152

1-800-336-4533, Ext 233
 or
(703) 569-2121, Ext 233

Your Position in the World Requires the Very Best Coverage...



" Thank you for your excellent service these past four years.
I have always recommended your company to everyone arriving at
post overseas. Your reputable business practices are greatly
appreciated. "

Clements & Company Insures it.



CLEMENTS & COMPANY

Specialists in Insurance for the Foreign Service at Home and Abroad
1730 K Street, NW, Suite 701, Washington, DC 20006

Phone (202) 872-0060

Fax (202) 466-9064

Telex 64514

Cable Clements/Washington

AFSA VIEWS

ON OFFICIAL TRAVEL

How various federal employees travel officially was being scrutinized from a number of different angles this spring. As our national press pored over presidential Chief of Staff John Sununu's use of Air Force Gulfstream jets for mixed missions around the United States, the *Washington Times* zeroed in on a 10-day trip to the Paris air show in June, for which the prospective bill was said to be close to \$1 million. Meanwhile, there was controversy within Foreign Service channels about the requirement that employees use discounted airline fares for all their own official travel. And the Department of State's historian published a most interesting anthology on the *Foreign Travels of the Secretary of State, 1866-1990*.

The White House is examining Mr. Sununu's travel to ensure it meets ethical standards, and there's no reason for us to comment on it, except to note that budget austerity can be effective only if it's observed across the board.

Employee travel: The issue for Foreign Service people is avoiding missteps that can cost them dearly during travel on temporary duty or between assignments. The controversy was fueled by an article in the official State Department *Newsletter* bringing home that when employees deviate from the department's cut-rate contract fare arrangements with specified airlines, the differentials they may have to pay can mount rapidly into thousands of dollars. Furthermore, each individual is responsible for his or her own travel, even if given incorrect advice about the department's often complex tangle of contracts. This stirred a hornet's nest of predictable questions, such as why the department hires travel clerks at all. State's administrative bureau has now sent a conciliatory circular message offering patience and counsel. But the facts are the facts. Personal responsibility for travel is in federal regulations, and no single agency can alter that. AFSA is looking for ways to enhance the flexibility of the "city pair" contract system, but we cannot expect any basic change in the current system for official travel by foreign affairs agency employees.

Travels with the secretary: If all of this leads you to ask yourself, "Is this trip necessary?", the historian's new survey suggests that modern secretaries of state and their entourages might well ask the same question. Assuming that the historian didn't overlook anything, no U.S. secretary of State traveled abroad on official business between 1869 and 1905. Secretaries Root and Knox made 23 official trips in the next eight years, all but one in this hemisphere. Dean Acheson made 22 trips in four years, mostly now to Europe, but the first real quantum leap came with John Foster Dulles, who managed to travel abroad on the average more than once a month over the next six years, with destinations in every corner of the globe. Secretary Kissinger set new records with some 214 countries visited in three and a half years, or nearly five countries per month. George Shultz maintained nearly the same pace over six years, and James Baker appeared to be operating at a pace equal to Kissinger's in his first 20 months, when the historian's study ends.

Far be it from us to suggest that travel by foreign ministers should or even could be rolled back to the practice of the last century. Indeed, there's a great deal to be said for forcing the definition and resolution of key issues by scheduling meetings of ministers. But every once in a while we should count the *costs*—not just in time and money, but in wear and tear on the ministers themselves, and in opportunities foregone for achieving the same results at lower levels and in regular diplomatic channels. If there are savings to be had on official travel, let's make them at every level of the government.

—TED WILKINSON



AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Governing Board

President: THEODORE S. WILKINSON

State Vice President: RICHARD MILTON

AID Vice President: PAULA HRYAN

USA Vice President: VANCE PACE

Retiree Vice President: CHARLES A. SCHMITZ

Secretary: MICHAEL GOTTER

Treasurer: MICHAEL DAVILA

State Representatives: PUNELL DILLY

DAVID T. JONES

THOMAS MILLER

SANDRA ODOIR

HARRY GALLAGHER

AID Representatives: HELENE KAUFMAN

USA Representative: BERNARD HENSGEN

Retired Representatives: JOHN J. HARTER

L. BRUCE LAINGEN

DAVID SCHNEIDER

Staff

Executive Director: SARINE SISK

Business Department

Controller: CATHY FREGUETTE

Executive Assistants: SANDRA DOUGLAS

STACEY M. CUMMINGS

Administrative Assistant: CHANIPA JARMUL

Legal Services

General Counsel: TURNS R. LEWIS

Legal Assistant: MARK W. SMITH

Law Clerk: CHRISTIE E-LOON WOO

Member Services

Director: CHRIS BAZAR

Representative: CATHERINE SCHMITZ

DEBORAH M. LEAHY

Membership Services

Director: JANET L. HEDRICK

Assistant: IRENE LOWY

Professional Issues: RICHARD S. THOMPSON

Congressional Liaison: ROBERT M. BEERS

RICK WEISS

Scholarship Programs: GAIL VOLK

Outreach Program

Director: CHARLES SCHMITZ

Outreach Coordinator: JASON L. FELDMAN

Outreach Assistant: CHRISTOPH DHEIN

The American Foreign Service Association, founded in 1924, is the professional association of the Foreign Service and the official representative of all Foreign Service employees in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development under the terms of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Active or Retired membership in AFSA is open to all current or retired employees of the U.S. foreign affairs agencies. Associate membership is open to persons having an interest in or close association with the Foreign Service. Annual dues: Active Members—\$80-165; Retired Members—\$45-55; Associate Members—\$45. All AFSA members are members of the Foreign Service Club. Please note: AFSA dues and Legislative Action Fund donations may be deductible as an ordinary and necessary business expense for federal income tax purposes. Scholarship and AFSA Fund donations may be deductible as charitable contributions.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Executive offices, membership, professional issues, scholarship programs, insurance programs, JOURNAL offices: (202) 338-4045. Governing Board, standing committees, general counsel, labor-management relations, member services, grievances: (202) 647-8160. • FAX: (202) 338-6820 • Foreign Service Club (202) 338-5730.

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

JUNE 1991

VOL. 68, NO. 6

Editorial Board
Chairman
HOWARD SCHAFFER

RICHARD AHERNE
WILLIAM BEECHER
C. STUART CALLISON
HELEN STROTHER FOUCHÉ
JOE B. JOHNSON
BENJAMIN LOWE
DANIEL NELSON
HANS N. TUCH
THEODORE S. WILKINSON

"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

Editor
ANNE STEVENSON-YANG
Associate Editor:
NANCY A. JOHNSON
Assistant Editor/Advertising Manager
JULIA T. SCHIEKEN
Editorial Assistant:
DEREK TERRELL
Design:
MARKETING & MEDIA SOLUTIONS

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL (ISSN 0015-7279), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990, is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of AFSA or the JOURNAL. Writer queries are

JOURNAL subscription: AFSA Members -\$9.50 included in annual dues; others - \$40. Overseas subscription (except Canada) - \$50 per year. Airmail not available.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present). Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). Advertising inquiries invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: 202/338-6820 • TELEPHONE: 202/338-4045 or 338-4054.

American Foreign Service Association 1991

Cover art

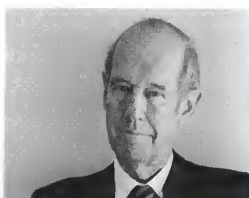
for the Journal

by Washington area artist

G. Quinn



China's Problem 20



Speaking Out 26

FEATURES

- From the Field: Taking Children out of the Mainstream** 15
PAT OLSEN
- China's Problem Exorcising Mao** 20
A. DANE BOWEN JR
- Speaking Out: The Personal Side of Diplomacy** 26
DAVID D. NEWSOM

FOCUS: INTEGRATING ECONOMIES

- Countering the Cold Warriors of Trade** 30
DORAL COOPER
- Buying and Selling the USA: An Interview with Gary Hufbauer** 32
- Partners or Rivals? America and the European Community** 35
ROBERT A. POLLARD
- The Trade Agreement with Mexico** 39
SUSAN KAUFMAN PURCELL
- America Inc.: A Strategy for Telecommunications** 42
EDWARD J. MARKEY

- Diplomats in History: Trade in the Congo** 46
- Books** 48

John D. Stempel on moral choice in foreign policy; Jack H. Shellenberger on Charles Kuralt; Terry Jones on the Japanese business family

DEPARTMENTS

- AFSA Views** 2
- Letters** 4
- Clippings** 8
- 50 Years Ago** 13
- Foreign Service Quiz** 13
- In Memory** 45
- Marketplace** 53
- Real Estate** 56
- Classifieds** 60
- AFSA News** 62



LETTERS

LATIN SOLUTIONS

TO THE EDITOR:

I was very disappointed with, but hardly surprised by, Wayne Smith's article, "A Pragmatic Cuba Policy" in the April issue of the *FSJ*. As he has clearly demonstrated in his recent book and many articles, Smith has been itching to get the U.S. to recognize the aging Caribbean tyrant for almost a decade now. Although he now foresees the possibility that Castro may indeed be on the way out, he cannot seem to abandon the hope, which he has expressed so widely, that we will have to "begin an issue-by-issue negotiating process" with the Havana dictatorship . . . Smith helpfully offers that the issues of human rights and democracy would be "inappropriate" for us to bring up with the Cuban dictator. He never tells us why we shouldn't bring up these important matters, but he does chide the Bush Administration for "moving up the goalposts" by making them a central theme of U.S. policy.

Surely his selection of our diplomacy toward post-Tiananmen Square China and apartheid South Africa, both countries where human rights and democracy are appropriate issues for discussion, as precedents for dialogue with the Castro regime are unfortunate. A much better comparison would be with the recently concluded reestablishment of U.S. diplomatic relations with Albania (a country that Cuba has been resembling more and more throughout the Castro years), which occurred only after Tirana had already announced the first multi-party elections in over 50 years.

Perhaps the real pragmatic policy is to do absolutely nothing and watch from a safe distance as still another bloated and brutal Marxist regime collapses from the weight of its own internal contradictions. We should do nothing that would give comfort or breath-

ing space to this "close enemy."

Alberto M. Fernandez

The writer is a Foreign Service officer with USIA.

TO THE EDITOR:

The thoughtful issue on Central America [*FSJ*, April 1991] shows how far we have come from the lunacy of the 1980s (or was it the 1890s?). By the time this reaches print, there may be a ceasefire in El Salvador, at last bringing an end to the killing by complying with a key provision of the Guatemala Accords of August 1987, which brought peace and democracy to Nicaragua. If so, pressure for ceasefire in Guatemala may become irresistible.

George Gedda's article should provoke reflection about the differences among Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Southern Africa that made it impossible for the "Reagan Doctrine" to fit at all well outside of Afghanistan. But looking ahead is more important, particularly to the tough issue that Cresencio Arcos raised in his article: shrinking Central America's bloated militaries, which drain the economy and threaten democracy. Ideally, the Costa Rican solution—abolish the military in favor of a modest civil guard—is the best. But outside of Panama it seems impractical for now. The region, however, has committed to force reductions, and Nicaragua's President Violeta Chamorro has already made significant cuts. If the solution—major cuts in the military in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras—is obvious, making them jobless is too risky. The military need to be pensioned, given grubstakes, perhaps land in some places. Since our assistance paid for the buildup, it would be just to use military aid to pay for the cuts. But the idea runs athwart our budget realities. What about combining resources in the Inter-American Bank (which receives subscriptions from Europe, Japan, and the United States) with a *debt for military*

scheme, a variant on debt for equity and debt for nature?

Wayne Smith's point that Cuba is not Eastern Europe is well taken. Castro may not fall. But Smith's is the classic prescription of negotiations for negotiations' sake. Like Ahab and Moby Dick, the Cuban-American community and Castro are locked in anger. Florida's electoral vote and Castro's obduracy doom incremental negotiations. Forget about talking with Castro, and act on what Oscar Arias said to me about Nicaragua on the eve of the 1988 ceasefire: "Dictators need enemies. . . . Don't give them an excuse." Why not end Castro's excuse—the economic embargo—and watch Cuba change? Commerce changed Spain under Franco, another personal dictatorship supported by ideological structures that had rotted away under the dictator's feet.

Frank McNeil

The author is former ambassador to Costa Rica.

WAYNE SMITH REPLIES:

Mr. Fernandez is misinformed on the historical facts. The United States extended recognition to the Castro government in January of 1959 and has never withdrawn it. I wouldn't waste an itch on something that has existed for 30 years.

What I *have* called for is a process of negotiating our differences with Cuba. I did not say in the article that we should not bring up human rights and internal liberalization. On the contrary, it is clear that while neither would be an appropriate issue to place on the formal agenda, there would have to be progress in both in order for the process to move ahead. Why not on the agenda? Because no self-respecting government sits down to negotiate its internal affairs with another. And in that sense, the examples I gave are entirely cogent. Our policy of constructive engagement in South Africa, for example, did not

involve U.S. and South African diplomats sitting down to negotiate the end of apartheid. Rather, it was a matter of the United States' making it clear that our relations would prosper if there was progress toward that goal and suffer if there was not. That has been our approach with most countries where such concerns have been present. Why not with Cuba?

And as for Frank McNeil's suggestion, I agree in principle. The embargo is indeed more of an excuse than a hindrance to Castro. That is not the perception in the United States, however, and it is therefore most unlikely that any president would simply lift it and move directly to full normalization with Cuba, even though that is the one thing we could do that would most perplex Castro. I am thus left to recommend incremental negotiations leading to normalization—whatever a small group in Miami may think of that strategy. Such negotiations may be second best, but they are feasible. Unfortunately, the course Ambassador McNeil and I would both prefer is not.

HISTORIAN'S DISSENT

TO THE EDITOR:

... This historian dissents from [Charles] Maechling's statement ("Diplomatic Scandal in Washington," *FSJ*, April 1991) that, "historians agree that if Lord Grey had been able to confer with President Wilson in the critical weeks before the Senate vote [on the League of Nations], when the effects of the stroke had worn off, he might have been able to soften the president's opposition to the reservations without compromise wording." I believe most historians would strongly doubt that Grey could have had such an impact on Wilson's thinking and political posture so late in the day.

*Frank W. Brecher
New York, New York*

CAREERS FOR SPOUSES

TO THE EDITOR:

The American Family Member Associate Program (AFMA), which the department announced recently to overseas posts, is presented as a first step in the department's efforts to "improve

THE VIRGINIAN OFFERS THE LOWEST SHORT AND LONG TERM RATES. GUARANTEED.



Now you can lease hotel convenience and residential comfort with a spacious apartment that costs a fraction of what you'd normally pay for a small hotel room.

The Virginian, overlooking Rosslyn, Virginia, is a short or long term apartment residence with most of the amenities

you'd find at home, as well as some you normally wouldn't: • maid service • outdoor swimming pool and sundeck • men's and women's sauna • fully furnished kitchens • individual heating and air conditioning • assigned outdoor parking • cable television with free HBO • maintenance services • coin-operated laundry facilities on premises • same day laundry and valet service.

Located just a 10 minute walk from the Rosslyn Metro, The Virginian truly puts you close to whatever your needs, business or pleasure.

For information, just call our Sales Department at (703) 522-9600.



*Hotel Convenience
with Residential Comfort.*

1500 Arlington Boulevard, Arlington, Virginia 22209 703-522-9600

LETTERS

opportunities for spouses interested in pursuing more productive and rewarding employment with the service while accompanying an employee on an overseas assignment."

The directive announces the department's decision to create a special program for spouses who want a long-term relationship with the government. It also explains that only persons currently employed by the government may apply for the program, and it gives application procedures.

What is not clear from the directive is the content of the program itself—and what measures will address the needs of spouses who are not currently employed by the department.

Many questions are left unanswered. What, for example, does "associate" mean? Are positions in this program extensions of existing PIT [part-time, intermittent, and temporary] and contract positions? How are the responsibilities/benefits of the new program different from these temporary positions? Are new positions being created within the department as well as overseas?

If the program is designed only for those who already have interim appointments, then the interests of other spouses in the service who might want to work will not be served. Furthermore, those who will benefit presumably will be those willing to accept jobs of less responsibility, in exchange for the privilege of a "continuing" relationship.

Much more is necessary in addressing the vital issue of spouse employment within our service. The changes which have taken place in our society are not yet reflected in our Foreign Service. Well-qualified and willing spouses, many of whom have given years of representational service to the department free of charge, need a comprehensive and well-designed program of lateral entry, providing acceptable alternatives for working within the government both overseas and in Washington. Such a system must be available to those not yet within the department's employ.

Furthermore, training for such a program should be an option under department policy for any spouse who re-

quests it through the personnel or family liaison system. Such a program would be similar to the one recently announced for training for teaching positions. But it would prepare spouses for a greater variety of positions; and also allow for the hiring of spouses for some jobs now performed by host country nationals.

According to the Family Liaison Office in Washington, spouse employment ranks as the number one issue of concern to families serving overseas. Since this is clearly the case, why is the department's response so tentative on this issue? Many families have already made the decision to live separately rather than to endure postings offering no opportunities for spouse career development. The resultant family problems are beginning to be seen worldwide.

A spouse of an FSO or other government official working overseas is buffeted continually between two markedly different and difficult job markets—a highly competitive urban market on the one hand, and a highly specialized or greatly underdeveloped market on the other. The posting abroad frequently calls for full language fluency for employment consideration. The spouse's position in Washington is hampered by the demographics of that market, making it likely that he or she will have to contend with a series of part-time or temporary positions, with their attendant consequences for career development.

The patchwork job history resulting from these changes creates difficulties in each new environment. Even worse is the psychological effect of this pattern of continual trial and retreat. The Foreign Service spouse usually is caught in a spiral of self-devaluation, as he or she is forced to start anew with a job search at every new location, and at return to the home post.

An officer has no such difficulties. He or she exists in a well-ordered job world in which there is a harmony of effort, accomplishment, and support systems—both at home and abroad. The Foreign Service spouse is part of this system only peripherally. The spouse must overcome considerable ingrained predispositions concerning his or her suitability for embassy employment. He or she

must then determine whether there are acceptable options within the system. The few positions offered under the PIT system are usually of short duration. They are frequently offered during the period corresponding to normal vacation travel to accommodate a primary officer, who will return to claim his position.

The tandem couple relationship was created in response to the emergent dual-career family in America. It is now time for a coherent and concrete approach that provides realistic work options for the long term, both overseas and in Washington, for those spouses who are not following the traditional dual-career pattern. Creating such a program will benefit both the department and the families within it. Failure to act on this now will undoubtedly have serious consequences for our government services abroad.

Dorothy P. Tua
Embassy Brasilia

"MISSING" JUSTICE

TO THE EDITOR:

I should like to take this opportunity to tell how the litigation for defamation against the makers of the film "Missing" finally came out and to thank the hundreds of friends in and out of the Foreign Service who contributed [to the litigation fund] and lent moral as well as material support to us. The generosity of [AFSA and AAFSW] and individual contributors was moving and heartwarming. It meant a great deal to all of us who were carrying forward this effort in the conviction that we were acting to defend the integrity of the U.S. Foreign Service and that of the U.S. military services as well as our own integrity.

The central issue... was the question of whether U.S. public officers in Chile [in 1973] might have been so corrupt as to order or to be complicit in the murder of an innocent young American living in Santiago. On that central issue my fellow plaintiffs and I believe that we have been vindicated.

The plaintiffs were Captain Ray E. Davis, USN, head of the U.S. Military Group in Chile; Frederick Purdy, the

YOUR BEST TERM LIFE INSURANCE BUY

**THE FOREIGN
SERVICE
LIFE PLAN**

**flexibility and responsiveness
for today's foreign service**

AERICAN
FOREIGN
SERVICE
PROTECTIVE
ASSOCIATION
1716 N ST, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-2907
(202) 833-4910

Call AFSPA for more information and an enrollment packet!
THIS IS A GOOD WAY TO PROTECT YOUR FAMILY

U.S. consul in Chile; and myself. The judge ruled that we were all three "public figures" and therefore would have to prove actual malice on the part of the filmmakers or "reckless disregard of the truth." . . . The defendants took the position that the film never made any accusation of U.S. official complicity in Charles Horman's death. Those who have seen the film must judge for themselves. . . . The issue was also complicated by the question of whether a "docudrama" should be held to a test of truthfulness. . . . The case was finally settled by a negotiated agreement in which we agreed not to appeal the judge's first-instance rulings on unproven malice and reckless disregard of the truth, in return for which the filmmakers stated publicly and for the record that it was not their intention to suggest complicity of any kind by any of us in Charles Horman's death and that they would regret it if viewers of the film drew any such conclusion from it.

In the more than 17 years since the 1973 Chilean coup, no evidence has come to light implicating U.S. officials in Chile in the death of Charles Horman. . . . I hope that the accession to power of a democratically elected government in Chile may finally open the door to a clarification of the circumstances under which Charles Horman died.

Nathaniel Davis
Claremont, California

Editor's Note: The author, former U.S. ambassador to Chile, wrote this letter to accompany a contribution to AFSA's scholarship program. The donation represented the remainder of an escrow fund established in 1982 to help finance litigation in the "Missing" defamation suit.

QUERY

I am about to embark on a biography of Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker. I'd appreciate receiving any exchange of correspondence relevant to his career and would welcome the opportunity to interview those with interesting personal or professional recollections of him. Amb. Howard Schaffer, 4641 Rockwood Parkway, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016, 202/363-8701. ■



AMBASSADOR WITH A DIFFERENCE

THE WASHINGTON POST, MAY 2, 1991
By DON OBERDORFER

For more than 200 years the ambassador to Great Britain has been a political appointee. . . . Yesterday, for the first time, a career Foreign Service officer, Raymond G.H. Seitz, was sworn in to do the job.

The former ambassador to London, Henry E. Catto . . . said he believes Bush chose Seitz because he knew him, because of his five years' experience as deputy ambassador in London and because of a desire to send a signal to the British that the United States is sending its best, without regard to the previous tradition of naming only political appointees.

Catto said it is untrue that only the very wealthy can afford the entertainment expected of a U.S. ambassador in London. Seitz acknowledged that the paucity of funds for entertainment by diplomats abroad is "a genuine problem." The entertainment allowance for all officers in the London embassy this year is \$159,300.

As assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs since mid-1989, Seitz was an important figure in U.S. diplomacy during the revolutionary change in Eastern and Central Europe. . . . Having helped to shape the new Europe, Seitz, as ambassador to London, will be among those who will deal with the consequences.

Britain, "either reluctantly or enthusiastically" has decided that much of its future lies in Europe and that its earlier rejection of deeper European ties was "probably a strategic mistake," Seitz said. In these conditions, he added, Britain will face the challenge of maintaining a strong alliance with the United States while being "good Europeans," even as Washington seeks to sort out changes in its ties with London and the

European continent.

At the swearing-in ceremony, Seitz said he considered himself "an instrument" of administrative confidence in the Foreign Service and, with the secretary standing by, rebutted the wide-spread view that Baker pays little heed to career officers and operates with a small "inner circle." That charge is untrue, Seitz declared with tongue-in-cheek. "Its more like a trap-ezoid."

WAS THERE AN "OCTOBER SURPRISE"?

THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL 29, 1991

It is such a loathsome act that it takes a large leap of imagination to think that anyone would have deliberately contrived to delay the release of Khomeini's 52 American diplomatic hostages in order to confer political advantage on Ronald Reagan. . . . Not only was the possibility loathsome, but no hard evidence supported it.

All this before the research and analysis of Gary Sick came into the public domain—most notably in a *New York Times* op-ed piece. . . . Mr. Sick examined and in "hundreds of interviews," expanded the still insufficient factual record of this case. . . . William Casey . . . may have masterminded what might be called a delay-for-arms negotiation in which, for arms delivered by Israel, Iran undertook to release the hostages, not on Jimmy Carter's watch but on Ronald Reagan's. In fact, this is the way it turned out.

In politics, many matters are left murky, many loose ends left untied. . . . The matter is so grave, however, that notwithstanding its evident sensitivity and openness to political abuse, it seems wrong to leave it where this latest, incomplete academic review has left off. . . . The monstrous charges have now taken on a damaging enough life to require resolution.

Finally, a luxury sedan as skilled at handling your affairs as you are. Because when we redesigned the new 1992 Crown Victoria, we didn't just make it roomier. We gave it better road manners as well, courtesy of features like speed-sensitive steering, a completely redesigned suspension, and available anti-lock brakes. In short, our engineers have taken full-size driving to new lengths.

Ford NAAO
Export Sales

**WRITE TO: DIPLOMATIC SALES
FORD MOTOR COMPANY
P.O. Box 600
28801 Wixom Rd.
Wixom, MI 48393-0600
Tel: (800) 338-5759
Fax: (313) 344-6397**

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
COUNTRY _____ ZIP _____
PHONE NO. (_____) _____
area code
FAX/TELEX NO. (_____) _____
area code

Ev Taylor, retired Department of State Foreign Service Officer, is now with Money Concepts International. This financial planning organization offers a full range of financial products and services including:

- Mutual Funds*
- Limited Partnerships*
- Stocks and Bonds*
- Variable Annuities*
- Hard Assets
- Life Insurance
- Educational Seminars

We will provide you with a personal, comprehensive financial plan that will match your **investment objectives and risk tolerance level** with specific **recommendations geared toward reaching those goals.**

Special attention given to:

- ✓ Retirement Planning
- ✓ Minimizing Tax Liabilities
- ✓ Portfolio Diversification
- ✓ Balanced Capital Accumulation

* Equity products marketed through International Financial Services Capital Corp., member firm NASD.



Everard S. Taylor

For more information or an appointment:

Contact Ev:
1523 King Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
(703) 684-1277



CLIPPINGS

THE BUS STOPS HERE

THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL 13, 1991

By ROBERT O'HARROW JR.

Even the largest of bureaucracies sometimes listens, as bus-riding employees of the State Department discovered this week.

After complaining that their bus stops had been moved unnecessarily—supposedly for security reasons but after the end of the Persian Gulf War—riders scored a diplomatic coup when the bus stops were returned to the 21st Street complex.

The original move seemed more like a bad joke. It came April Fool's Day, more than a month after the Middle East cease-fire.

... Now riders are surprised and happy that the State Department changed its mind ... "What we're saying is that logic prevailed over bureaucracy ...," said [Oliver] Davidson, who organized the effort to keep the bus stops in place.

Davidson, who rides the bus to and from Chevy Chase, said he believes some high-ranking straphangers may have taken a behind-the-scenes approach to bring pressure. "On my bus there are some very senior people," he said.

AID FOR FOREIGN AID

EDITORIAL, THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL 18, 1991

There's never been excessive support for foreign aid beyond the Capitol Beltway, and what there is of it on Capitol Hill usually comes only with much arm-twisting and foot-dragging. But the case for foreign aid isn't helped much when [A.I.D.] is dogged by General Accounting Office and A.I.D. inspector general reports disclosing serious management weaknesses and a glaring lack of accountability in A.I.D. programs. Questions about A.I.D.'s stewardship of the foreign aid program need prompt answering. A \$6.4 billion budget request hangs in the balance.

The problem is not all A.I.D.'s doing. The administration has made a persuasive case against the congress-

There Is Only One Place To Stay In Washington YOUR PLACE



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



SHORT OR LONG TERM LUXURY
 APARTMENTS, TOWNHOUSES,
 PENTHOUSES

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

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

* Visa and Master Card Honored

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

**REAL ESTATE • SALES • RENTALS
 MANAGEMENT**

(703) 527-4441

sional micromanagement of foreign aid. The imposition of more than 30 objectives and priorities and close to 300 reporting requirements burdens and already overstretched agency. Legislative earmarking has gotten out of hand. . . . Obviously, the Foreign Assistance Act needs an overhaul.

But so does A.I.D. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D.-Vt.), chairman of the foreign operations subcommittee, argues that the quality of A.I.D.'s management is weak, which leaves the program vulnerable to waste and fraud. A.I.D. has not placed an adequate premium on making good ideas work well. Until recently, management and program evaluation have been largely afterthoughts. Last fall, Congress . . . addressed these shortcomings by creating an independent Commission on Management of A.I.D. . . . In six months, it must issue a report with recommendations to Congress and the president. Now the White House needs to expedite the appointments. If foreign aid is to advance U.S. interests in the world, the program must first undergo a reformation here at home.

VOA: SOUND OF MISERY

FAIRFAX JOURNAL, APRIL 29, 1991

BY BARBARA REYNOLDS

To 127 million people around the world, the Voice of America in 42 foreign languages is the sound of Americana: democracy, freedom, justice, pluralism at work.

But "the only thing democratic about VOA is that they discriminate against everybody equally: women, blacks, foreigners, and union workers," says Gary A. Marco, a VOA radio technician and head of a National Federation of Federal Employees local. "Unequal treatment of foreign employees creates anti-American feelings," says Verla Wiley, an international broadcaster who is asking Congress for help.

Wiley says the most pressing complaints, some of which are detailed in a damning 1989 GAO report, include overall disrespect for African-Americans. In the African Division, five of the six broadcast service supervisors are white. . . . Many examples exist of women doing the same or superior work as men while earning less. Em-

ploees who complain of unfair working conditions are pushed out.

Johnnie Lindahl, VOA's acting director of personnel, says all the problems are being addressed and the VOA is working on several projects to increase the hiring and promotion of women and minorities.

BITTER AFTERTASTE

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, APRIL 15, 1991

BY IRVING KRISTOL

Why can't the White House and the State Department make their case against intervening militarily to help the Kurds? The reason is the case would have to be made in the rhetoric of national interests—our allies and our own—and in a spirit of political realism, whereas the American political tradition in foreign policy has become suffused with an abstract moralism and a high sentimentalism.

In practice, American foreign policy is usually more subtle and realistic than our political leaders would have us believe. They don't actually believe that it is immoral to accept the (often cruel) choices imposed by reality. We don't always resist aggression, or fight oppression, or act to protect human rights, or recognize a right to self-determination. Everything depends on circumstances. Sometimes we do and sometimes we don't and sometimes we limit ourselves to symbolic gestures or humanitarian aid. The world being the messy place that it is, this is as inevitable as it is sensible. The sharp dichotomy between the moral and the realistic is, in practice, a false one. Prudence always has been, and always will be, the mark of authentic statesmanship in foreign policy.

TERRORIST INCIDENTS DOWN

THE WASHINGTON POST, MAY 1, 1991

BY GEORGE LARDNER JR.

International terrorist incidents dropped by almost 15 percent last year despite the loud threats stemming from Iraq's renewed association with terrorist groups throughout the world, the State Department reported yesterday. The attacks decreased from 533 in 1989 to 455 . . . in 1988, the peak year, 856 incidents were counted. . . . In

another contrast with recent years . . . more international terrorist attacks occurred in Latin America (162) and Asia (96) than in the Middle East (63). Chile and Pakistan led the world in international terrorist incidents with 64 and 45 respectively.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's taking of thousands of Western hostages . . . was not included in the U.S. accounting.

DIPLOMATIC TOURISTS

THE WASHINGTON POST, MAY 3, 1991

BY JOHN M GOSKO

When selecting ambassadors to head the United States' 138 overseas embassies, recent presidents have relied almost exclusively on career diplomats to staff posts with difficult or unhealthy living conditions, while reserving the more-attractive capitals for their non-career, political appointees.

That is among the findings of a new study on ambassadorial appointments by Warren W. Lenhart, of the Congressional Research Service at the Library of Congress. Much of Lenhart's report retraces familiar ground, including the fact that during the Reagan and Bush administrations 30 percent of those nominated as ambassadors were individuals from outside the career Foreign Service.

But Lenhart also focuses on growing concern in Congress and elsewhere about "where political ambassadorial appointees are serving rather than how many are serving. . . . Ambassadorial appointments in both the Caribbean and Western Europe have traditionally been favored spots . . . Almost every president has saved embassy posts in Rome, Paris and London for friends and supporters.

. . . In France, 18 of the last 22 ambassadors have been non-career appointees, and each of the last 20 ambassadors to Ireland was a political pick. By contrast, Lenhart notes, there are 26 countries, mostly in Africa and Asia, to which the United States has never sent a non-career ambassador.

Lenhart cites statistics showing that 58 of the 63 ambassadors to those countries with hardship pay of 20 percent to 25 percent . . . are Foreign Service officers. Lenhart cites Australia

as a country that "has long been a preferred post for political ambassadors." . . . That circumstance has led to frequent criticism in the Australian press of "individuals who are felt to have 'bought' their ambassadorships. However, "some countries have at times seemed to prefer a non-career ambassador, even though he or she may be less skilled than a seasoned diplomat."

LURCHING U.S. POLICY

THE MIAMI HERALD, APRIL 5, 1991

BY BRANDON ROBINSON AND GEORGE VOLSKY

April C. Glaspie, the former ambassador to Iraq, has delivered, (no doubt unintentionally) a stinging indictment of U.S. policy-making in the Near East. She told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the only error that U.S. officials made in dealing with Saddam Hussein was their failure to "realize that he was stupid."

Was this our only mistake? Significantly, Glaspie did not dwell on the formulation of U.S. Iraqi policy, which

apparently also overlooked Saddam Hussein's long history of aggression and brutality. Obviously in Iraq—as in most Third World countries—the U.S. government has lacked a coherent policy based on in-depth country analysis. . . . The question of whether Ambassador Glaspie delivered a stern or an ambivalent warning . . . is a side issue involving tactics. . . . the real issue is not crisis management, but policy management. That requires a comprehensive analysis and a sound strategy for a given country prepared by experts concerned with long-term U.S. national interests. . . . Fragmentation is the main defect of our Third World foreign policy-making process. Prior to World War II, the White House and the State Department made our foreign policy. Today, the process also involves the National Security Council, the intelligence community, the Departments of Defense, Commerce, Agriculture, and Treasury, A.I.D., USIA, the Drug Enforcement Administration,

and many others in addition to the powerful private sector.

The sum of those diverse views seldom produces a cogent long-range Third World country policy. . . . Until the crisis arrives, our "country policy" is usually a collection of separate and disconnected agendas. To eliminate this fragmentation, the first step might be the preparation of an analysis of a strategy recommendations for each Third World nation.

America has improved the way that it fights when the battle is forced upon us. Now it should improve the way that it promotes its interests and values in the Third World.

MOSCOW SECURITY NOT COMPROMISED

THE WASHINGTON POST, MAY 3, 1991

BY DAVID HOFFMAN

A preliminary investigation indicates that the most sensitive areas of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow "were not breached" during a March 28 fire there, but Soviet firefighters were allowed unescorted access to portions of the building, State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said.

Tutwiler also reported "a number of computer disks were taken from open offices, most of which were unclassified." A "small number" of offices had to be abandoned before all safes could be secured, but "these were not in the secured areas . . ." She added that "the real courage shown by some Soviet firemen has been blemished by such actions." Soviet officials have denied allegations that spies were sent into the embassy dressed as firefighters.

Marine Corps security guards at the embassy were issued respirators and assigned to accompany the Soviet firefighters, she said, but after 30 minutes the Marines were forced to withdraw. Two hours later Marine and security personnel reentered the building, although areas remained very hot and smoke filled. . . . "the most sensitive areas were appropriately locked, and these first examinations showed that those areas were not breached." ■

How to Buy Auto Insurance Overseas

There's really only one way. Select the agent who offers broad experience and a high level of repeat business. Experience that helps you avoid the pitfalls of a highly complex business. Repeat business that results from providing what's best for the customer - not the agent.

For 34 years Harry M. Jannette, Jr. & Company has provided *dependable coverage* with U.S. carriers to *thousands* of Foreign Service personnel worldwide. Thus, you gain the broadest U.S. terms and conditions and flexible value limits often not available from other insurance carriers.

- **WORLDWIDE COVERAGE** Fire, theft, comprehensive and collision protection are available at foreign posts.
- **U.S. AUTO LIABILITY** Available for short term on home leave, change of assignment, and new auto purchase prior to foreign departure.
- **FOREIGN LIABILITY** We suggest contacting your post on arrival. Local laws require specific limits and coverage. Pricing is normally best on site.
- **CONTACT US TODAY** Let us send you "The Embassy Plan" brochure. It contains all the answers about dependable coverage and low-cost premiums.



Harry M. Jannette, Jr. & Company

3530 FOREST LANE #305
DALLAS, TEXAS 75234-7955

Telephone: 214-350-5141
FAX: 214-352-7022



INSURING WORLDWIDE SINCE 1956

50 YEARS AGO

Washington In Defense Time

By DUDLEY HARMON OF THE WASHINGTON POST,
PUBLISHED IN THE FSJ, JUNE, 1941

Its about time that the City Beautiful was rechristened the City Booming. As the population of the metropolitan area nears the million mark, the Capital is now referred to casually as the hub of the world.

Defense workers alone are pouring in at the rate of 4,000 a month. They range from the dollar-a-year industrialist to the stenographer who has just been called from Texas by the Civil Service Commission. The dollar-a-year folk pay big rent for small houses; the stenographers frequently sleep three and four in a single boarding house room.

With thousands of automobiles blocking the streets of downtown Washington, many people were as much as an hour late for work. Deciding to Take Steps, the Traffic Commissioner arranged for government offices to stagger hours . . . now the situation is considerably improved. ■



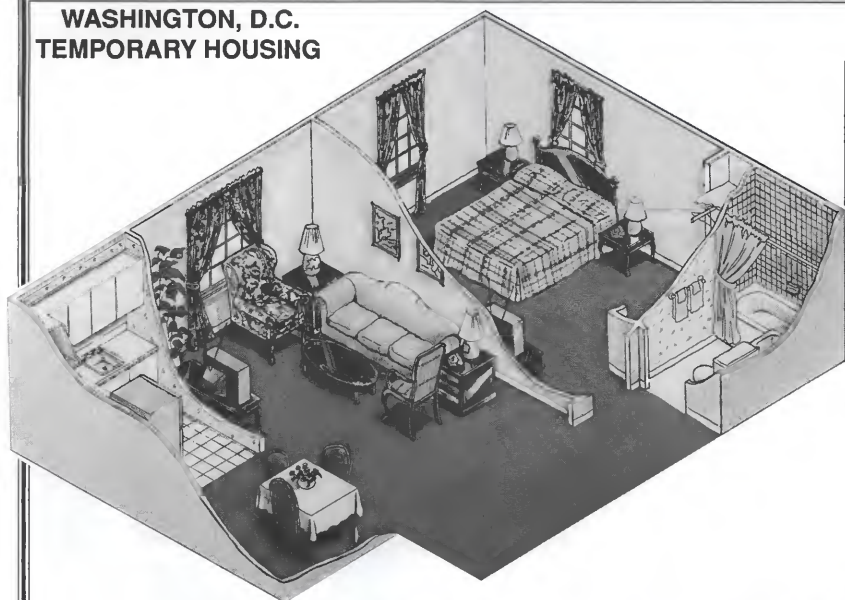
FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

Answers appear on page 64.

1. Tension between the Executive Branch and Congress has existed since the Department of Foreign Affairs was created in 1781. One president defied Congress' ban against sending the fleet around the world in a display of might by finding funds to send the ships halfway around the world and then daring Congress to strand U.S. sailors so far from home. What president in this way received funding from a reluctant Congress?
2. What was the name of the group that provided information services abroad during World War I?
3. Who was America's first black diplomat and in what country did he serve?
4. For many years women Foreign Service officers had to resign from the service if they married. In what year did that practice end?
5. Who was the first secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and where was the department located?
6. An early letter written to the secretary of state complained of the inadequacy of the salaries of ministers abroad. The letter read in part, "House rent, furniture, carriage, and a certain number of servants, with the daily expenses of living, which cannot be avoided, without becoming the scorn of the world, and without being insulted by every footman and porter, consume all, and more than all, our allowance." Who wrote the letter?

* Questions and answers 1-5 were taken from *Profiles in Diplomacy: The U.S. Foreign Service*, the WETA teacher's guide to the Una Chapman Cox video.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.
TEMPORARY HOUSING**



**GOVERNMENT
PER DIEM RATES
ACCEPTED FOR 1-90
DAYS.
CALL OR WRITE
TODAY
610 BASHFORD LANE
ALEXANDRIA, VA.
1-800-535-CLUB**

Our Suites Are Worth More Than 1000 Words

Our suites offer rentals nightly, by the week or by the month. Perfect for training, for reassignments at F.S.I., special assignments in the Washington, D.C. area or "coming home or home leave!" We feature a warm, hospitable setting complete with daily maid service, a fully equipped kitchen with all appliances and dinnerware, separate bedroom, 2 televisions, outdoor swimming pool, and complimentary continental breakfast Mon.-Fri. A complimentary shuttle to the metro, makes Rosslyn and Foggy Bottom only minutes away. All this in beautiful, historic Alexandria, or Arlington, Virginia. These are some of the reasons why we truly are,

"Your Home Away From Home!"

**The superior environment offered by
The Executive Club is obvious without
1,000 words!**

The Executive Club The Real Suite Hotel

ARLINGTON
Adjacent to Fort Myer

ALEXANDRIA
1 mile south of National Airport
FOR RESERVATIONS AND INFORMATION CALL: 1-800-535-2582

ROSSLYN
Arlington, Blvd.

FROM THE FIELD

PAT OLSEN

Taking Children Out of the Mainstream

Beneath the smiling, tranquil demeanor that Foreign Service parents display to friends and family lurks a basic question: what is our career doing to our children? With each bid, each assignment, parents review, weigh, and evaluate the known and the unknown in an attempt to ensure that their children will emerge enriched (or at least intact) from each posting.

The Foreign Service benefits for our children are many: travel, multi-cultural experiences, a worldwide network of friends, a taste for exotic foods and exotic adventures.

But will these advantages get them into college? Will our children mature into self-confident, thinking adults? Or will they miss some mystical childhood ingredient found only in America? With each transfer, unresolved questions loom. Are the schools as good as those at home? Does the lifestyle offer at least some of the same opportunities—sports, dance, music, outdoor activities—that are available in the United States? What are the hardships and adjustments that the family will face? Few of us can answer positively for each child, for every question. And sometimes most of the answers are negative.

Less White Noise

However, despite limitations, our lifestyle is conducive to the development of a positive family experience, as well as excellent academic skills for our children, precisely because of our Foreign Service experience. The slower-

paced, less electronic, and more interpersonal life typical of many posts overseas allows our children to develop and practice skills in reading, language, writing, and thinking that will show lifelong benefits.

A recent *Wall Street Journal* article links the declining literacy rate of American children to "distractions of



modern life." If there is one thing many Foreign Service children do not have in abundance, it is such distractions. Among the chief distractions cited were talking on the telephone, playing video games, watching television, and, despite the real merits of athletics—maintaining inordinately heavy sports schedules. The decline of the traditional dinner time and the mutual conversation that accompanies it were also mentioned. Children now spend so many non-school hours in scheduled activities and with electronic amusements that reading for pleasure, creative play, writing, idle thinking, and even conversations are becoming infrequent parts of their lives.

The transient and multi-cultural nature of our Foreign Service lives can

help our children avoid behavior patterns that inhibit intellectual growth and personal development. For example, talking on the telephone is not habitual in many countries, as few nations have the multiple home telephones that allow teenagers to indulge in interminable conversations behind closed doors. Indeed, many Third World countries have limited telephone lines, or lines that rarely work within the country.

Letter-writing is the classic and under-utilized alternative. Children will be more enthusiastic about writing if they have their own stationery and a quiet time to write. Writing is a task far easier to postpone than to begin, yet writing becomes a way to expound, to think out loud, to express feelings, and to dispel loneliness.

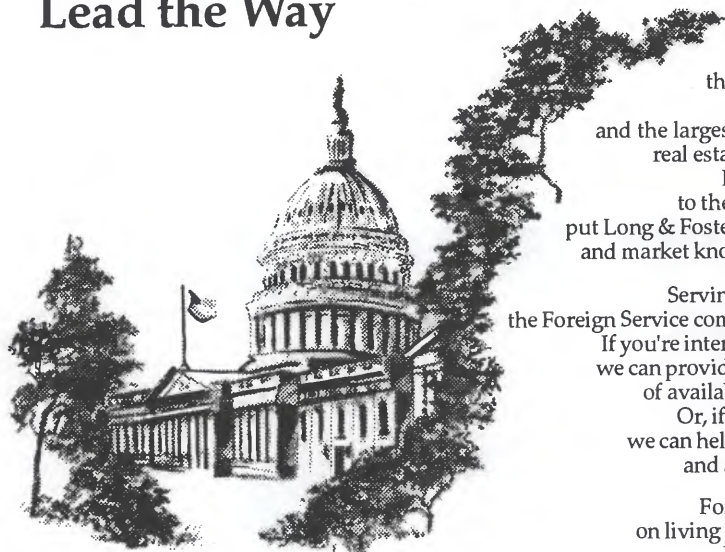
Children, like adults, will want to write about some new adventure or special event right after it happens, so don't let that moment lapse; next week they'll tell you they have nothing to write about. Encourage friends to write back directly to the child, rather than to the family as a whole. Annotated artwork can be an easier method of communication for younger writers, non-writers, or proud artists.

Turning off the Tube

Another impact on American families—television—is seen in the steady rise in viewing time by children, replacing other activities, such as creative play and reading. However, in most countries of the world, foreign-language broadcasts and limited on-air schedules limit TV viewing. On the other hand,

Destination Washington, D.C.?

Let Long & Foster,
the Area's Largest Real Estate Company,
Lead the Way



Long & Foster is
the leading real estate firm
in the nation's capital
and the largest independently-owned
real estate company in America.
If you are being assigned
to the Washington, D.C. area,
put Long & Foster's expertise, experience
and market knowledge to work for you.

Serving the real estate needs of
the Foreign Service community is our specialty.
If you're interested in buying a home,
we can provide you with all the details
of available housing alternatives.
Or, if you are leaving the area,
we can help sell your home quickly
and at the best price possible.

For up-to-date information
on living in the Washington, D.C.,
Metropolitan area, fax or
mail the coupon below.



LONG & FOSTER®
REALTORS®

Exclusive Affiliate in Metropolitan Washington

EVELYN COTTERMAN
will give you the benefit of
over 14 years of specialized experience.

Phone: (703) 573-2600

Fax: (703) 641-9524

DESTINATION WASHINGTON, D.C./ ATTENTION EVELYN COTTERMAN

Name _____
Address _____

Phone _____
Approximate ETA _____

I'm interested in:

- ☐ Information on buying a home in
_____ Virginia _____ Maryland _____ D.C.
☐ Selling my present home
☐ Free Home Buyers Guide
☐ Free Home Sellers Guide

FAX OR MAIL TO: EVELYN COTTERMAN, LONG & FOSTER, 3918 PROSPERITY AVENUE, FAIRFAX, VA 22031

videotape opportunities at post are usually on a par with opportunities at home. It is easy to let the lack of alternative activities for children become an excuse for excessive video watching. Heat, boredom, lack of neighborhood friends, or language barriers can persuade a parent or caretaker to give in to long afternoons of watching and rewatching tapes.

Despite their protestations, children suddenly facing a day with no TV or video will adjust and find a variety of activities to fill their day. Initially the adult must help provide other choices for playtime. Solitaire, checkers, board games, story-writing and illustrating, reading, cooking, and art activities are still fun for today's children. Offer attractive alternatives to TV, such as outings, get-togethers with friends, or a special project with other children. Our family has spent the last two years with no TV and only an occasional video. All three children have survived—reading more books, learning new games together, and exploring their host-country environment.

No more Nintendo

It's difficult to remember a time before video games, which have taken the present generation of youngsters by storm. The endless playing of these electronic games, especially among boys, is pervasive. There are many other uses of free time that may be more constructive than playing video games—and even more fun. The most basic method of control is not to own one—a possible solution when you are separated by distance from the tremendous peer pressure among U.S. children.

The video movement replaces outdoor play for far too many children. Outdoor play encourages creativity and group interaction, provides an opportunity to discharge vast amounts of energy and—however brief—offers a few moments of respite for parents. While playground equipment, bicycles, and basketball backboards are nice, outdoor play can be as simple as stepping out the door and letting the imagination run.

It's difficult to remember a time before video games, which have taken the present generation of youngsters by storm. The endless playing of these electronic games, especially among boys, is pervasive. There are many other uses of free time that may be more constructive than playing video games—and even more fun.

Great Books

Friends at home often ask us what we do at night in those far-off corners of the world where we may be posted. For the most part, we read. We share books with friends, bring along hundreds of pounds of them, subscribe to many periodicals, and make endless requests for books from our families. Sometimes we're lucky to have lots of current reading and reference material at post. Sometimes we have to make do with week-old newspapers, six-month-old magazines, and middling, molding novels. But at work and at home, reading is a way of life.

The living room coffee table at our house is invariably overflowing with literature of all types: newspapers, magazines, catalogs, reading books, school books, reference books, pattern

Next To The White House, We're The Best Place To Stay. \$87/Night*

FAMILY PACKAGE INCLUDES . . .

- One Bedroom Suite with Full Kitchen
- One Day Tour Passes
- Picnic Lunch with Tour
- Children's Videos
- Ice Cream Parlor Coupons

Located between two Metro Stations, with in walking distance to the State Department, monuments, museums and restaurants.

*Other Conditions apply.
Offer valid through 9/15/91. Based on availability.
Other packages available.

2019 I Street NW, Washington DC 20006
(202) 828-2600 • (800) 424-5486



Hotel Lombardy

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL



ELECTRIC

-U.S.A.-

GENERAL ELECTRONICS INC.

- ☐ REFRIGERATORS ☐ FREEZERS
☐ RANGES ☐ MICROWAVE OVENS
☐ AIR CONDITIONERS ☐ DRYERS
☐ WASHERS ☐ SMALL APPLIANCES
☐ AUDIO EQUIPMENT ☐ TELEVISION
☐ DISHWASHERS ☐ TRANSFORMERS
☐ COMPLETE CATALOG
(Please check box)

Available for All Electric
Currents/Cycles

Immediate Shipping/Mailing
From our Local Warehouse

We Can Also Furnish
Replacement Parts for
Most Manufactures



SHOWROOM

General Electronics, Inc.
4513 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. (202) 362-8300
FAX (202) 363-6538
TWX 710-822-9450
GENELECINC WSH

CLIP AND SEND FOR FREE CATALOG

NAME: _____
 TITLE: _____
 ADDRESS: _____
 ZIP: _____

CATALOG FOR: ☐ Agency Use ☐ Personal Use
 (Please check box)

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

FROM THE FIELD

books, joke books. We all pick up something in an idle moment and read it: adults and children read each other's literature.

Children are often disinclined to poke through shelves and pick out books for themselves. Parents need to see that children have an assortment of books at the child's interest and reading level. Children love to be read to, although we tend to forget, once they graduate from picture books, that reading aloud is the best way to interest children in reading.

Create a space each day for reading. It is surprising how little a student may actually read in the classroom, and he or she may not yet have discovered the fun in reading. Before bed is often the easiest time for children to read at home—when it is normally quiet and they think they're getting to stay up later than they might otherwise be allowed.

When you're overseas, it can be difficult to know what books to purchase, as your child's abilities and interests change. A good reference is *The Read-Aloud Handbook* by Jim Trelease (Penguin Books, 1987). Following an inspiring discussion on the hows and whys of reading aloud, Trelease includes an annotated bibliography of recommended books by grade in school and a plot summary of the books. A massive source of mail-order books for children and adults is *The Reader's Catalog* (250 West 57th St., New York, NY 10107), indexing more than 40,000 books with a one-sentence summary of each; children's books are presented by age group. Consider cultivating a librarian friend, get book lists from schools and libraries, swap with anyone and everyone. You may find a family of young readers who are just ahead of yours so you can start

a hand-me-down rotation. On home leave, buy from second-hand bookstores and yard sales. Ask a friend to buy books for you at the fall AAFSW/AFSA book sale.

Current reading can be just one topic of conversation at a family dinner time. The regularity with which a family enjoys a dinner time of companionship and conversation will vary, but overseas it's more likely that the family will eat together most nights. Topics of family, national, and international news can be discussed. Foreign Service life leads naturally to conversations on wide-ranging issues. Dinner guests may

bring tales of adventure from unfamiliar parts of the world. The search for a new assignment always brings up new possibilities and opinions to be aired. When children actively participate in the conversation, they learn to listen, to question, to think, and to debate. Dinner time also teaches children courtesy. Children overseas often have opportunities to attend special events that require their best behavior—behavior that can be practiced first with the family.

When you are informed of your new assignment and begin to feel guilty, when you discreetly compare the performances of your friends' children with yours during home leave, when you face moving your children into a new school, remind yourself that no matter what the limitations at post, you can positively affect your children's development. Use to their advantage this time away from the mainstream by keeping your family life unencumbered by constant distractions. Providing opportunities at home for reading, writing, discussion, free play, and creativity will help your children master skills that count in college and in life. ■

Pat Olsen and her family are posted in the Marshall Islands.

Announcing the *Undiplomatic* Diplomatic Program

No Negotiations. No Compromises.

The GM Diplomatic Program offers several unique advantages:

1. No Negotiations. Fixed diplomatic pricing with no obligation to purchase option packages or aftermarket products, means you don't have to haggle or negotiate for genuine value and savings.

2. No Compromises. You will never have to compromise on the level of courteous personal service and convenience you can expect. Our uncompromising commitment to excellence gives you the ability to specially build your vehicle to suit your needs, or the option to take immediate delivery of available inventory. It also includes extensive VIP support both prior and subsequent to your purchase and delivery anywhere in the world.

Best of all, whether you're assigned stateside or overseas, this program is available to you.

No negotiations, and no compromises. Call us, toll free, for more information about the "Undiplomatic Diplomatic Program", or turn to the coupon on page 19 of this issue.

1-800-877-7083



CHEVROLET



PONTIAC



Oldsmobile



BUICK



Cadillac

Geo



DIPLOMATIC PROGRAM

USA INFORMATION CENTER
100 CROSSWAYS PARK WEST, WOODBURY, NEW YORK 11797



China's Problem Exorcising Mao

By A. DANE BOWEN JR.

SOME TIME AGO China's OCTOGENARIAN LEADER, DENG Xiaoping, told an Italian journalist, "We're not going to do to Mao what Chairman Khrushchev did to Stalin." In other words, DENG—who was purged not once but twice under Mao Zedong and whose family suffered terribly during the Mao era—intends to embark upon no de-Maoization program resembling the de-Stalinization program of the Soviets. It was during Mao's last and most egregious of a long line of blunders and offenses, the movement with the Orwellian name the "Great Proletar-



Protesting students in Tiananmen Square in May 1989 erected a statue of the "Goddess of Liberty." Behind the statue, facing south on the square, looms the Monument to the People's Heroes obelisk, and in the distant background, the mausoleum of Mao Zedong.

ian Cultural Revolution," that Deng's grown son was thrown out of an upper-story window and abandoned with a broken back. He is now spending the rest of his life in a wheelchair.

Why no casting out of Mao Zedong from the Chinese Communist hagiography? China seems unable to resolve its ambivalence about Mao. On one hand, his image is neglected and his "little red book" impossible to find in China. Leaders speak of him only with some embarrassment. On the other hand, there is no official repudiation of his rule. Some students even seem to admire him.

Resting in heavenly peace

Mao's tomb has not suffered the fate of Stalin's. When I visited Red Square in Moscow in 1968, Stalin's body had recently been removed from where it had rested on public display beside Lenin's. It was re-interred between Lenin's tomb—something of a forum for the nation—and the great medieval Kremlin wall, which affords a backdrop to the tomb. Stalin's grave was at the end of a long row of graves of old Bolsheviks, going back to the Russian Revolution of 1917. But unlike the other graves, which had a bust of each on top of a fair-sized headstone, and had the grave framed by red granite, Stalin's grave was unmarked.

In contrast, Mao's cadaver remains encoined in the heart of Beijing, in an enormous mausoleum in the middle of his creation, the enlarged Tiananmen Square, the largest in the world. The mausoleum is the southern terminus of a central, north-south axis of the imperial Forbidden City, which begins at the base of a hill in the north and runs through building after building, pavilion after pavilion, courtyard after courtyard, and gate after gate, exiting through Tiananmen Gate onto the Square, and ending with Mao's remains. Mao's mausoleum thus blocks the imperial symbolism of opening out to all of China to the south.

Of this scene, a Chinese poet wrote this bitter verse:

*Chairman's tomb and Emperor's
palace face each other across the
square,*

*One great leader in his wisdom made
our countless futures bare.*

*Each and every marble staircase
covers heaps of bones beneath,
From the eaves of such fine build-
ings, fresh red blood drops every-
where.*

(Quoted in Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*)

Just as Mao's mausoleum dominates the south end of Tiananmen Square, so his portrait commands a central position over Tiananmen Gate, from the top of which Mao in 1949 proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic. As the leaders of the Soviet Union stand on Lenin's tomb to review the parades in Red Square, China's leaders gather on Tiananmen Gate to review functions in the square. The Chinese even once sang a popular song called "I Love Tiananmen!"

During the height of the demonstrations in the square in May and June of 1989, some demonstrators splashed paint on Mao's portrait. Leaders of the student demonstrators helped workers replace it! Moreover, demonstrators shortly before the massacre carried posters with huge portraits of Mao and Zhou Enlai. This puzzled me at first, since I tended to assume that the students were very much against the system Mao had created.

But I recalled the reactions of some of my brightest students when I was teaching, during the pro-democracy movement, at a state university in Changsha, capital of Mao's native province of Hunan. Some of these students thought very highly of Mao, although close questioning revealed that they knew practically nothing about him other than the official line. When I told a group of male students that Mao kept a considerable stable of young women, they shook their heads in disbelief. They insisted he had three wives, but all in seriatim and legally. Had not Mao ended multiple wives, foot-binding and concubinage? When I explained that beautiful young women had been sent to Mao from all over China, that they were even sometimes seen marching together in a unit of the People's Liberation Army, they still did not believe me.

Leave your
most
important
investment
with the
management
professionals
you trust.

*Rental and Management
of Fine Properties in
Northwest DC, Chevy Chase,
Bethesda and Potomac*



Executive Housing Consultants, Inc.

7315 Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 1020 East
Bethesda, Maryland 20814
301/951-4111

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



**We are proud to introduce
Maytag's new line
Now on display in our
showroom**

- ☐ Manufactured for use overseas not converted or transformed
- ☐ International warranty
- ☐ Free local delivery when you mention this ad, when you place an order
- ☐ Also featuring Amana, Frigidaire, Black and Decker, Caloric, Philips, Kenwood, Grunbig, Panasonic, Sansui, Sony

*Exclusively for use overseas

American Int'l Exports, Inc.
(301) 585-7488
FAX: (301) 585-1804

Showroom at:
**8834 Monard Drive
Silver Spring, MD**

Quality since 1964



"Mr. Democracy"

One of only three statues of Mao which I came across in teaching and traveling in all the major regions of China stands at Hunan University across the river from Changsha. During the pro-democracy movement students hung a huge sign on this imposing statue, reading, "Mr. Democracy, we welcome you." While Mao may have been a reformer of sorts and called for "mass participation" (meaning continuing revolution), he was certainly never a proponent of democracy.

One of the very few things the students really knew of the real Mao was that he twice purged Deng Xiaoping, the current Chinese leader. And since the students were against Deng, they figured that Mao must have been all right, based on the old principle that the enemy of my enemy must be my friend. An idealistic school teacher turned tourist guide told a *New York Times* reporter that she preferred Mao to the current "grandfathers" in the Chinese government.

On the evening of May 4, 1989, I sat around bonfires with my Chinese students on the campus in Hunan Province, the occasion being the celebration of "the May 4th Movement," a student-led movement of 1919. Among the songs the students sang was "Socialism is Good." Yet, many of these same students immediately before and after this officially sponsored celebration participated in the pro-democracy demonstrations.

Hometown "shrine"

When I first arrived in Changsha, I was puzzled as to why this out-of-the-way provincial capital would have such an imposing railroad station. I discovered that it was much bigger and more impressive than the railroad station in the former capital, Nanjing, or in Canton, or even in Shanghai. With its central tower, symmetrical wings, and position blocking the view at the end of the city's main drag, Wuyi Road, it reminded me of the state capitol in Austin, Texas.

Yet not only is Changsha no rail center, it is not even at the intersection of main rail lines. Only later did I read that some 20 trains a day used to depart from this station on a spur to

go to Mao's birthplace and boyhood home in the farming village of Shaoshan, 75 miles to the west. The American novelist, Paul Theroux, wrote in his travelogue of China, *Riding the Iron Rooster*, that no one went anymore to this village, virtually a shrine to Mao. That is a little bit of an exaggeration, but certainly before Mao's recent revival, not many did, and I daresay no Chinese official or bigwig goes there now.

Close by, 20 miles farther into the boondocks, I saw hordes of people and black, chauffeur-driven limosines with Chinese officials visiting the birthplace and huge museum—20 times larger than Mao's—of Liu Shaoqi. Liu was Mao's vice chairman, until he began to question some of Mao's policies, such as the break with the Soviet Union and the disastrous Great Leap Forward. Mao framed him, arrested him, and let him die in prison. Deng has completely restored him.

Just down the road from where I taught in Changsha is the normal school where Mao came as a country boy who had never seen a newspaper. He later returned to the same school to teach and to marry the daughter of one of the other professors. (She was arrested and executed by the forces of Chiang Kai-shek in 1931.) One can see the bunk Mao slept in and the student desk he sat at, but there is no statue of him out front. Huge concrete statues of Mao with raised arm in salute have been toppled all over China.

Mao founded a business (which failed) in Changsha to help finance his revolutionary efforts. He often fought in and around Changsha, but the city pretty much ignores his memory today. I was the only person going through his old normal school the two times I visited it. The one train that runs to his native village each day leaves before 7 a.m., and does not seem to serve those going to venerate him.

About a billion copies of Mao's little red book were published, but not only are they not on sale now, they are very hard to find. I mentioned in all my classes that I would like to see one. After several weeks a Chinese professor came by my apartment with

one. Mao buttons with the likeness of "the Great Helmsman" are almost as scarce, even though a factory in Hunan once produced 30 million a year. While seated on a park bench in Guilin in southwestern China, I once had a young man sidle up to me, look furtively over his shoulder, and start to unwrap something. I was reminded of men decades ago on Paris's Champs Elysées sliding up and whispering, "Feel the pictures?" Sure enough, he wanted high prices for what he considered to be, or pretended to consider to be, exciting forbidden items—Mao buttons.

When Chinese professors came to visit me at my apartment on campus, I often raised the subject of Mao, and invariably got the same reaction: first was the nervous giggle, as if they were saying, "Heh, heh, I wish you had not asked that." Or, "Heh, heh, that is not a very polite question." Then, whatever followed was always prefaced by the statement, "Mao was indubitably a great man." The standard line that followed was, "Mao was 70 percent right and 30 percent wrong."

The 70-30 formula

Once Deng Xiaoping had recovered in 1978 from his second fall from power, he launched a critical review of Mao, Maoism, and the whole Cultural Revolution. The official line came to be that Mao had been "70 percent right"—although the new leadership publicly discussed more failures than would seem to fit into the "30 percent." The Chinese Communist Party retained "Mao Zedong Thought" as its guiding principle, while actually rejecting most of what was Maoism.

China has also resisted going along with the Soviet Union's de-Stalinization program; the authorities in China have never undertaken a re-appraisal of Stalin. On each May Day until the

turmoil in 1989, the Chinese government erected huge portraits of the *lao zuzong* (old ancestors, or originators of communism) in Beijing's Tiananmen

Central Committee asserted that using Mao's mistakes to "try to negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong thought and to deny its guiding role in our revolution and construction" would be "entirely wrong." The Central Committee concluded, "Socialism and socialism alone can save China."

At the beginning of the 1980s Deng had worked against residual Maoism; the mere act of opening up China to Western ways and technologies after long years of

isolation called into question many of the fundamental premises of Maoism. By 1982 one could criticize Mao within the Chinese Communist Party.

With the current repression, however, various elements of Maoism are being dusted off. Immediately follow-

ON THE EVENING OF May 4, 1989, I SAT AROUND BONFIRES WITH MY CHINESE STUDENTS ON THE CAMPUS IN HUNAN PROVINCE, THE OCCASION BEING THE CELEBRATION OF "THE MAY 4TH MOVEMENT," A STUDENT-LED MOVEMENT OF 1919. AMONG THE SONGS THE STUDENTS SANG WAS "SOCIALISM IS GOOD." YET, MANY OF THESE SAME STUDENTS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE AND AFTER THIS OFFICIALLY SPONSORED CELEBRATION PARTICIPATED IN THE PRO-DEMOCRACY DEMONSTRATIONS.

Square. The four were Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. China's official line on Stalin became the same as that on Mao, that he was about 70 percent right. Later there was some talk of perhaps 50 percent.

In the summer of 1983 the Chinese

A CLASSIC ALL-SUITE HOTEL

State Plaza Hotel

- Located across from the State Department, just minutes from the Kennedy Center, Georgetown, downtown, The Foggy Bottom Metro, and The State Department.
- Luxury suites each with fully equipped kitchens, living room, dining room, bedroom or bedroom area.
- The Garden Cafe
- Same-day valet service
- Complimentary grocery shopping service
- Daily copy of *The Washington Post*
- Special guest amenities
- Complimentary Shoe Shine
- Spectravision—in-room movies



2117 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 861-8200 • (800) 424-2859
Fax (800) 292-2859

PUZZLED ABOUT RENTAL MANAGEMENT

We concentrate on
only ONE thing . . .
Managing your property.

PROFESSIONAL PROPERTY MANAGEMENT OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA INC.

Join our growing number of
owners from Athens to Zaire
who trust the management of
their properties to PPM. Pro-
fessional service with a per-
sonal touch.

Discounts on appliances
and more! Monthly comput-
erized statements.



5105K Backlick Rd.
Annandale, VA 22003
703/642-3010

11325 Seven Locks Road
Suite 217
Potomac, MD 20854
301/983-2323

We also service Montgomery County, Maryland

NATIONAL WINNER • INN OF THE YEAR



SUBWAY TO STATE DEPARTMENT

ARLINGTON
VIRGINIA

Comfort Inn Ballston

• LOCATION

Walk 7 min. to Ballston Metrorail; Direct access to city on I-66; 4 miles to State Department; 2 miles from Marymount University; 3 miles from Arlington Cemetery; 3 1/2 miles from the Pentagon, and Vietnam and Lincoln Memorials; 4 1/2 miles from National Airport, the White House, Washington Monument and Jefferson Memorial.

• RATES

Government	Single Dbl
Rack	75.00-82.00
Friday-Saturday	85.00-92.00
Off season and long-term stay discounts available	60.00-75.00

• FACILITIES • ACCOMMODATIONS

126 rooms and suites with climate control
Restaurant and Lounge offers room service from 6:30 AM to 10 PM
Free Underground Parking, no in/out charges
Free color cable TV including CNN, ESPN and Showtime
Gift Shop, Travel Agency

Comfort Inn Ballston

1211 N. Glebe Road
Arlington, Virginia 22201

For reservations call 703-247-3399 or toll-free

800-221-2222

ing the Tiananmen massacre, Deng insisted that any effort to discredit the leading role of "Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong thought" must be resolutely squashed along with any attempt to introduce "the American system of the separation of the three powers." One must always choose socialism over the forces of "bourgeois liberalization and spiritual pollution." In other words, Mao's role in Chinese history was to be worked out only gradually, and over a very long period of time.

The real Mao

Mao was obviously a great guerrilla leader and a formidable organizer. He was a great politician as well. His knowledge of issues and politicians, his drive and assertiveness, his self-confidence, and persuasive abilities, and, especially, his prestige, enabled him to vanquish all opposition. But unfortunately for his reputation, he lived too long. Some world leaders are fortunate enough to assure their place in history by dying at the height of their popularity. Lenin died only seven years after seizing power. If Mao had similarly died seven years after coming to power, he would have gone down in history as one of the greatest statesmen and leaders of all times. As it is, he lived long enough to ruin his place in history.

One of his early admirers, the American journalist Edgar Snow, described what an impact Mao had made on China:

"In China's 3,000 years of written history, the combination of Mao's achievements was perhaps unique. Others had ridden to power on the backs of the peasants and left them in the mud; Mao sought to keep them permanently erect. Dreamer, warrior, politician, ideologist, poet, egoist, revolutionary destroyer-creator, Mao had led a movement to uproot one-fourth of humanity and turn a wretched peasantry into a powerful modern army, which united a long-divided empire; brought scientific and technical training to millions and literacy to the masses; laid the foundation of a modernized economy, able to place world-shaking nuclear power in

Chinese hands; restored China's self-respect and world respect for or fear of China; and set up examples of self-reliance for such of the earth's poor and oppressed as dared to rebel. No wonder Mao refused to yield ground to those who sought to revise his success formula."

But in the end, Mao acted like all other Chinese emperors, even to the bevy of young women. He left an unstable regime as his legacy. Just like Mao, Deng keeps naming successors,

the days when the moral order was clear cut and unquestioned, when ordinary people and particularly the leaders seemed honest and sincere, motivated by a vision, however flawed, rather than by greed."

Undertaking a de-Maoization program would not only be a wrenching exercise, it would call into question the very legitimacy of the current leadership. When Khrushchev told the All Russian Congress about what an ogre Stalin was and the horrible

MAO WAS OBVIOUSLY A GREAT GUERRILLA LEADER AND A FORMIDABLE ORGANIZER.

HE WAS A GREAT POLITICIAN AS WELL. HIS KNOWLEDGE OF ISSUES AND POLITICIANS,

HIS DRIVE AND ASSERTIVENESS, HIS SELF-CONFIDENCE, AND PERSUASIVE ABILITIES,

AND, ESPECIALLY, HIS PRESTIGE, ENABLED HIM TO VANQUISH ALL OPPOSITION. BUT

UNFORTUNATELY FOR HIS REPUTATION, HE LIVED TOO LONG. SOME WORLD LEADERS

ARE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO ASSURE THEIR PLACE IN HISTORY BY DYING AT THE

HEIGHT OF THEIR POPULARITY.

keeps saying he is retiring, and, then, keeps firing one handpicked successor after another. One need look no further than Taiwan, with a per capita income some 12 times that of China and no oil, coal, and other resources, to see that in the end Mao's legacy was to retard technological improvements, economic growth, long-range stability, and a steady evolution toward democracy.

The *New York Times* reporter based in Beijing, Nicholas Kristof, reports that "there has been a rising enthusiasm for not only Zhou Enlai, but Mao as well. In the last two years in various parts of the country, posters of Mao and even Mao buttons have reappeared on a small scale." He explains the phenomenon in part as follows:

"For most of the 1980s, the trend was toward cutting Mao down to size, and these days there is still revulsion at his excesses. But many Chinese also express a yearning for

mistakes he had made, the fiction was maintained that the Communist Party was still infallible. That was possible because the Soviets still had Lenin to fall back on.

Mao was the legitimizer of the regime and all policies that flowed from it, whether populism, anti-intellectualism, self-reliance, mass participation, or continued revolution. China's problem in exorcising Mao is that Mao is both the Lenin and the Stalin of the regime. A de-Leninization requires much more time, but it will come to China just as it has already started in the Soviet Union. ■

A. Dane Bowen Jr., professor of history and economics at Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania, is a retired Foreign Service officer. He was national security adviser to Secretaries of the Treasury John Connolly, George Shultz, and William Simon.



Since 1906

CALVERT SCHOOL HOME STUDY COURSES

- ♦ teach your child at home
- ♦ complete curriculum K-8
- ♦ no experience necessary
- ♦ traditional education
- ♦ accredited, non-profit
- ♦ advisory teachers available
- ♦ all materials included
- ♦ French and music courses
- ♦ send for free information

CALVERT SCHOOL
(301)243-6030 fax 301-366-0674
Dept. F71 Tuscany Road
Baltimore, Maryland 21210



Cheshire Cat Book Store
5512 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015
(202) 244-3956

Going Overseas? Coming Home?

**Welcome to the Capital's
oldest bookstore for
young people**

Large Selections of quality books,
records, and tapes for children.
Knowledgeable experienced staff.
Call for our free newsletter.

Monday — Saturday
9:30 - 5:30

Thursdays until 8:00

Mastercard & Visa

SPEAKING OUT

DAVID D. NEWSOM

The Personal Side of Diplomacy

The following is adapted from remarks delivered by David Newsom last November on receiving the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service's Jit Trainor Award for distinction in the conduct of diplomacy. Newsom is former under secretary of state for political affairs; ambassador to Libya, Indonesia, and the Philippines, and director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

Around the world today diplomats are approaching governments to discuss positions relating to the current crisis in the Persian Gulf. Although the policies themselves will be important to the success of these discussions, so also will the art of the diplomat in presenting the policies and in discerning and reporting the reaction. At such moments, diplomacy is a highly personal endeavor; success depends on the sensitivity of the diplomat to the politics and culture of the host country and on the ability to communicate and interpret the response. It is that personal aspect that I wish to address today.

One of the most exciting and yet critical times in a diplomat's life is that first day or week spent in a new country. The briefings in the State Department are over; presumably the right books have been read. But, suddenly, the reality of the new post—the sights and sounds and smells—are all about. The Foreign Service officer must make decisions on how to spend his or her days, the people to meet—and not meet—the occasions to attend, the priorities to establish.

Diplomats remind themselves that they are in a country as a symbol; the attention, the trappings of prerogatives



and honors are for their country. At the same time, diplomats are there as individuals; their own temper, their own feelings, their humanity will, at times, be tested. Diplomats of the United States are more fortunate than those of nations where diplomacy is a form of exile or where the slightest dissent can mean banishment or death. An American diplomat does not—or should not—upon entering the world of diplomacy leave personality and principles at the door.

Diplomats are sojourners in other societies. I am sure I am not the only one who has felt confronted by a series of curtains that mask the inner impulses and thoughts of another people. As time goes on, some curtains part, but more are beyond. And this can be as true in European societies that seem outwardly familiar as in the more different cultures of Asia, Africa, or Latin America.

The tasks of a diplomat include conveying a sense of one's country, its policies, and its objectives to the officials of another country and, often, asking those officials, under the pressure of instructions from home, to make difficult policy choices. To do so requires an understanding of where power and

authority lie; it may not be with those ostensibly in charge. In many countries with a democratic facade, it may lie with the military. It may lie with families or with elder statesmen not in office. Diplomats must acquire a sense of who's in charge. It is not easy. Many's the foreign diplomat in Washington who has, in despair, asked that question here.

Even though the world has changed, the fundamental tasks of diplomats remain constant. As representatives of a nation, they are still required to observe in another society those trends that will affect their own country's interests. Today, our diplomats face peoples and personalities not previously encountered. They meet the new leaders of old countries that are undergoing fundamental change. As old nations disintegrate, diplomats encounter totally new political entities.

Even in a stable world of familiar nations, few of our diplomats could claim true expertise in another society. The need to stay in touch with Washington and the routine requirements of the service dictated frequent rotation. That pattern will not change, but the need to understand other societies will be as great as ever. We have not always been successful in the past; the challenge facing our diplomats in the future will be formidable.

In a changed world, diplomats will need to develop a power of perception and a perception of power. This will require quick learning and judgments tempered by the humble realization that, in many societies, an outsider will never fully know the inner impulses and secrets.

Judgments on power require perceptive judgments on personalities. Although in many cases, diplomats are isolated from opportunities to observe

Make Your Next Overseas Move As Smooth As Clockwork!



When it is time for your next overseas assignment, call the relocation and storage specialist with over 60 years of experience. Victory's modern warehouses offer complete protection for your possessions you leave in storage. Special climate controlled, high security areas are available for silver, art, antiques and private collections. Your overseas shipment will be packed with precision and accuracy to assure timely arrival to any point around the world.

*Joe Talley has expertly
protected valuables for
Victory's customers
for 32 years.*



VICTORY

Alexandria, Virginia
(703) 751-5200
800-572-3131

SPEAKING OUT

closely the leaders of another society, unusual moments do come—in meetings, in social events, in travel. The interests abroad of a great country can hinge on the whims of a single leader of another—for good or for ill. Is the leader on whom a strategy is based personally confident and strongly supported? Do vulnerable weaknesses of character or habit appear? And what about those around a leader? Are they loyal? Are rivals conspicuous? Does a democratic system exist for a transfer of power? If not, is the ruler considering his or her own succession?

A perceptive sense of the people is also essential for a diplomat. As one travels about the capital or the country, are the normal courtesies that are extended to a diplomat contrived or genuine? Do officials limit access to the population? If so, why? Do public receptions demonstrate true respect for the diplomat's country, or scarcely disguised hostility? And what of the population's general satisfaction with their circumstances or with the regime? What does that attitude portend for future developments? Is the population traditionally docile and subservient? Would an upheaval or challenge to authority be contrary to character? Does what people are saying represent their true feelings or what they believe the diplomat wants to hear?

Diplomats serve in some very attractive countries. They can easily be carried away by the customs, the dress, the attitudes—including the attitudes toward their own country—of another society. They meet some very appealing people. They meet some individuals who, basically, are very unattractive, but can make themselves personable. They meet others who have no attractive features other than their power. Discernment can be distorted by emotional involvements with countries and with individuals—either of blinding admiration or bitter dislike. Neither serves the cause of effective diplomacy.

Other pitfalls warp the sound judgment of another people. In a world of competing interests, surprises and dis-

appointments can come suddenly. Hopes for progress can be dashed by deep animosities, brutal tactics, and a ruthless disregard for the truth. It is hard in such circumstances for a diplomat to retain an honest skepticism that does not become cynicism or to achieve insights that are not clouded by bitterness. In circumstances of tragedy and disaster, compassion fights with the requirements of an official perspective. Should, for example, hostage lives be risked for the honor of a state? And at times the diplomat faces a deep conflict between personal values and policies that are personally unacceptable, the choice of loyalty to a state or to one's conscience.

The perception of another society is of little use unless it can provide the basis for effective communication—in two directions. Powers of persuasion are essential if the objectives of one's mission with a foreign government are to be achieved. But the powers of effective communication with one's own government are equally important. Recent history is, alas, full of examples of the breakdown of this link, either because of a lack of confidence in the diplomat or through political and bureaucratic obstacles. The perceptions of diplomats are often unpopular with both the host government and with one's own. Unpleasant news is unwelcome, especially if it upsets the premises of established policy. In such cases, both diplomats and policy can suffer. Diplomacy is full of cases in which the diplomat as messenger suffered because of the unpopularity of the message.

Politics may hinder perception and communication on both sides of the diplomatic divide. A government may agree with the position of a persuasive diplomat, but resist publicly supporting this position for fear of local reactions. Conversely, the diplomat must recognize that politics at home may preclude the acceptance of his or her recommendations. This does not mean warping a message to cater to a prevailing mood; it does mean that diplomats must accept that other priorities exist and that dip-

lomatic assessments, however accurate, may not prevail.

Finally, rhetoric obscures perception and communication. Ringing phrases, popular with political figures of all countries, often disguise the true nature of issues. Diplomats who take them at face value can be misled—as can their countrymen.

Diplomats can be diverted, also, by an infatuation with a single issue. The ambassador whose only messages plead for unpopular action on a single dispute or a single side of a dispute will soon lose acceptance. Infatuation with a single issue, further, can damage the perception necessary to see the broader picture that may bear on that issue as well as others.

Communication requires receiving as well as sending. The diplomat must be a good listener to the responses of a foreigner. What is the foreign official really saying in a polite denial of a request? "This is final. I can do no more?" Or "Ask me again, perhaps in different words?" Or "Your government has got to pay a higher cost?" The diplomat must also be a good interpreter of the sometimes opaque messages received from home and, further, must judge whether a message was sent "for the record," or requires action, or seeks a rebuttal to resolve a bureaucratic impasse in the department.

Clearly, the development of the required skills of perception and communication must be the product of formal education and the experience that lies beyond. We need to encourage in our future diplomats that capacity to look beyond the facades of other societies to determine the sources of power, the true nature of personalities, and the ability to communicate realities to those who may not wish to listen. Diplomats must build a solid confidence in themselves so that their individuality will not be suppressed or overcome by the exigencies of an often unpleasant and unpredictable world. In this way, the diplomat can catch the excitement and promise of participating in the making of history. ■

YOUR FREE GOVERNMENT COVERAGE COULD LEAVE YOU OVERSEAS AND UNDERCOVERED.



The last thing you need when you're living far away is coverage that doesn't go far enough. Unfortunately, many people mistake the benefits provided by the U.S. Government Claims Act for insurance coverage. And that can often lead to near-total disappointment.

In fact, the Government encourages employees to buy private insurance. If you rely solely on the Claims Act, you may not adequately protect personal articles like jewelry, furs, and fine arts. You'll have no coverage if you're not on government business. And, you'll have no coverage for personal liability.

Fortunately, you can remedy these oversights before you go overseas. When you cover yourself with the AFSA Plan—sponsored by the American Foreign Service Association—your insured possessions will be covered against virtually all risks, up to the limit of your choice. You can insure yourself against personal liability. And, you'll be covered whether or not you're on government business.

The AFSA Plan has been specifically designed for members of the American Foreign Service Association on active duty abroad. Through the Plan, you can get comprehensive moving insurance, theft, fire and catastrophe coverage, itemized valuable articles protection and personal liability insurance.

So don't wait until you find yourself overseas and undercover. Call or send for your free brochure today.

THE AFSA INSURANCE PLAN
Don't go overseas undercover.

The AFSA Plan is underwritten by Federal Insurance Company, one of the Chubb Group of Insurance Companies.

AFSA Desk, The Hirshorn Company
14 East Highland Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19118
Telephone: 215-242-8200.
In Wash. D.C. Area: 202-457-0250

Please send me your free brochure that
answers questions about overseas insurance.

Name

Address

City

State Zip

PROSPECTS FOR THE GATT:

COUNTERING THE COLD WARRIORS OF TRADE

By DORAL COOPER

In the post-Cold War world, the United States has yet to define its hopes and ambitions. One of the chief challenges lies in international economic policy. According to one strain of conventional wisdom, economic vigor has replaced military might as the font of national security, and the government's role should be to "deter" foreign mercantilism, "contain" unfair trading nations, and directly back U.S. firms trying to compete in the global marketplace. Many elected officials and foreign affairs experts prescribe a more aggressive foreign trade policy to counter rising economic competition, particularly from our Cold War political partners, such as Japan and Germany. The Cold War, they say, could be replaced by trade wars.

Trade policy, however, should differ from measures designed to ensure the physical security of the nation. Markets work best and people thrive most when governments intervene least. More intense competition does not alter that axiom. Thus, the challenge for the United States is to eliminate government-imposed barriers that impede economic competition, and not yield to the rising temptation to shield the nation from trade. The surest way to advance that goal is to expand multilateral rules on trade and investment in the so-called Uruguay Round. The worst way is to impose a Cold War mentality on international economic policy-making.

The architecture of trade

The Uruguay Round of trade negotiations is taking place within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the framework of the multilateral trading system. The GATT is a series of common rules and regulations

governing diverse aspects of international trade. Since its founding in 1948, the GATT has provided an architecture within which private companies may export and import among GATT members with some certainty about the charges and obstacles their goods will face in crossing borders. Equally important, the GATT has offered a forum for the gradual liberalization of trade. In seven successive rounds of multilateral negotiations, during which the membership of GATT has continually expanded, GATT members have agreed to progressive cuts in tariffs and steady expansion of common rules regarding other trade-related issues, including standards, government procurement, and protection against dumped or subsidized exports. Because of the GATT, a common, if incomplete, code of trade conduct exists.

Critics of the GATT—and many of those who think the United States should approach trade as it approached the Cold War—charge that the agreement today is out of date. Indeed it is, but for reasons different from those usually cited. The GATT remains an efficient promoter of trade, but its coverage of economic activities is insufficient, particularly in areas where the United States has a comparative advantage. The United States is a major exporter of services; the GATT governs only goods. Technological innovation is a key source of comparative advantage for American firms; the GATT does not address intellectual property. More and more American firms are global firms, their production parceled out among plants located in different nations. The process of getting a product to market—from design to distribution—involves the integration of a global production base. Yet the GATT is silent on foreign investment.

The inadequacies of the GATT hardly justify scrapping it. Over the past four decades, the GATT has helped generate an unprecedented expansion of international trade. And the United States has not been a loser in the process. In just the past five years, U.S. exports have increased 75 percent, from \$228 billion to \$394 billion. Exports have been the prime engine of economic growth. American consumers have gained from access to a greater range of goods. And the GATT has helped the United States achieve some of its major foreign policy goals, including the economic recovery of nations devastated during World War II and the development of nations directly facing a Communist threat. The experience of the United States and other nations under the GATT proves Benjamin Franklin's precept that "no nation was ever ruined by trade."

Instead of turning away from the multilateral system, the challenge is to extend it still further. After all, the GATT is a dynamic framework that has changed considerably through seven separate rounds of negotiations. It needs refurbishing, not replacement.

Ambitious liberalization

The Uruguay Round of negotiations represents the attempt by GATT members to overhaul and update the multilateral trading system. Formally begun in 1986, the Uruguay Round has been repeatedly characterized as "the most ambitious" round of trade negotiations ever, and for good reason. The principal trade-liberalizing tool of other rounds has been tariff reduction. Tariffs occupy a relatively low rung on the Uruguay Round agenda, where the key issues are agriculture, investment, intellectual property, and services.

Negotiators from more than 100 nations are attempting to develop common rules regarding the treatment of agricultural production, foreign investment, intellectual property, and service industries—from architecture and banking to telecommunications and tourism—as well as develop new or better rules in other areas related to international trade and investment. While tariffs are basically border measures, the "new areas" under negotiation in the Uruguay Round strike at the core of domestic and foreign economic policies (including the basic system of law under which a country operates). The overlap between the agenda of the Uruguay Round and the organization and implementation of non-border economic policies makes the round not only the most ambitious multilateral trade negotiation, but also the most controversial.

The breadth of the Uruguay Round agenda, combined with its penetration into domestic policy, has slowed

negotiations. GATT members originally hoped to conclude talks by December 1990 at a final ministerial meeting in Brussels. The ministerial came and passed with no agreement. The primary stumbling block was a deep disagreement between the United States and the European Community—which negotiates trade policy as a single entity—over agriculture. In a nutshell, the United States proposed to draft GATT rules requiring significant reductions in agricultural tariffs, export subsidies, and internal farm supports. The U.S. proposal would have required substantial changes in the EC's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The EC—joined by Japan and Korea—declared the U.S. proposal (and more modest proposals) unacceptable. The Brussels ministerial broke up with the agricultural impasse unresolved, and with no formula for resolving the conflict in reach.

According to an increasingly popular line of reasoning, the multilateral system is in decline, and in its place, three separate blocs are developing that can exist relatively independently and compete with one another.

Fears of 'Fortress Europe'

This stalemate has helped fuel analysis concluding that the GATT is *passé*. Key GATT members are no longer committed to the trading system, and they prefer instead to pursue a separate destiny. Actions external to the GATT seemingly add evidence to this view. The most significant "event" is the economic unification of the European Community by December 31, 1992. According to some, EC '92, as it is popularly

known, will produce a "Fortress Europe" impervious to trade and generally self-sufficient. Recent EC trade policy actions—such as an ongoing attempt to fashion a policy toward Japanese auto imports—contribute to the image of EC '92 as an exercise in building walls. The simultaneity of EC '92 and the breakdown of the Uruguay Round is seen by some as further proof that Europe has lost interest in the GATT.

Indeed, the unification of the EC seems to suggest to some more than just an abandonment of the GATT, but an alternative approach to global economic organization. According to an increasingly popular line of reasoning, the multilateral system is in decline, and in its place, three separate blocs are developing that can exist relatively independently and compete with one another. The first bloc would, of course, be Europe, which would draw a liberated Eastern Europe into its sphere of influence. A second bloc would include the United States, Canada, and Mexico and would eventually be extended to South America. The third bloc would be anchored by Japan and would consist of Pacific Rim nations. Each of the three blocs would have the natural resources, labor, and technology to satisfy most needs independently. Many U.S. GATT critics see some real advantages for the United States in a bloc-based system, rather than a multilateral

BUYING AND SELLING THE USA

HOW MUCH REGULATION IS GOOD FOR INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT?

Editor's Note: Currently, the international trading system regulates only a small part of a nation's investment—trade-related investment that falls under the rules of the GATT. There is no internationally ratified consensus on other aspects of investment. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has formulated some general guidelines, but even within the OECD, not all countries accept the basic principle that foreign investors have a right to establish themselves in any country (the "right of establishment"). Gary Hufbauer, an economist with the Institute for International Economics in Washington, D.C. and Marcus Wallenberg professor of international financial diplomacy at Georgetown University, believes that the international community needs to develop rules for other aspects of investment, unrelated to trade. He discusses his views here in an interview with Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Teresita Schaffer.

Teresita Schaffer: American investment outward has grown a lot less rapidly than investment in the United States over the past several years. What kind of impact do you think that has on our economic ties overseas and generally on our economic policy?

Gary Hufbauer: What I think it reflects is that all multinationals are not as competitive on a world scale as they once were, and that's a matter for regret. And that reflects a variety of weaknesses . . . [in] the American economy and a variety of strengths abroad. The fact is that we are not investing as much abroad and are not keeping our position in terms of world investment that we once had. I think the main consequence is this: it means that our companies are less able to spread their very significant overhead costs for research, development, design, and so forth on a large-scale basis. And those overhead costs are critical to recoup and go on to the next generation. If you don't have a large base, it's harder, and that's probably a major loss we are suffering. On the other hand, probably the result of having foreign investment come in to the United States especially by competitor Japanese firms and European firms is that we somewhat tune up the level of competition regarding new management factors.

SCHAFFER: A generation ago, the classic investment dispute had to do with an American investor in typically a developing country, where there were issues involving repatriation, or nationalization, or other sovereignty issues.

Is the character of our foreign policy-related investment disputes in the 1990s shifting?

HUFBAUER: There's been a sea shift. You're quite right . . . I wrote an article on appropriations disputes published sometime in the 1970s. Since then, that era has just completely disappeared. Just almost vanished. There's a whole realm of new issues.

I think the new issues are basically two or threefold, and they're more subtle than expropriation—things like strategic alliances between giant multinational firms where they get together for a new generation of products or to exchange technology. What does this do to global competition, and who should be responsible for it? Should we welcome it [or] be concerned about it? Will erstwhile competitors get so much in bed with one another that consumers everywhere will lose?

U.S. firms are often criticized for selling their technology too cheap. Will our firms be smart enough to get their appropriate payment for their technology? We can take a case in point—Boeing. Will Boeing give away the crown jewels to their Japanese partners in the aircraft business? And then the question arises, does this require public surveillance, or can we rely on Boeing's own commercial judgment?

Another set of issues has to do with the tax base. Now we've already seen this in the congressional debate, that relative to the volume of sales, the reported costs seem to be rather small by foreign companies' [standards] generally, and particularly small by Japanese companies'. Is this just a life-cycle phenomenon, that they're taking a loss because it's a new investment, or is there something deeper going on?

I heard the following explanation from Japan just a couple of weeks ago: Japanese companies don't benefit by booking a lot of their profits in Japan as opposed to the United States, because the average profits are higher. So why would they do something as crazy as this? The argument was that the region manager in Japan—he wants to show a good profit in his division, so he takes the tax transfer at a higher level. So that's the kind of thinking going on that is driving this result.

This division of the tax revenue base is a big issue for us. Clearly the United States wants as much revenue as it can get from the Japanese firms located here, but do we want to apply those same rules or have the Japanese apply those same rules to U.S. firms located in Japan? And all the time you've got to think about the flip side of the issue. The answer on any particular case is not so clear as some of the events appear.

SCHAFFER: Are there issues relating to what type of investment is made, such as buying up existing industries versus creating new ones, or buying up strategic industries versus other kinds?

HUFBAUER: You could say the first big break is between the green-field plants, where it's hard to get much opposi-

tion. Generally the locality is in favor: most people are in favor of green-field plants. Much more ambiguous is buying up the household-name corporation, like Columbia Records, bought up by Sony. There, in the short run, it's not a matter of creating new jobs, [but] maybe even destroying and laying people off as the new firm comes in. . . . Much less clear.

Then you get into the firms that are on the margin of being strategic firms. Should we be very concerned if the Japanese buy up a whole lot of little "acom" semi-conductor firms? A lot of level-headed people wonder about a system where you permit foreign firms to come in and buy up struggling, but promising, entrepreneurial firms in the United States, especially when [the firms are] slightly related to or regarded as a strategic industry. A very difficult question, because I don't know that there's a theoretical resolution to it. The worst-case scenario is taking some little software company, draining it of its technology, taking its technology off to the Netherlands or someplace, and closing down the California company. And that can happen; it has happened. The alternative model is taking this little struggling company, which can never get financing or capital in the United States, and suddenly the big foreign firm puts in a lot of money. I think it's ultimately an empirical question. And I think the United States will end up short, because we're not very good at a government level of doing up-to-date, primary empirical studies. We don't ever like to name names of companies. I think informed opinion will depend on what actually occurs rather than on a model of what should have happened.

SCHAFFER: Your list of issues, the question of strategic alliances between giant multinationals and the impact on global competition, the crown jewels problem, the tax base problem, and then the even more basic problem of "undesirable" types of foreign investment—none of this comes anywhere near the types of things we've been trying to do in TRIMS [trade-related investment measures]. In only one case, namely the tax base, is there an existing obvious bilateral instrument, a double tax treaty. Is there room for something multilateral in this area? Is there room for expanding bilateralism? Is this an area where we're going to have to develop new policy tools?

HUFBAUER: Yes. The TRIMS issue really just deals with the smallest part and not the most important part of this area, and this is one of the big new issues on the negotiating agenda for the 1990s. And then there's the question of style. Are we going to do it in a series of bilateral deals or multilaterally? Of course, my strong preference would be multilateral approaches, but that may turn out to be too ambitious in this world. For instance, if the United States and Japan could come up and address some issues and come up with a sensible resolution, then that's probably multilateral enough to start with. But I would guess that we're not going to do any of that, what we're going to do is just lurch from episode to episode. ■

system. They argue that a *de facto* bloc-based trade regime, rather than a *de jure* multilateral order, would allow the United States to pursue its economic interests with energy equal to its efforts to contain Soviet expansion over the past four decades. Free of the constraint of the multilateral trading system, the United States could finally manage its trade and eliminate its persistent imbalance with Japan and the rest of the world. Many supporters of this view believe the United States has been snookered by the multilateral trading system.

Is such an organization of the global economy in the U.S. interest? Probably not. One implication of competing and insular blocs could be a loss of many U.S. exports and associated jobs. In 1990, the United States exported \$100 billion worth of goods to the EC, \$50 billion to Japan, and another \$41 billion to the four major countries presumed to fall into Japan's bloc (Taiwan, Singapore, Korea, and Hong Kong). The United States also imported billions worth of goods and services from these nations, and imports are not a pernicious influence on the U.S. economy. In fact, imported products increase the range of goods available to American consumers and constitute an important source of technology and components for American manufacturers. Proponents of trading blocs operating free of multilateral constraints ignore the web of financial and trade interdependence built up between companies within each bloc. Companies have developed systems to optimize efficiencies available by integrating manufacturing among "blocs." It serves no one's interest to drive a wedge into this system. Having blocs compete with one another and the bloc-based system is almost uniformly viewed as a way to create competing regional economies—not symbiotic or interrelated ones.

More to the point, is such an organization of the global economy actually occurring? On the surface, it appears so. EC '92 is not a mirage. The United States has concluded a free trade agreement with Canada and has proposed negotiating an agreement that would include Mexico. U.S. officials speak of an eventual free trade area stretching from Alaska to Argentina. Japanese companies are steadily expanding their commercial presence throughout the Pacific Rim through trade and investment.

Fitting blocs into the GATT

A deeper analysis reveals that regional integration need not be in fundamental conflict with the expansion of the multilateral trading system. For example, the evidence of the EC as a "fortress" after unification lags behind the imagery. The Single Market Program that will produce a unified Europe contains nearly 300 separate directives, most of which have been enacted, and only a few examples of outright protectionist actions can be found in this extensive regulatory agenda. A broadcast directive includes a "European content" quota that will limit American programming. A government procurement directive establishes a "Buy European" preference. The EC standards-making process excludes non-European companies. Few other directives exclude or limit foreign

firms, and throughout the process of adopting common policies, the EC has been generally responsive to U.S. concerns and has in several instances modified policies after hearing U.S. complaints. The EC has by no means used the opportunity of EC '92 to restore trade barriers the GATT helped bring down. On a private level, U.S. companies have continued to take advantage of new opportunities provided by EC '92 by increasing both trade and investment, strengthening the interdependence of the U.S. and EC economies.

GATT has not been a bystander as the world has seemingly sped toward regionalism. Although difficult to measure, the GATT has checked the protectionist temptations of many policy-makers in both the EC and the United States. Its broad rules and regulations establish a system for evaluating trade policies enacted by its members, as well as a system for declaring policies to be inconsistent with GATT obligations. The power of the GATT to correct illegal national policies is weak, but few nations wish to flagrantly violate agreements and usually alter rules found to contravene GATT commitments. Of course, governments are endlessly creative in devising ways to protect established economic interests without breaking the rules, and the legal limits of the GATT prevent it from thwarting all forms of protectionism. That's one more reason to expand GATT, not abandon it for managed trade or a bloc-based trading system that could quickly degenerate into "beggar-thy-neighbor" policies. Thus, even as regional economic integration projects occur, the multilateral trading system must continue to expand and assert its rule-making authority over new areas of trade and investment. The question is: does the system retain sufficient allegiance of its two leading members—the United States and the European Community—to strike an agreement doing so?

Looking for a panacea

The multilateral trading system has clear and necessary functions: it provides a framework for trade, a forum for liberalization, and limits on the scope of potential protectionist actions by its members. It is not a perfect system, but it works. Despite Cold War rhetoric and predictions of the imminent fragmentation of the global economy, the GATT retains the loyalty and commitment of its main members. Nonetheless, translating that loyalty into new rules on trade has been difficult. That reflects not so much lack of interest in the GATT as an attempt by GATT members to take the multilateral system into uncharted territory.

Thus, although the U.S.-EC agricultural deadlock is a very real threat to the success of the Uruguay Round, it

is not a sign that the EC has turned its back on the GATT. The Uruguay Round consists of 15 separate negotiating groups, and in 14 the EC has proposed rules, offered compromises, and brokered deals in an attempt to expand the GATT. To be sure, without a deal on agriculture, the Uruguay Round is doomed. A way out exists, but it requires a fresh perspective by the European Community, and by the United States.

Clearly, as a first step, the EC must develop a common approach to agricultural issues that affect international trade. One problem dogging the Uruguay Round is not implacable opposition to agricultural trade liberalization by the EC, but continued division between EC members over the issue. If trade policy were made in 50 state capitals instead of Washington, the United States might have a similar problem. The EC approach must include reform of components of the Common Agricultural Policy that truly undermine international trade, such as its export subsidies. The United States, for its part, must expect less out of the Uruguay Round. The round has been sold variously to Congress and the public as a near-panacea for America's

trading problems or the last best chance for free trade, and thus anything less than unconditional success could be interpreted as failure. In a negotiation involving more than 100 nations, the outcome will invariably fall short of almost everyone's expectations.

A more realistic approach would view the Uruguay Round as the eighth in a line of multilateral trade negotiation rounds, not the ultimate round of talks that saves or sinks the multilateral trading system. It took seven rounds and three decades to reduce tariffs to their current level, and there is ample room to reduce them more. Time will also be needed to fully liberalize agricultural, services, and textiles trade and adequately protect intellectual property and foreign investment. Agricultural rules equal to current U.S. demands might not be achieved until the 10th round of talks. While that prospect is admittedly unpleasant to contemplate after four years of inconclusive Uruguay Round negotiations, it is the reality of multilateral trade talks. Diminished expectations by the United States in agriculture, and more significant concessions by the EC, would help strike the bargain that gives the GATT the win it needs to keep the cold warriors of trade at bay. ■

Doral Cooper is president of C&M International Ltd., the international trade consulting affiliate of the Crowell & Moring law firm. Cooper formerly served as the assistant U.S. trade representative in the executive office of the president, where she was chief negotiator for the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement.

AMERICA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

PARTNERS OR RIVALS?

BY ROBERT A. POLLARD

Amid the "Europhoria" surrounding EC 1992, many Americans have lost sight of a momentous and potentially disturbing development: the European Community has become not only our best economic partner, but also one of our chief economic rivals. After World War II, the United States enthusiastically supported the rise of a strong and prosperous Europe: an integrated Europe underpinned the Atlantic Alliance, and the European Community was (and is) our best customer. Yet in recent years, the EC has been second only to Japan as a source of trade friction with the United States, notably over agriculture in the Uruguay Round of negotiations under the GATT. Even if the Round concludes favorably, America and the Community are likely to see more, not less, conflict over trade issues in the 1990s.

The United States generally did not press Europe on trade issues because of the overriding importance of our security relationship. For instance, the highly protectionist Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has cost the United States billions of dollars in lost farm exports. With each enlargement of the EC, the figure grew, yet until 1986 (when Spain and Portugal joined), the United States did very little about it. This perhaps made sense when Europe was still recovering from the Second World War and faced a formidable security threat from the East.

Yet now that Western Europe has become an economic giant—and as Cold War structures are crumbling—some skepticism about the benefits of a united Europe is in order. Thanks in part to congressional pressure, the U.S.

government has become increasingly aggressive in defending U.S. trade interests. Still, American policy is constrained by a reluctance to let trade disputes spoil our special relationship with Europe, as well as by a fear that aggressive trade action against the EC could jeopardize a successful outcome to the Uruguay Round. This is counter-productive, because the EC interprets an accommodating response as weakness and rarely offers trade concessions in response to moral suasion alone. Europeans complain loudly about the "unilateralism" of U.S. trade policy, but they are accomplished practitioners of the art themselves—and no saints when it comes to living up to their own GATT obligations.

Problems that won't go away

Conflict over trade is not inevitable, and both the United States and the EC have much to lose from a trade war. After all, both sides are committed in principle to freer trade and the GATT system, and the trade in question in most disputes is small compared with the overall volume of transatlantic commerce. Yet continued friction over trade with the EC is likely for several reasons:

- The dollar amounts, especially on agricultural trade, are significant.
- The EC tends to erect barriers to imports in precisely those areas—agriculture, entertainment (film), and high-tech (aerospace, semiconductors, telecommunications)—where the United States enjoys its greatest comparative advantage.
- The EC, even more than the United States, increasingly uses non-tariff and technical barriers to trade in order to protect beleaguered or "infant" industries.

- The GATT system has failed to provide a satisfactory mechanism for dispute settlement between the transatlantic economic superpowers.

- Members of Congress have become acutely sensitive to protectionism by the EC (and Japan) at a time when the trade deficit is threatening jobs and growth in their home districts.

Blessings of uniformity

What, then, are the sources of tension? Happily, the much ballyhooed European Single Market program—"EC 1992"—poses fewer problems than first thought. By removing barriers to the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor, EC 1992 makes it easier for U.S. businessmen to enter European markets. For example, the EC's new system for the mutual recognition of industrial and agricultural standards, covering technical norms on everything from lawn mower noise limits to machine safety, will make it possible for a manufacturer in Indiana to sell his goods in Europe without having to meet the specifications of 12 different countries. Likewise, uniform laws on banking and financial services will permit a U.S. (or other non-EC) bank, insurance company, or stock brokerage to open up a subsidiary in one EC country, and then set up branches in all the others—a system even more liberal than that of the United States.

Though not formally part of the EC 1992 program, other related programs, notably Economic and Monetary Union and the proposed "Social Charter," may eventually establish a single European currency and central banking system and a common body of social legislation that should simplify the operations of U.S. firms based in Europe. At the same time, the EC Commission is committed to cutting massive member state subsidies to smokestack industries (shipping, coal, steel, autos). Otherwise, these "state aids" could negate positive benefits from the reduction of trade barriers in the emerging "United States of Europe."

In addition to the trade liberalizing effects of EC 1992, the United States supports European integration because, as the president has said, "A strong Europe means a strong America." Europe is our best ally, most EC members are NATO members, and the better off they are, the more likely it is that Europe can help shoulder our common defense burden. Europe is also our best customer. In 1990, we had a small trade surplus: \$6.1 billion, out of two-way trade worth \$190 billion. Including sales by U.S. multinationals in Europe (1988: \$620 billion) and by European multinationals in the United States, plus two-way investment, ours is over a \$1 trillion relationship.

Finally, the administration has embraced the Single Market because it serves as a model for Eastern Europe. The EC offers leadership in funneling aid and encouraging reforms in Eastern Europe. Since 1989, the Community has coordinated Western aid to the region via the "G-24" process.

Stacking the deck

What, then, is at the bottom of the U.S.-EC trade problem? First, certain aspects of the Single Market are discriminatory. Some fear that the EC is setting industrial standards using established European norms, instead of international ones, disadvantaging U.S. suppliers. EC testing and certification rules, under which U.S. goods qualify to meet European standards, could prove time-consuming and costly for American exporters. The EC has also used anti-dumping laws in conjunction with "rules of origin" (which determine the nationality of a product) to send a signal to non-EC firms that they must invest in the Community just to do business there. In one case, a U.S. semiconductor maker allegedly built a big plant in Ireland for that very reason. In government procurement, the EC has passed legislation that, in the absence of a revision of the GATT procurement code, could be far more protectionist than U.S. "Buy America" legislation.

Our most protracted and bitter disagreements with the EC concern agriculture. European intransigence on agricultural reform at the December 1990 Brussels Ministerial almost killed the Uruguay Round. The cancerous growth of EC price supports and import barriers has gradually squeezed U.S. farmers out of both the lucrative EC market and third markets where the EC routinely dumps its surplus farm goods. Recently, Brussels has proposed replacing price supports with income supports—paying farmers to take land out of production rather than paying them to grow more and more unwanted goods—but even if adopted, the reforms may come too little and too late to save the Round.

The expansion of the EC to include new members could mean the extension of pernicious agricultural subsidies to much of the rest of Europe in the 1990s. With the creation of the Common Market in 1957, and its subsequent expansions in 1973, 1981, and 1986 to its present membership, U.S. farmers lost billions of dollars of export markets in Europe. This happened even though GATT rules clearly state that the creation or enlargement of a customs union shall not disadvantage third parties, and that in the event it does, such parties are due compensation.

Not until 1986 (with the accession of Spain and Portugal) did the United States seriously seek and win compensation (about \$400 million) from the EC on enlargement, and then only after going to the brink of a trade war. In December 1990, when the original EC Enlargement Agreement expired, the U.S. government again was forced to threaten the EC with trade action (against \$420 million of agricultural imports from the EC) just to win a one-year extension of the agreement. (Negotiations will resume this June.) Aside from the substantive elements of the case, what is disturbing about the EC Enlargement case is that, until we threatened to take action against EC trade, Brussels refused to engage in serious negotiations.

The list of agricultural disputes with the EC goes on.

In January 1990, the GATT Council approved a GATT panel report finding that EC subsidies to oilseed crushers violated the EC's commitments to permit imports of soybeans and other oilseeds to enter its market duty-free. The U.S. industry estimates it is suffering up to \$2.1 billion annual trade damage. Yet the EC, after promising to act upon the GATT ruling this year, so far has refused to do so on the grounds that it had conditioned implementation upon completion of the Uruguay Round. Since last fall, the Community has also banned all imports of U.S. pork, because American slaughterhouses are allegedly unsanitary. This happened at roughly the same time that U.S. regulatory agencies were accelerating testing of a European fungicide to permit timely imports of French Beaujolais.

Spirited fighting

U.S. willingness to compromise has not won good will, however. Since March 31, Brussels no longer permits marketing of American blended whiskey as "whiskey" in the EC; it must now bear the charming appellation "spirit drink." The United States protects numerous European wines and liquors (e.g., Bordeaux, cognac) against competition in the U.S. market, yet the EC to date has refused to provide similar recognition to American bourbon and Tennessee whiskeys. Consultations have not been fruitful.

Perhaps the worst instances of EC unilateralism are new non-tariff barriers in the product approval field, which U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills identified as one of the major trade problem areas of the 1990s. For years, the EC has banned imports of U.S. beef (worth about \$90 million) treated with hormones on spurious health grounds; U.S. regulatory authorities, who are generally tougher at screening health risks than their European counterparts, have detected no threat to human health from such substances. The EC also prohibited, pending further examination, marketing of a synthetically reproduced, but naturally occurring, substance called BST that increases milk production in cows. Brussels acted partly because of alleged public fears about BST's healthfulness, but mostly because of "socio-economic" reasons: in particular, that BST may favor big, "factory" farmers over small, family farmers. (Clearly, the EC also fears that productivity gains from BST could mean new additions to the EC's "butterberg," with serious implications for the EC budget.)

What is worrisome about the EC's socio-economic



argument is not so much the repercussions for U.S. manufacturers of BST, although those would be serious, but rather the implications for all new products, especially bio-engineered ones. Socio-economic criteria could be used to ban almost anything. Washington favors the development of international norms to settle product approval issues. Fortunately, we have allies in the EC Commission who understand the Pandora's box that could be opened if countries resort to non-scientific excuses for trade discrimination, and some compromise should be possible.

Eurochauvinism at the movies

Not so with the EC's cultural protectionism. The Community's new broadcasting directive specifically targets U.S. industry by requiring that at least half of entertainment television shows consist of EC productions. Preservation of "European culture" is commonly cited as the directive's rationale, yet under the EC's definition, a spaghetti Western filmed in Italy and dubbed in English counts as a "European work" while a drama on

Henry the VIII filmed in Hollywood does not. Clearly, the main motivation behind the EC's (especially French) offensive against American "cultural imperialism" is to shore up its troubled TV and film industry, which has a dreadful track record winning over native audiences with its tired fare—while Hollywood's offerings are enormously popular.

The administration challenged the legality of broadcasting directives under the GATT, but the negotiations are deadlocked. (The United States claims the directive violates the GATT by restricting trade in film—a good—but the EC insists broadcasting is a service not covered by the GATT; there the matter rests.) Meanwhile, despite repeated assurances that the directive would have no practical effect on U.S. industry, three major EC countries—France, Italy, and the United Kingdom—have in place or are about to enact quotas against non-EC (read: U.S.) films that are even stricter than the EC mandates. The Community has also sought a "cultural carve-out" (exemption) to the proposed services agreement of the Uruguay Round that would permit the EC to discriminate against imports of virtually all "cultural" goods. Fearful of losses in its most lucrative overseas market, the Motion Picture Export Association of America has asked USTR to take action against the EC under the "Special 301" provision of the 1988 Trade Act.

The EC's cultural exceptionalism is profoundly disturbing because, first, the stakes are so big: U.S. audiovisual exports totaled \$5 billion in 1989, of which television programming sales to the EC accounted for \$880 million. The EC directive limits the degree to which U.S. film producers can share in the growing European audiovisual market. Consider, too, the example that the directive sets for developing countries when the EC, representing some of the richest countries on earth, invents new categories of protectionism. The EC's "cultural" argument, like the socio-economic criterion for product approval, opens the door wide open to more and more protectionism on arbitrary grounds.

High-protection

Yet another area of contention is the massive subsidies that the EC member states give to high-tech industries, notably Airbus Industrie. Since the consortium's birth two decades ago, the Airbus governments (France, Germany, Britain, and Spain) have offered the consortium's member companies \$13.5 billion in grants and soft loans to develop civil aircraft and maintain European competitiveness in this cutting edge industry. The EC Commission, representing the Airbus governments in negotiations with the United States, argues that development aid is necessary for the struggling European "infant industry" to compete with its giant American competitors. But in the international trade arena, Airbus behaves more like a gangling, threatening teenager than a babe in arms.

According to the U.S. government, subsidies to Airbus pose a major long-term risk to the health of the U.S. civil

aircraft industry. It is true that neither McDonnell Douglas nor Boeing is in imminent danger of bankruptcy. Yet Airbus' share of new orders for aircraft over 100 seats has soared from 16 per cent in 1988 to 35 percent in 1990 worldwide, largely because government supports make it possible for Airbus to sell its products below cost. Most important in the longer term, the American firms cannot count on handouts from the U.S. government when it comes time to "bet the company" on new models to replace today's 747s, DC-10s, and 767s—whereas Airbus can, knowing that in the end the Airbus governments' treasuries will bail it out if necessary.

Airbus representatives argue that government direct supports are necessary to counter the sizable "cross subsidies" that U.S. civil aircraft manufacturers receive from their highly profitable defense divisions. Yet the Airbus companies are even more dependent on military contracts than Boeing and surely take advantage of such support at least as much as their American counterparts. Moreover, to underwrite the privatization of MBB (the parent firm of Deutsche Airbus), the German government has so far paid exchange rate guarantees worth \$262 million to Daimler Benz—a practice that the U.S. government is currently challenging before a GATT subsidies code panel.

None of this catalogue of complaints is meant to suggest that we face trade problems with the EC as serious as those with Japan, but for friends of the Atlantic community, that should be small comfort. First and foremost on the list of priorities for the EC should be quick and comprehensive agricultural reform. For its part, the United States clearly needs to get its fiscal house in order; most economists associate the massive budget deficits of the 1980s with America's chronic red ink on the trade ledger. Both the United States and the EC have a strong interest in strengthening the GATT system, the dispute settlement process in particular is pathetically inadequate, driving the U.S. government to rely increasingly on, various trade measures like Section 301 to protect its interests.

In the meantime, Brussels could improve relations by adopting a more forthcoming attitude toward bilateral consultations and negotiations on trade. Even if the U.S. administration were to become less demanding of its key European partner on trade matters—and that is unlikely—the Congress surely will not. With the Cold War no longer looming large in transatlantic relations, and with trade issues receiving increasing scrutiny on the Hill, the prospect in the 1990s may be for even more of the "unilateralism" in U.S. trade policy that European leaders profess to deplore. ■

Robert A. Pollard has covered EC 1992 and European trade issues in the State Department's Economic and Business Bureau for the last two years. The views expressed in this essay are solely those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Department of State or any other U.S. government agency.

THE U. S. - MEXICO AGREEMENT:

WHY AN FTA WOULD DO US BOTH GOOD

BY SUSAN KAUFMAN PURCELL

For years, the United States had a relationship with its neighbor to the south that seemed to alternate between thin cordiality and undisguised testiness. Now, however, economic liberalization in Mexico, greater pragmatism in the United States, the end of the Cold War, and increasing globalization of the world economy are causing the interests of both countries to converge.

This growing harmony of interests means that for the first time in many years both countries have become important to each other for positive rather than negative reasons. The 2,000-mile shared border has come increasingly to be viewed on both sides not as a curse but as an opportunity.

Support for greater economic cooperation, however, is still fragile. In the United States, organized labor fears massive job losses to lower-paid Mexican workers. And in Mexico, political leaders are under strong pressure to show positive results from recent policies of liberalization and economic opening to the United States. Greater integration with the United States, represented by the Free Trade Agreement, would enable them to do so. Thus, important political and economic dimensions

of the U.S.-Mexico relationship hinge on a successful conclusion of the agreement.

Warming up

Recent decades have been somewhat troubled ones for the bilateral relationship, as Washington viewed the world through an East-West prism while Mexico viewed

it through a North-South one. In the 1950s and 1960s, when Mexico's economy was growing at 6-8 percent annually, the United States paid little attention to Mexico, and was criticized for taking its neighbor for granted. Later, when the United States did focus on Mexico in the 1970s and early 1980s, it was often with exasperation: Mexico's Third World moralizing sounded empty to Washington when viewed against a record of inefficient, if not corrupt, domestic administration.

The United States, nevertheless, responded rapidly to

Mexico's economic crisis in August 1982, helping Mexico avoid an economic and political collapse. The United States provided enough aid and support to allow Mexico's economic transformation, without providing so much help as to make the economic restructuring unnecessary. Mexico, in turn, subsequently gained U.S.

Ironically, the left-of-center opposition essentially advocates a return to the economic past. Its approach has more in common with the traditional policies of the old PRI, from which Cardenas defected, than with those of President Salinas.

good will by repudiating demagogic leaders and electing more responsible presidents—Miguel de la Madrid and Carlos Salinas de Gortari—who not only reformed the economy, but also sought to rebuild a constructive and cooperative relationship with the United States.

Opening the economy

Within Mexico, the big news has been the country's transformation, beginning in 1985, from a closed and highly protected economy into one of the most open economies in the world. The catalyst was the debt crisis of 1982, which made it impossible for Mexico to continue borrowing money in order to sustain its highly inefficient and expensive development strategy. The liberalization of the Mexican economy was paralleled by a more positive attitude toward private investment, both domestic and foreign, as well as a desire for greater economic integration with the "colossus of the north."

Although these changes predated the end of the Cold War, they were reinforced and accelerated by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet economy and political system. Both developments undermined the legitimacy of statist development strategies and of socialist alternatives to capitalism. They also ratified the new economic direction being taken by the Mexican leadership. Emerging competition from the new Eastern European democracies for limited amounts of investment capital also caused President Salinas to deepen the economic reform process. Believing that the world was dividing into regional trading blocs, he became more convinced that Mexico's future was tied to that of North America.

At the same time, the United States adopted a fresh attitude toward Mexico. The end of the Cold War meant that U.S. policy toward Latin America could finally downplay security concerns and give greater importance to economic ones. The coming of Europe 1992, combined with Japan's growing economic integration with Southeast Asia, likewise led Washington to think in terms of a North American free trade area that eventually might include the entire Western Hemisphere. The idea of expanding the U.S.-Canada free trade agreement to include Mexico seemed a logical first step, given Mexico's newly liberalized economy.

Liberalization by fiat

Although the new, more constructive bilateral relationship looks promising, whether it will continue to

deepen remains unclear. President Salinas is in a race against time, as pressure on him grows to show that his economic policies can produce growth.

Mexico's economic liberalization in the mid-1980s did not flow from popular demands. Instead, the initiative came from above and was met with substantial opposition, both from vested interests with a stake in the highly protected economy and from large segments of the population who had been led to believe that Mexico's identity as a nation depended on maintaining its distance from the United States.

This opposition helped produce an unprecedented challenge to the candidate of the dominant party, the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) in the 1988 presidential election. The Mexican economy's low, negative, or zero growth during the preceding years was also important to the slim electoral margin of Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the candidate of the left-of-center opposition front, the Party of Democratic Revolution, denounced the election results as fraudulent and proceeded to launch a broad-based attack on the policies of the Salinas Administration.

Knee-jerk opposition

Ironically, the left-of-center opposition essentially advocates a return to the economic past.

Its approach has more in common with the traditional policies of the old PRI, from which Cárdenas defected, than with those of President Salinas. The Cardenistas believe that the economic opening is going too far and too fast. They continue to favor development led by the state rather than the private sector, and they remain suspicious of foreign investment. They are particularly wary of the growing economic integration between Mexico and the United States, arguing that Mexico should look to the south rather than to the north in forging economic alliances.

The Cardenistas, however, also advocate greater democratization of the political system. To date, they have focused on electoral fraud, which they claim explains the PRI's dominance in Mexico. As part of their campaign for democracy, they have joined forces with the right-of-center opposition party, the PAN (Partido de Acción Nacional) in an effort to make the country's electoral process more transparent and enable opposition parties to play on a level playing field. They have also invited foreign observers to oversee local elections and regularly publicize their grievances in the U.S. media, arguing that their access to the Mexican media is thwarted by the governing party.

**Popular support for both
President Salinas and his
economic policies still de-
pends on public perceptions
that Mexico has a bright
economic future and that
this future is intimately
linked with Mexico's entry
into a North American free-
trade area.**

The Cardenistas believe that the PRI's economic reforms could not have been implemented had Mexico had a democratic political system. They are correct. In a very real sense, the Mexican government was ahead of its own people. There was little domestic understanding of or support for a drastic reversal of economic policy in the mid-1980s, away from a statist, protected economy and toward an open, internationally competitive one based on free trade and private investment. Nor had the rest of the world yet witnessed the discrediting of socialism and the enthusiastic embrace of both democratic and free-market systems.

Aware of this, President Salinas allowed the liberalization of the Mexican economy to far outpace the liberalization of the political system, despite the greater popular support for the latter, at least initially. Now, however, results produced by economic reforms have changed the perception. Most Mexican firms are proving more adaptable than many Mexicans had originally believed possible, flight capital has begun to return, foreign investment is increasing substantially, and the prospects for economic growth look good.

In fact, growing evidence suggests that, if subjected to a popular vote today, Mexico's new development strategy would receive widespread popular support. Public opinion polls show that President Salinas is extremely popular. And recent surveys of attitudes toward a free-trade agreement with the United States indicate that more than two-thirds of the Mexicans questioned favor such an agreement.

Current support for both economic and political liberalization does not, however, mean that Mexico is home free. Popular support for both President Salinas and his economic policies still depends on public perceptions that Mexico has a bright economic future and that this future is intimately linked with Mexico's entry into a North American free-trade area. A U.S. rejection of the free-trade agreement with Mexico would precipitously decrease support for both the president and his policies. This is because the Mexican president has put

almost all his eggs in the free-trade basket.

A free-trade agreement with the United States and Canada translates into increased investor confidence in Mexico by signaling that Mexico's new economic policies will not be easily reversed. Conversely, the rejection of such an agreement by the U.S. Congress would have the opposite effect. It would also give those who oppose President Salinas' economic policies an opportunity to play on anti-American sentiments that many Mexicans still cherish. The result could be exactly what President Salinas had earlier hoped to avoid—the undermining of Mexico's economic opening by its political one. ■

Susan Kaufman Purcell is vice president for Latin American Affairs at the Americas Society in New York. She served on the State Department's Policy Planning Staff from January 1980 through June 1981.

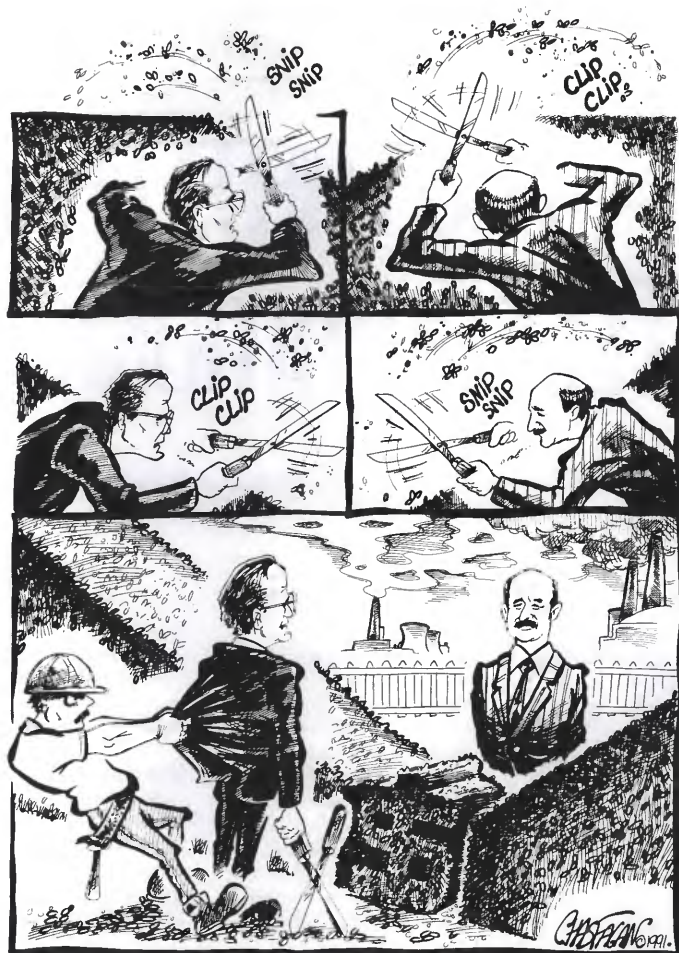


ILLUSTRATION BY GRAHAM SMITH

A STRATEGY FOR TELECOMMUNICATIONS

EDWARD J. MARKEY

George Orwell's nightmare of a totalitarian regime that twists advanced technologies into the ultimate tools of repression did not come true. On the contrary, just the opposite has occurred. Rigid political controls on the flow of information proved unsustainable in a world of copying machines, faxes, satellite dishes, and video recorders. As the means of producing information has become more available, more accessible, and more pervasive, it has been increasingly difficult for the next generation of Goebbels and Stalins to keep information solely in their control.

At a certain point, we need to accept victory in the Cold War and begin to deal with its consequences, for while our traditional foes, the Soviets, are paralyzed by unprecedented internal and economic turmoil, and while we in Washington are paralyzed by the budget crisis, our traditional allies—Japan and Western Europe—are already beginning an assault on the world marketplace. They have recognized what we have not: that the resources defining success in the Industrial Age—natural resources, heavy manufacturing capabilities, and manpower—have given way to the resources of the Information Age—high-tech manufacturing capabilities, scientific and technical knowledge, and instantaneous transmission of information and resources across national boundaries.

It is clear that telecommunications and its associated technologies will be to the future what coal and steel were to our past and oil is to our present—the essential fuel of the 21st century. Our competitors already have recognized the shifting global economic and political

forces and have seized the initiative in a number of industries—especially telecommunications. They are already in the seventh inning of a tightly fought ball game, while we are still arguing over how to get to the ballpark.

New standards

Both Japan and Western Europe are today investing heavily in emerging telecommunications technologies such as high definition television (HDTV), supercomputers, optical fiber networks, and artificial intelligence. Both have developed plans to direct public and private sector efforts aimed at promoting their success in these technologies, because both know that telecommunications technologies will be the infrastructure of the Information Age. European and Japanese efforts in this field are coordinated and stimulated by direct and indirect government activities, including public regulation and tax policy, direct subsidies, and even government procurement.

For example, the British are investing billions of dollars and have allocated 200 megahertz of frequency spectrum to the development of the next generation of cellular phone technology. France's government-owned telephone company has invested almost \$2.5 billion since 1981 in network improvements, including the free distribution of "Minitel" terminals to consumers across that country.

In addition to such efforts at the national level, European governments are working together on common strategies for dealing with entertainment programs that will be transmitted over the broadcast and cable systems of the future. Television programs are already being developed that anticipate the time in 1992 when

the 12 nations of the European community will be united in a single mass television market of 325 million people. At the same time, the European Community has adopted several directives aimed at harmonizing their telecommunications policies and markets, including directives to establish a European telecommunications standards institute, a pan-European digital cellular radio communications network, common standards for introduction of Integrated Services Digital Networks (ISDN) in EC member countries, and restrictions on the U.S. entertainment industry's access to the EC market.

At this point, it remains unclear whether the EC's actions will result in a substantial opening of its telecommunications market—valued at \$14 billion—to U.S. suppliers, or whether the regional telecommunications market established by EC-92 will be a "Fortress Europe" in which U.S. firms are largely walled out.

Japanese synergy

In Japan, we're seeing even more aggressive efforts to take on the United States in key sectors of the international telecommunications market. With government support and encouragement, Japan's Nippon Telephone and Telegraph Co. has embarked on a massive \$240 billion capital improvement program aimed at bringing sophisticated voice, data, and video services to every business in Japan by the early 1990s.

The Sony Corp. purchased Columbia Pictures in order to obtain a source of entertainment "software" to go with its new video Walkman and obtain an edge in the coming battle over high-definition television. Sony's strategy was simple: use a combination of new programming, new products, and its newly acquired 2,700-title film library to whet the appetites of U.S. consumers for Sony's HDTV technologies, which would in turn dominate the global marketplace.

Not to be outdone, Japan's Matsushita Corp. is now attempting to buy MCA in order to pursue a similar strategy of mating its vast hardware empire (including brand names such as Panasonic, Technics, and Quasar) with MCA's huge video software library. The important policy question raised by both the Sony-Columbia and Matsushita-MCA deals is not if foreigners control the broadcast rights to our beloved cultural icons such as "The Big Chill," "Wheel of Fortune," "Jaws," or "ET," but who controls the technology markets of the future.

Just do it

Meanwhile, America has been engaged in an arcane and eye-watering debate over industrial policy—what it is and isn't and whether it poisons the crystal springs of capitalism. The industrial policy debate has been waged largely in think tanks and academic forums. It holds little interest, I believe, to the American people. Americans are not ideological, they are pragmatic—they want to do what works.

The problem we have today is that we lack a coherent national telecommunications strategy, a telecommunica-

tions trade policy, or even an effective telecommunications corporate strategy. What we have is a patchwork quilt of regulatory, tax, trade, and anti-trust policies that frequently work at cross purposes, and a telecommunications industry that needs to focus more on long-term investment in emerging technologies and infrastructure.

While the Japanese and the Europeans have special government ministers with jurisdiction over telecommunications policy, the United States spreads telecommunications jurisdiction among several often obscure agencies in the executive branch and allows a single federal district court judge to set *de facto* national policy for seven of our nation's largest telecommunications firms on the basis of the anti-trust decree that broke up AT&T.

While our competitors have been formulating comprehensive plans for bringing sophisticated voice, data, and video services to all homes, the U.S. government is funding a \$2 billion program for supercomputer research and a high-speed data transmission network that would link elite university research institutes and Fortune 500 companies. It is the equivalent of constructing an eight-lane superhighway only for owners of luxury cars.

Geopolitical red herrings

All too often, U.S. economic interests have been sold down the river because of foreign policy considerations. At the height of the Cold War, there was a certain logic to the argument that issues of war and peace, capitalism and communism being played out by surrogates in Eastern, Europe, Latin America, and Southeast Asia should take precedence over the national economic interest. Thus, time and time again the United States sacrificed its economic interest on the altar of Cold War geopolitics, refusing to act for 15 years, for example, when Japanese television companies were violating U.S. anti-trust laws by dumping television sets on the U.S. market. When the Reagan Administration finally intervened in the lawsuit filed by the U.S. television manufacturers challenging the Japanese dumping, it took the side of the Japanese companies, arguing that the Japanese firms shouldn't be held liable for their anti-competitive activities because the Japanese government had directed these activities—an action it termed "sovereign compulsion." In order to preserve a "comity among sovereign nations," the administration said, we shouldn't punish Japanese companies for actions taken in accordance with directives issued by the Japanese government.

Compounding old mistakes

In the future, instead of appeasing acts of sovereign compulsion, we need a policy that compels foreign sovereigns to halt unfair and predatory trade practices. We must be vigorous in our investigation and prosecution of anti-competitive activities, and we must be willing to make use of remedies such as those provided in Section 301 of the Trade Act. A recent report by the Commerce Department found that "barriers to foreign market access continue to disadvantage the international

competitiveness of U.S. telecommunications firms." In large part because of those barriers, in 1988 the United States ran an almost \$4 billion deficit in telecommunications equipment and services, compared to a \$1 billion surplus in 1978.

Concerns have also been raised that our telecommunications export control policies have worked to disadvantage U.S. competitive interests. Consider, for example, the administration's decision in June of this year to block a \$500 million proposal by US West to install a fiber optic line to connect the Soviet Union, Europe, and Asia for civilian long-distance phone service and business data communications. This proposal was good for U.S. industry and it would have helped give the Soviet people the telecommunications tools they need to build democratic institutions and free markets. Nevertheless, the Bush Administration blocked the US West deal at the instigation of the intelligence community, which is fundamentally opposed to any fiber optics exports to the Soviets because it fears that establishing a modern telecommunications system in that country will make it more difficult to eavesdrop on the civilian telephone system in the Soviet Union.

They are correct: it will. But in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, our overarching national interest must be to actively encourage the transition to pluralistic, free market societies by providing these countries with the telecommunications tools they need to enter the Information Age.

In the absence of a coherent and comprehensive

telecommunications strategy from the White House, Congress will move forward to fill in the blanks. There are at least four objectives I believe we must work to achieve:

- a forward-looking national strategy;
- an executive branch that is more capable of implementing this strategy;
- a policy toward our trading partners that demands both respect and fair treatment for our industries; and,
- an export control policy that eliminates outdated restrictions on sales of telecommunications equipment to the East while simultaneously tightening controls on the flow of weapons of mass destruction to unstable regimes in the Third World.

We must not allow the debate over industrial policy to become a curse. To date, it has been an obstacle because it has locked us into a paralyzing debate between two extreme points of view—unfettered free markets on the one hand and rigidly planned economies on the other. Neither constitutes a viable approach at the close of the 20th century. It is critical that America move beyond this debate.

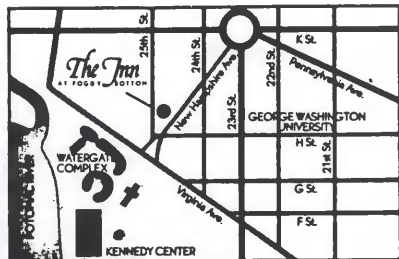
The time has come for us to construct a cohesive national telecommunications policy. The world is changing, and we must change with it if our nation is to prosper and evolve to meet the challenges we face. ■

Representative Edward J. Markey (D-MA) chairs the House Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance.

The Inn

AT FOGGY BOTTOM

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



"Take a new lease on living" at a very special rate

Superb Accommodations:

- Luxury efficiency or one bedroom suite
- Fully stocked kitchen facilities
- Soft upholstered furniture and tasteful decorator accents
- Spectacular views of the city
- Restaurant on premises
- Meeting facilities
- Color TV and AM/FM clock radio

Convenient Address:

- Situated on a tree lined street a few blocks from the Potomac waterfront
- Walking distance to the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
- Close proximity to historic Georgetown
- Just 1-2 blocks from the Foggy Bottom Metro Station

Thoughtful Amenities:

- Indoor valet parking
- Room Service
- 24 hour message service
- Nightly turndown service with imported chocolates
- Wake up calls with weather report
- Complimentary Washington Post
- Same day laundry & valet service
- Coin operated laundry facilities
- Concierge service for theatre tickets, secretarial services, grocery shopping and travel arrangements

IN MEMORY

Charles M. Gerrity, 91, died March 29.

A native of Scranton, Pennsylvania, he attended Columbia University and entered the Foreign Service in 1920. His assignments included posts in Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Lithuania, Germany, Canada, India, Ireland, Spain, Panama, Japan, and Italy. A life member of Dacor-Bacon House and a Jubilee Member of AFSA, he was a recipient of the Cross of the Eloy Alfaro Foundation for promoting better relations between the United States and Panama.

He is survived by his wife, Irene of Alpharetta, Georgia; a daughter, Louise Vollertsen, and a granddaughter.

Benjamin Hulley, 92, died January 11 in Hyannis, Massachusetts.

Born in Lewisberg, Pennsylvania, he was a graduate of Stetson College and earned a master's degree in history at Harvard University and Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar. Hulley served 30 years in the Foreign Service, from 1924-1954, and held posts in Stockholm, Dublin, Nantes, Paris, Reykjavik, Helsinki, and London.

Hulley retired to Hyannis in 1955, where he was an active sailor, and member of the Barnstable Comedy Club, and the oldest participating member in the Hyannis Society of Friends. His wife, the former Joan Carrington, died in 1984.

Survivors include a daughter, Barbara Ackermann of Cambridge; two sons, Stephen of Mill Valley, California and John of Jerusalem; seven grandchildren, and two great grandchildren.

Michael Kelakos died of complications from Parkinson's disease on February 27 in South Yarmouth.

Born in Lowell, Massachusetts, he was a 1935 graduate of MIT. He served in the army during World War II, attaining the rank of colonel, and then served as deputy chief of the U.S. mission in

Berlin. He joined the State Department in 1951 as economic development officer for the Office of South Asian Affairs. He later served in Greece and Germany and with the Bureau of International Organizational Affairs and as deputy U.S. permanent representative to UNESCO. He also served in Rome and Tel Aviv.

In addition to his wife, Theresa Plakias, survivors include a son, George, of Wollaston, Massachusetts; a daughter, Eleni, of Los Angeles; a brother, and three sisters, all of Lowell.

Arthur L. Richards, 88, former ambassador to Ethiopia, died of heart failure at home in Bethesda, Maryland on February 22.

Born on a ranch near Emmett, Idaho in 1907, Richards entered the Foreign Service in 1930 after graduating from George Washington University. Subsequent assignments included Guadalajara, Teheran, Jerusalem, Cairo, Cape Town, and Pretoria. At the end of World War II, Richards returned to the Department of State as assistant chief of the British Commonwealth Division and later served as director of the Office of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs. Subsequently he served as deputy representative to two international conferences in Geneva. Other overseas assignments included consul general in Istanbul and ambassador to Ethiopia.

Richards often recalled an incident that occurred while he was ambassador. He came to the palace, complete with top hat and tails, to help negotiate a settlement to political unrest. While there, an attempted coup against Haile Selassie began with machine gunfire. The ambassador climbed through a window, ran across the veranda, and commandeered a Jeep, which he and an aide drove away—with top hat and tails flying in the breeze.

His final position with the department was as chief examiner of the

Foreign Service Board of Examiners. After retirement in 1966, he held positions with the National Council for Community Service and Meridian House, and retired again in 1973.

He is survived by his wife, Ida Miles Richards of Bethesda, Maryland, a daughter, Sarah Richards Numminen of Pennsylvania; two sons, Hubert and John, of the Washington D.C. area; four grandchildren, and one great grandson.

Wilma May Wilder died after a long illness on March 27 at her home in Aptos, California.

Wilder graduated from San José State University with a degree in music and later served as a flight instructor in the Navy. In 1952 she joined the Foreign Service, serving with A.I.D. in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Tunisia, Sudan, Brazil, Nicaragua, and Vietnam. She retired in 1971.

She is survived by her brother, Walter E. Wilder; a niece, nephews, and their children.

Orme Wilson, Jr., 70, died of a heart attack March 30 at his farm in Virginia.

Wilson was born in New York City and graduated from Harvard University. During World War II, he was a pilot in the Navy, attaining the rank of lieutenant commander. After the war he was a pilot for Pan American Airways and in 1951 was commissioned in the Foreign Service. His posts included Frankfurt, Southampton, Belgrade, and Athens. He served as consul general in Zagreb, and then was posted to the United Nations and to NATO. He retired in 1980. Past director of the Laurel Race Course, he had been president of the Virginia Thoroughbred Association since 1990.

Survivors include his wife, Mildred Dunn Wilson of White Post; three children, Marshall Wilson of Mobile, Elsie Wilson Thompson of Charlottesville, and Orme Wilson III of Louisville; and seven grandchildren. ■

Dollar Diplomacy the American way

Come to American Service Center for diplomatic immunity from high prices. If you are on an overseas assignment, and carry a diplomatic or official passport, you can save on the purchase of a new Mercedes-Benz with U.S. equipment, shipped directly to the United States or for pick up in Stuttgart*.

Contact Erik Granholm, our Diplomatic and Tourist Sales Manager.



**American
Service Center®**

585 North Glebe Road
Arlington, Virginia 22203
703/525-2100

FAX: 703/525-1430

*Car must be imported into U.S. within
6 months after taking delivery in Europe.



Mercedes-Benz-Registered Trademarks of Daimler-Benz AG,
Stuttgart, Federal Republic of Germany

DIPLOMATS IN HISTORY: TRADE IN THE CONGO

Note: *The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is indebted to Foreign Service officer Peter Eicher for the following historic despatch and explanatory note.*



YANKEE ENTERPRISE AT WORK

From U.S. Agent to the States of the Congo Association, W.P. Tisdal to Secretary of State Bayard, 1885.

In 1878, King Leopold II of Belgium and American explorer and adventurer Henry Stanley founded the International Congo Association, a private organization aimed at developing the Congo basin. In subsequent travels through Africa, Stanley signed treaties with hundreds of chiefs, bringing them under the umbrella of the association. In 1885, the United States became the first country to grant official recognition to the International Congo Association—later the Congo Free State and then the Belgian Congo—as a friendly state. The American recognition came about partly as the result of the reports by U.S. Agent W.P. Tisdal, the first official American to travel through portions of central Africa. The following report is Tisdal's first account of the conditions and trade opportunities in central and west Africa.

Lisbon, Portugal, April 25, 1885
Sir:

I have the honor to report my return to the coast at Banana, the 20th ultimo, having traveled by special caravan to the interior of Africa as far as Stanley Pool . . . calling at Kinchassa, De Brassaville, and other points, and visiting the native villages bordering the pool.

. . . I recommend most earnestly that Americans who contemplate establishing themselves on the Lower Congo, or anywhere on the west coast of Africa, should not do so unless supplied with a large capital, which will enable them to compete with the long-established Dutch, English, and German houses, which control almost the entire trade of the west coast. . . . They must locate

"factories" or stations in different parts, engage help acclimated and familiar with the country and the natives, and with a knowledge of both the Portuguese and Fiole languages, make presents to the chiefs of tribes, and in this manner induce the natives to come in to the newly established "factories." All this takes time and money and little or no return can be expected for at least a year.

The most valuable productions of the country and for which there is an ever-increasing demand, are rubber, palm kernels and palm oil, gum copal, ground-nuts, and wax. The rubber and palm trees are of spontaneous growth and to be found everywhere in the lowlands. The supply is not equal to the demand, yet there is no limit to the quantity of these rich products which might be taken from the country if the natives could be induced to work. Here again arises the question of labor, and to me it seems feasible to create wants amongst the tribes of the low and coast lands which will after a time induce them to gather and bring to the traders in large quantities the products which they can so readily exchange for anything which they may require. . . .

I may remark here that a few bottles of trade gin will go much further in trade with the natives than ten times its value in cloth. . . . A native man can be induced to work at a "factory" for one or two days at a time upon the assurance that . . . he can have a bottle of gin, while if you offer him a piece of cloth it is doubtful whether he would work at all.

The coast women are fond of cloth, having a preference for the gaudy colors. They are the work-people of the country, and if it were not for their industry little or nothing would be gath-

ered for foreign markets. The men lounge about, drinking, gossiping, fighting or hunting as it may suit their tastes.

... Very great precaution must be exercised during the first year's stay in the country, in order that the system may be kept free from the poisonous influences of the malaria which overhangs the entire country. ... Good shelter, with an abundance of good wholesome food and a fair allowance of pure Bordeaux or Portuguese wine, with indoor occupation or amusement after nightfall, would, I am sure, go very far towards a guarantee of fairly good health.

Common cotton and woolen goods, rum, gin, glass beads, guns, powder, tobacco, and common cutlery make up the principal imports. ... Whether or not the cotton goods of an American manufacturer can be laid down on the Congo and along the coast as cheaply as those from England, I cannot say (certainly we cannot produce them of a poorer quality than sampled).

There are no hotels or even stopping places, and several cases of extreme hardship and suffering have come to my notice, where agents have been sent to the coast without knowing where they

were going or what they were going for.

As to the government on the Lower Congo or on the coast north of Angola there is none, nor even a semblance of government, until we arrive at Gaboon or Fernando Po, where we first come upon the military rule of the French and Spanish.

At Banana, at points along the Lower Congo, on the coast, and in the lowland interior, at each station or "factory," the traders have a small armory, and not infrequently are they required to resort to arms for defense from attacks by the natives, or to punish the natives for some offense committed. Upon the slightest provocation or even without provocation, the natives often attack the "factories," burn the buildings, and plunder the stores.

The natives are all armed with old flint-lock muskets, which have been sold to them by the traders, and it is an exceptional case to meet a native man without one unless he be a slave, and even slaves are oftentimes armed. They do not well understand the use of firearms, and, notwithstanding they carry guns, they prefer the poisoned arrow or spear, with which they do much better

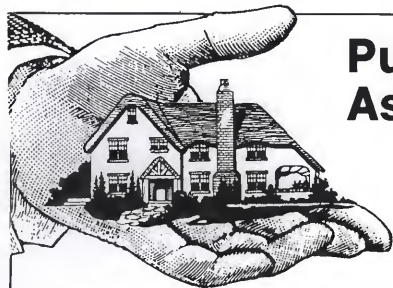
execution. I might add, however, that they are informing themselves in the matter of improved fire-arms, and chiefs of tribes are now demanding repeating or magazine rifles with prepared metallic cartridges.

There are no manufactories in the country, excepting for rum; consequently everything but the commonest articles of food is required from abroad.

In Cameroon, the Germans, by reason of recent conquests, control the trade, and, though the country is very rich, I do not think it possible for an American to get a foothold there. The same may be said of Fernando Po, under Spanish rule, and of the lower Niger country,

Goree, Dakar, and San Luis, in the French African possessions of Senegal, are thriving business places, but the French look so well after their tradespeople that I could hardly recommend an American merchant to venture in these parts. Yankee enterprise, has, however, shown itself in Goree, where an American house, against all odds, is doing a fair business.

I Have, &c.,
W.P. TISDEL



Put Your Most Valuable Asset In Our Hands.

A member of the
Sears Financial Network

**COLDWELL
BANKER**

(703) 556-6100

Coldwell Banker, one of America's largest real estate companies, has provided superior leasing and property management services to absentee home owners since 1933. Our full-time staff of expertly trained property managers is ready to serve **your** needs.

—Our Services Include—

- COMPLETE TENANT SCREENING
- ON-SITE PROPERTY INSPECTIONS
- MONTHLY STATEMENTS
- YEAR-END TAX STATEMENTS
- PROMPT DISBURSEMENT OF PROCEEDS TO OWNERS
- DEPENDABILITY AT COMPETITIVE RATES

Call us today!
or mail the enclosed coupon



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

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

RENTAL PROPERTY: _____

TELEPHONE #: () _____

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

BOOKS

Organization and moral choice

FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

By Howard Wiarda, Scott, Foresman/
Little, Brown, 1990, \$15.16 softcover

AMERICAN INTERESTS, AMERICAN PURPOSE: MORAL REASONING AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

By George Weigel, Center for Strategic
and International Studies, 1989, \$34.95
hardcover, \$11.95 softcover

Reviewed by John D. Stempel

These two volumes make a comprehensive kit for studying both organizational issues and questions of moral choice in foreign policy. In doing so, the books illuminate options in a period of change.

Wiarda's book was written expressly as a text for the study of American foreign policy, but he calls upon his own experience as a policy kibitzer as well as his academic expertise to give it unusually rich depth. Chapter nine, "The Washington Social Circuit," is worth reading for even the most jaded player in the game, and the preceding chapter, "The New Powerhouses: Think Tanks and Foreign Policy," is an outstanding review of organizations that all Foreign Service officers and their political betters should be aware of—and frequently are not.

The State Department takes its lumps—it can't conceptualize, relies on impressionistic analysis, and is hostile to outsiders. In fact, Wiarda believes State's problem is not organization, but "it is the people and the particular subculture at State." Defense, on the other hand, has some of the "nicest, smartest, most capable people to be found anywhere," but a system that is "frustrating, debilitating, and

wasteful." He takes a number of cheap shots at both these organizations and others. But his analysis will be interesting—if annoying—to Foreign Service officers, because even if not fully justified (and this reviewer thinks he overdoes it), it indicates some serious attitudinal problems in dealing with important constituencies.

Wiarda thoroughly describes the conflict, confusion, and disarray of contemporary foreign policy and ex-

The State Department takes its lumps—it can't conceptualize, relies on impressionistic analysis, and is hostile to outsiders. In fact, Wiarda believes State's problem is not organization, but "it is the people and the particular subculture at State."

tends the analysis of many of the same causes that Gelb, Lake, and Destler first identified five years ago in *Our Own Worst Enemy*. There is little except projection on the Bush Administration, scant notice of the expanding role of states and cities—but ample and good material on other private organizations—and only passing reference to the National Endowment for Democracy and its offshoots, which are playing an increasingly important role in Central Europe.

Wiarda concludes that much of recent American foreign policy "comes closer to guerrilla theater rather than

democracy," but he ends on a hopeful note. He writes that, while citizens can do little to change the system, they can do much to make it function effectively and to dampen down the ideological swings of recent years.

George Weigel, a Roman Catholic theologian who is president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, also has some rather large bones to pick with ideology. For Weigel, however, these bones are the remnants of Wilsonian moralism, which he believes has bedeviled U.S. foreign policy since the early years of this century.

Drawing on sources as diverse as Evelyn Waugh's war novels and the debate over nuclear deterrence, he severely criticizes moral policy argument that does not include a calculation of consequences. He deplores the narrow moralism of pacifists who argue for unilateral disarmament regardless of the consequences, as well as that of *realpolitikers* who insist there is no room for moral choice in foreign affairs.

The real question is not "whether we shall apply moral norms and values to foreign policy, but how." Weigel suggests that it is time to reconsider the theory of "just war" to take into account the pressures that terrorism and other types of low-intensity conflict place on democratic societies.

His broader argument is that there is a case for promoting democracy, as well as what liberation theologians call a "preferential option for the poor."

Weigel argues that support for democratization is not only morally right but in the U.S. national interest as well. He is perhaps a bit overenthusiastic in selling his point. It may not be true in the short run, for example, that "Democracies are more likely to provide political stability than traditional authoritarianisms." But he sees this as a helpful policy for building the consen-

sus that Wiarda believes will be difficult to generate. Read against the surprising developments in Germany, Central Europe, and the Soviet Union, his analysis is more in tune with unfolding reality than most.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with Weigel, this volume is one of the few works on the subject that will find an echoing chord in foreign policy practitioners and not automatically set their teeth on edge. In the contemporary period, that's a definite plus, when everyone is going back to school.

John D. Stempel teaches U.S. foreign policy at the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce, University of Kentucky.

Out and About

A LIFE ON THE ROAD

By Charles Kuralt, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1990, \$19.95, hardcover

Reviewed by Jack H. Shellenberger

For those of us who associate Charles Kuralt with TV images of turn-of-the-century general stores and a pond or

waterfall in Appalachia, this narrative has all of that and a great deal more. As a former radio journalist, I related to Kuralt's account of his early years as an apprentice CBS news writer, who on one occasion had the temerity to suggest a wording change in a commentary drafted by one Edward R. Murrow.

Foreign Service people will relate to Kuralt's peripatetic lifestyle as he "filled one suitcase with my clothes, another one with volumes of Latin American history and diplomacy, and went off to Rio studying Spanish and Portuguese phrasebooks on the plane." This was in 1961, when Kuralt was named CBS bureau chief for Latin America.

Cross-cultural training came early. "You talk too fast when people come to the office," his secretary told him, "You press too hard, and you do not offer them coffee." His office time was sporadic, however, given his 20-country beat, and the incessant demands of his boss in New York, who imagined that Latin America was about the size of Pennsylvania. Kuralt's coverage of the territory is telescoped into 22 pages, including tight shots of Castro's Cuba in that regime's early days.

But that's what the Kuralt experience is all about. "The reporter is a stone skipping on a pond, taking an instant to tell one story and ricocheting to the next, covering a lot of water while only skimming the surface." He gets good and wet in places like Matadi in the then Belgian Congo, in Saigon, "the most seductive of cities," and along the Mississippi. Charles Kuralt is a river junkie. "America is a great story," he writes, "and there's a river on every page of it."

The subject of one of Kuralt's "On the Road" pieces in the 1970s is George Black, a 90-year-old brickmaker. A U.S.A.I.D. official sees the piece on the evening news and decides this is the person A.I.D. needs to teach the villagers of Guyana brickmaking. Black is eager to be dispatched, and a contract is drawn, when a senior A.I.D. official decides not to approve. Black is just too old. But before A.I.D. can turn it off, the brickmaker "envoy" is in the national press.

"I don't have many souvenirs from my adventures on the road," Kuralt writes, "but from the story of George Black, I have two. The first is one of his

An Innovation In Corporate Housing

Introducing The Chase at Ballston...luxury, short-term Corporate Apartment Homes designed to provide many of the amenities of a fine hotel, without the hotel expense.

- Located minutes from downtown Washington, DC and National Airport.
- Secure, beautifully landscaped residential setting.
- Luxurious one & two bedroom apartments, equipped with top of the line furnishings, plush wall-to-wall carpeting, walk-in closets, and complete kitchens.
- Conference center.
- Complete Nautilus fitness center, lighted tennis court, and a spacious outdoor swimming pool.
- Within walking distance of department stores, specialty shops and restaurants.
- Free Metro shuttle service.
- A staff dedicated to providing you with the level of service you would expect in a first class hotel.

THE CHASE

BALLSTON

The Service You Deserve

4650 N. Washington Boulevard, Arlington, Virginia



FOR INFORMATION CALL 703-527-4409
or FAX 703-516-4369

BOOKS

bricks, solid and strong, like the man who made it. The second is a photograph of President Nixon . . . flanked by Mr. Black.

There are 26 such pieces in *A Life on the Road* and each is a skip on a pond as wide and varied as the globe itself.

Jack Shellenberger is dean of area studies at the Foreign Service Institute.

Business and Pleasure

CRESTED KIMONO: POWER AND LOVE IN THE JAPANESE BUSINESS FAMILY

By **Matthews Masayuki Hamabata**.
Cornell University Press, 1990, \$17.95,
hardcover

Reviewed by **Terry Jones**

The current book market reflects Americans' desire to better understand their Japanese counterparts. There are

enough "Japan alert" and "Japan bashing" books to satisfy the most avid reader. Hamabata's book is unusual in that it manages to provide insights without judging. Hamabata has no message he wants to carry to policy-makers, and he lets the reader decide what his observations might mean.

Crested Kimono is a 10-year study on marital and filial relations in the attainment of power and transmission of resources among wealthy Japanese. The author looks behind the public facade to see the human interactions in prominent Japanese families, viewing their private dilemmas, as shaped by institutional and cultural settings. His writing style is unpretentious, fluent, and unobtrusive.

Hamabata breaks new ground by focusing on women and their role. While so many writers on Japan seem to believe that in a male-dominated culture only men are worth studying, this book documents the role of women as essential parts of the kinship network that is so important to Japanese busi-

ness. He provides striking examples of women acting as both partners and competitors with men.

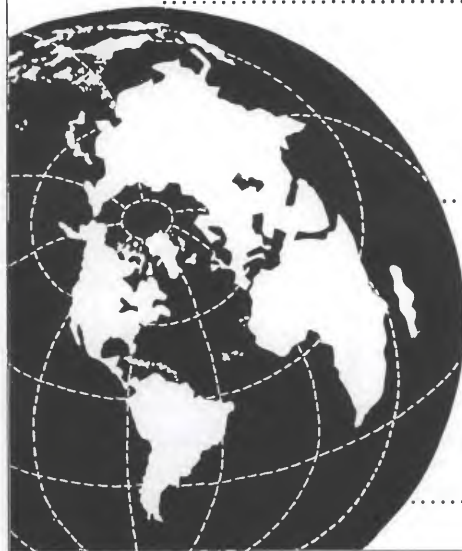
His descriptions of the machinations behind the standard *omiai* (arranged match) are fascinating. He shows how a wrong marriage can put the future of younger siblings and even a family business in jeopardy. Hamabata that marriage is necessary for career success, because it stabilizes people and makes them "reasonable."

This account shows us the "structural impediments" faced by foreign businesses. The insights into the Japanese concepts of "insider" and "outsider" would be useful in shaping U.S. negotiating positions. This book will give the reader a feel for presenting a *tatemae* or public face to best advantage and how to save the visitor and the Japanese host from public embarrassment. Most important, the book is fun to read. ■

Terry Jones is a Foreign Service officer on sabbatical as an Una Chapman Cox Fellow.

WORLDWIDE INSURANCE FOR FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL

PERSONAL PROPERTY ■ AUTO MARINE ■ MARINE TRIP



Exclusively administered by

HUNTINGTON T. BLOCK INSURANCE

2101 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
Telephone 1-202-223-0673
Toll-Free 1-800-424-8830
Telefax 202-331-8409

NEW REDUCED RATES

- Very broad coverage
- Automatic replacement cost
- Automatic coverage up to 10% of total insured value for new acquisitions
- Foreign comprehensive personal liability
- On-the-spot claims service by representatives in every major city of the world

Underwritten by **London Insurers**

Join the ranks of our many satisfied repeat customers. Call toll free from anywhere in the United States or write our Overseas Division for more information.

OVER 25 YEARS OF INSURANCE EXPERIENCE



THE BEAUTY CENTER

BEAUTY SUPPLIES & SERVICE

HUNDREDS OF MAJOR BRANDS TO CHOOSE FROM...
AT DISCOUNT PRICES!



NEXXUS, PAUL MITCHELL, SEBASTIAN/SYSTEMA, REDKEN, GOLDWELL, KMS, AVEDA, SUKESHA, JOICO, SCRUPLES, OPTIMUM, WAVE NOUVEAU, LEISURE CURL, CREAM OF NATURE, GENTILE, HAWAIIAN SILKY, AFFIRM, DONNIES, SOF-N-FREE, ISOPLUS, B&B, POSNER, LOTTABODY, REVLON, LUSTERS, SOFT SHEEN, TCB, NEW ERA, CLAIROL, APHOGEE, LOREAL, KENRA, TRESSEME, LA COUPE, FERMODYL, ZOTOS, ALL WAYS, LE KAIR, PRECISE, SUPERNAIL, IBD, ORLY, OPI, ALPHA 9, GENA, PRE-CON, OSTER, WAHL, ANDIS, BELSON, PLIMATIC, ETC...

LARGE SELECTION OF HAIR ACCESSORIES

- perm rods
- plastic caps
- curling/straightening iron
- gloves
- blow dryers
- crimpers/deep wavers
- clippers/trimmers
- hair color
- synthetic/100% human hair available

Immediate delivery to APO & FPO Addresses

To place an order or for a free catalog
send name and address to:

The Beauty Center of Rockville
Department FOR
835-E Rockville Pike
Rockville, MD 20852

CREDIT CARD, CERTIFIED CHECK
OR MONEY ORDERS ACCEPTED

Credit Card orders-call collect
between 10am-7:30pm E.S.T.
(301) 251-8644
Fax (301) 499-8717 24hrs.

YOUR TOTAL HAIR CARE CENTER BY MAIL!



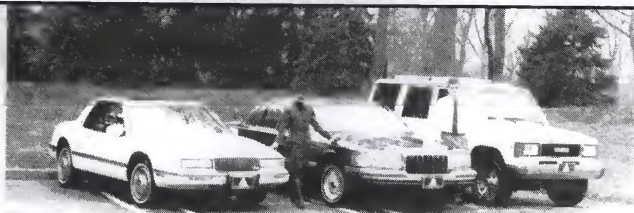
I-66



Glebe
Road

I-395

Next to
Ballston Metro



**ASK
FOR:**

**Randy Peeler
or
Sherry Miles**

TOP TWO SALES PROFESSIONALS

(703) 243-4000

We Want To Be YOUR Transportation Consultants

JKJ LINCOLN MERCURY/ISUZU/BUICK/MITSUBISHI
640 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22203

Our Services Include

- * Special Discounts for Diplomats
- * Professional & Reliable Technicians
- * Night Dropoff Service
- * Courteous & Friendly Atmosphere

Call Us Today

☐ **YES! I would like a brochure on**
_Lincoln_Mercury_Buick_Isuzu
_Mitsubishi

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

Mail to: Randy or Sherry

640 N. Glebe Rd.

Arlington, Va. 22203

Now, America's most experienced overseas mover is an approved Department of State contractor.



In 1927, Security introduced the first all-steel shipping containers and spearheaded the first network of overseas agents. **In 1932** (shown above), Security shipped the household goods and art collection of Andrew Mellon, the U.S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James.



Security began moving Presidents into the White House in 1897. And, the tradition continues to this day.

Move with Security. You'll enjoy expert planning and packing—for shipment to all posts abroad.

Store with Security. You can store household goods left in Washington—at Government expense. Also, when approved, temperature-controlled storage is available for your art, rugs, furs and clothing.

Insure with Security. Our Government Service Policy offers special low rates for your

belongings—in-transit or at your residence outside the U.S.

Now, you can choose to move, store and insure with Security, backed by over 100 years' experience. Call (202) 234-5600 for information.

Since 1890
Security
STORAGE COMPANY

Our 2nd Century of Quality Service.

1701 Florida Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009-2697 Telephone: (202) 234-5600

MARKETPLACE



REGISTERED
INVESTMENT ADVISOR
1980 GALLOWES ROAD, SUITE 240
VIENNA, VIRGINIA 22182
PHONE: 703-442-0505
FAX: 703-442-7544

Connie Dupras
Certified Financial Planner
Certified Public Accountant

- Planning, Investments, Insurance
Tax Preparation
- Fee/Commission Offset
or Fee Only
- 11 Years Overseas Experience
- Tysons Corner Location
near Dunn Loring Metro

DERAND/PENNINGTON/BASS, Inc.
Registered Broker Dealer-Member SIPC, NASD

WALK TO STATE

Short Term Rentals

Remington Condominium 24th & G Streets NW

Fully furnished and accessorized
with balconies.

Included in each unit are:
Weekly housekeeping services,
washer and dryer, full kitchen

1½ blocks to
the Foggy Bottom Metro

Low rates and no deposits for
Foreign Service Personnel
small pets accepted
Remington Associates, Inc.
601 24th Street NW, #106
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 466-7367
Fax (202) 659-8520

NEILL & SHAW

ATTORNEY AT LAW

GOVERNMENTAL EMPLOYMENT
LAW INCLUDING U.S. FOREIGN
SERVICE GRIEVANCE BOARD
ACTIONS * EEO * SECURITY CLEARANCE
ISSUES * TAXATION AND
TAX PLANNING * ESTATE
PLANNING, WILLS AND TRUSTS
* GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

G. JERRY SHAW
WILLIAM L. BRANSFORD
THOMAS J. O'ROURKE

Over 45 years representing federal
State Department Employees. Authors
of "The Way of Wills," an estate
planning guide for federal employees.

815 Connecticut Ave., N.W.,
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 463-8400
FAX: (202) 833-8082

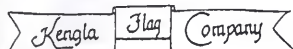
F * L * A * G * S

U.S. STATE • FOREIGN POLES & ACCESSORIES



CUSTOM MADE FLAGS
AND BANNERS FOR
GOVERNMENT
INSTITUTIONS
ORGANIZATIONS
SCHOOLS

202-363-1610
1-800-899-1610
FAX # 202-363-1866



4708 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

VOLVO

U.S.A.'s Largest Diplomatic Dealer



740 GLE Sedan

Diplomatic Discounts

Worldwide Delivery to Diplomats,
Members of International Organizations
& Military Personnel

Contact: Dana Martens
Diplomatic Sales Director

MARTENS VOLVO OF WASHINGTON

4810 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 537-3000
Fax: (202) 537-1826

MERCERSBURG ACADEMY



Located in South
Central Pennsylvania
less than two hours easy
drive from Washington,
D.C., Mercersburg

offers an excellent academic pro-
gram in a friendly and supportive
environment.

A diverse student body and
faculty, small classes, a beautiful
campus, and numerous athletic
and extracurricular activities pro-
vide a wonderful setting for a rich
and rewarding experience for boys
and girls grades 9-12.

For more information write or call:

DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS
Mercersburg Academy
Mercersburg, PA 17236
(717) 328-2151
FAX: (717) 328-2151-9072
or

L. Bruce Laingen, Executive Director
National Commission on the Public Service
(202) 638-0307

MARKETPLACE

VOLVO

**Factory-Set Discounts
To Diplomats Posted
Stateside and Abroad**

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

JERRY GRIFFIN
DIPLOMATIC SALES SPECIALIST

Don Beyer Volvo

1231 W. Broad Street
Falls Church, VA 22046

(703) 237-5020

FAX: (703) 237-5028

COLUMBIA PLAZA PHARMACY

516 23rd St. NW.
Washington, D.C. 20037
Telephone (202) 331-5800
FAX (202) 452-7820

ORDER ANYTIME BY MAIL

and get our 20% discount
on all prescriptions
You have credit with us;
order all your drug items
from us and pay upon receipt
You can always rely on us for
fast, efficient service
Satisfied customers all
over the world

We are anxious to
service you

CARE DRUG
CENTER

ASSIGNED TO EUROPE

**PICK UP A SAAB OR MERCEDES
BENZ AND SAVE.**

You'll not only save money by
taking delivery in Europe or stateside,
you'll save even more just for being in
the military or Diplomatic Corps.

Call or fax for details.

EuroMotorcars

ASK FOR

Randy Merry

International and Diplomatic Sales
Mercedes Benz / Saab
7020 Arlington Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20814-2996
Tel. (301) 986-8800 / Telex 440155
FAX: (301) 986-0679
Factory Authorized Dealer

FORGET-ME-NOT GIFT BASKETS

FAX 202-686-9552
PHONE 202-686-9551

"Merci, Gracias, Thanks"	\$65
"The Potpourri"—Lotion and Potions	\$45
"The Chocoholic"	\$40
"The Student Care Package"	\$45
"Get-Well-Soon"	\$50
"Tea for Two" or "Coffee Break"	\$45
"Baby Shower" (boy or girl)	\$45

**FREE DELIVERY IN THE
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES**

Send a " " Basket to:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Message _____

I enclose my check for \$ _____

Mail to: "Forget-me-not" Gift Baskets
3389 Stephenson Place NW
Washington DC 20015

SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL!

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



Morgan Pharmacy™

3001 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
FAX: (202) 337-4102

Export Electronics, Inc.

- Transformers
- Washers/Dryers
- Dishwashers
- Refrigerators
- Air Conditioners
- Freezers
- Ranges
- TVs/VCRs
- Small appliances
- Audio Equipment



SONY
PHILIPS
PANASONIC
AIWA
TOSHIBA
GRUNDIG
AKAI
SHARP
SANSUI



110/220 Volt Stereo 50/50 Hz - Video - T.V. - Appliances
1719 Connecticut Ave., N.W. (Near Dupont Ctr.)
Washington, D.C. 20009
Phone (202) 232-2244 FAX (202) 265-2435

Call for any book

- Immediate shipment worldwide
- Credit cards or check
- Ask about our overnight gift delivery nationwide
- Free monthly new title forecast
- Mail orders welcome
- Open 24 hours every day
- Free holiday gift catalog

1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide
(203) 966-5470
FAX 1-203-966-4329

 59 Elm Street
New Canaan, CT 06840





DIPLOMATIC & EUROPEAN DELIVERY

WASHINGTON AREA'S MOST EXPERIENCED AND LARGEST

DIPLOMATIC PRICES AVAILABLE ON IN-STOCK BMW'S or EUROPEAN DELIVERY

Dave Milligan
20 Years Diplomatic Sales & Specialist


1396 Rockville Pike
Rockville MD • (301) 984-8989
(FAX) 301-984-0798

At Last!

An opportunity perfectly suited to make all those overseas moves and contacts finally pay off in a most lucrative way! Excellent answer for FSO, spouses and/or dependents, and retirees seeking added income to family budget (*part-time*) or your own international business organization (*full-time*).

Business growth limited to imagination whether you live in USA or Timbuktu. Former Foreign Service employee, with overseas assignments only, will train and assist in every way to get you started. *No experience necessary.*

Contact directly or on next home visit. (2 blocks down Oak Street from FSI).
BLUE HAWK INTERNATIONAL
1600 North Oak Street #1601
Rosslyn, Virginia 22209 USA
(703) 525-1390

GEORGETOWN MEWS

FURNISHED SUITES
in the heart of
GEORGETOWN
Washington's
FINEST LOCATION



adjacent to world class restaurants and shops

- FULLY EQUIPPED KITCHENS
- FREE LOCAL TELEPHONE CALLS
- OPTIONAL MAID SERVICE
- FREE CABLE TV
- PARKING AVAILABLE

Daily, Weekly & Monthly Rates
from \$48.00 per day
(30 DAY MINIMUM)

Call (202) 298-7731

1111 30th St., N.W. WASH DC 20007

MCG FINANCIAL PLANNING

Former State Department
Employee Stationed Overseas
Understands Unique Financial
Situation of Foreign Service

Services Include:
Retirement Planning
Tax Preparation and Strategies
Analysis: Insurance and Investments
Lump Sum Retirement Options

MARY CORNELIA GINN
4550 Montgomery Avenue
Suite 820N
Bethesda, Maryland 20814
(301) 656-3791
Fax: (301) 652-2183

Securities offered through Nathan & Lewis
Securities, Inc.
Member NASD & SIPC

Select and get fast delivery of new

PAPERBACK BOOKS

Wherever you are in the world, use our monthly newsletter to select and order latest paperbacks. Each issue describes 300 new releases. Special orders filled. Not a club, no minimum purchases. 16th year of worldwide service.



Rush free issue of paperback newsletter

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Country _____

THE COMPLETE
Paperback
SHOPPER

P.O. Box 44, Dept. 14
Winnetka, IL 60093

W **ashington, DC?**
buying a home in
Larry Kamins
is the expert you want to call!
202/546-3899
SHANNON & LUCHS
Photo by Martha Tabor

*Let experience
work for you*

Let the experience of dedicated,
knowledgeable realtors work
for you, whether you are buying
or selling.

Gordon or Loretta Noffsinger
Better Homes Realty

6045 Wilson Blvd.,
Arlington, VA 22205

The largest Realtor exclusively serving No. Virginia
Off: (703) 532-5100



CERTIFIED RESIDENTIAL SPECIALISTS
 Members: Better Homes Chief's Club
 NVRB Million Dollar Sales Club
 Top Producer

Ho: (703) 243-7889



**Experienced Real Estate Agent
With Well-Established Company**

- Buying
- Selling
- Investing
- Refinancing
- Property Management

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

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



ATTENTION: REALTORS

An ad in the Foreign Service Journal is an effective way
to reach a mobile audience that needs your services.

60% of our readers invest in real estate other
than primary residence

62% are homeowners

75% of those own a home worth over \$100,000

In the last five years

61% have used the services of a real estate agent

49% have rented temporary living accommodations

55% have rented holiday accommodations

**You can make a direct and profitable approach to the
Foreign Service market by advertising in its own journal.**

Publishers Notice: All real estate advertised herein is subject to the Federal Fair
Housing Act of 1968 which makes it illegal to advertise any preference, limitations,
or discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or intention
to make any such preferences, limitation or discrimination.

We will not knowingly accept any advertising for real estate which is in violation
of the law. All persons are hereby informed that all dwellings advertised are
available on an equal opportunity basis.

PERSONAL TOUCH

Construction: We are general contrac-
tors with an on-staff designer, and Joel
Truitt is a certified kitchen and bath de-
signer. Our projects range from repairs,
to entire remodelings, kitchens and
baths, tax-act restorations and additions.
Since 1972, we insist on quality in every
aspect of a project.

Management: As a real estate broker
since 1973, we have been managing
property for Washington property owners
assigned around the world. Our manage-
ment includes private residences, com-
mercial and multi-unit properties and
condominium associations.

Joel Truitt — Builder
Property Management
 734 Seventh Street, S.E.
 Washington, D.C. 20003
547-2707 — Quality Since 1972

Residential Property Management

**Northwest
Asset Management, Inc.**



Specializing in Northwest Washington, D.C.

202 966-7323
 3413 Fessenden St., NW Washington, DC 20008

HOUSE KEEPING.

Make sure your Northern Virginia home is kept in
good care while you're away. Our staff has extensive
experience with absentee property owners — we under-
stand the personal service that's necessary to keep your
home running smoothly. In fact, we're sure you'll find
our attention to detail like that of no other property
management firm . . .

Call, FAX or write: Jeff Surdyk

3110 Fairview Park Drive, Suite 1010
 Falls Church, Virginia 22042
 703-641-5910 FAX 703-641-5924



Mark Tracz Real Estate, Inc.

MULTIPLE LISTING
Dedicated to Serving the
Real Estate Needs of the
Foreign Service Community

Going Overseas?



WE SPECIALIZE IN PERSONALIZED PROPERTY MANAGEMENT!

- Rental Market Analysis
- Monthly Statements
- Tenant Screening
- Mortgage Payments
- Rent Collection
- Year-End Tax Statements
- Property Inspections
- Property Maintenance

Returning to Washington?



Write Anne Gomez
for a Free Welcome Kit
with No Obligation!

DIPLOMAT PROPERTIES, Inc.
3900 N. Fairfax Dr., Suite 204
Arlington, VA 22203
(Near Virginia Square Metro)

(703) 522-5900

FAX: (703) 525-4713

**Specializing in
PROPERTY
MANAGEMENT**



Property Specialists, Inc.

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

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

Our staff includes:

Donna Courtney	Fran Palmeri
Donna Linton	Bill Struck
Rick Brown	Randy Reed
Gerry Addison	Terry Barker

All presently or formerly associated
with the Foreign Service.

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



Coming Home? – Let Me Help You!

Let me help you find what you're looking
for anywhere in Northern Virginia!

CAROLYN MOONEY

LIFETIME MEMBER, NVAR
MILLION DOLLAR SALES CLUB
14 YEARS EXPERIENCE
IN REAL ESTATE
SPOUSE OF FORMER
FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER



Write for my Real Estate Information Package!
Carolyn Mooney c/o McEneaney Associates, Inc.
1320 Old Chain Bridge Road, McLean, VA 22101
703-790-9090 or 800-548-9080

Name: _____

Address: _____

I will ☐ will not ☐ need temporary housing.



Linda Wilson Hurley, GRI

*We Give
You
Our Best*

Linda, a former Foreign Service spouse for 16 years,
has first-hand knowledge about Foreign Service
relocations. She is a member of the Chairman's
Club, WDCAR Top Producers and Multi-Million
Dollar Sales Club and the MCAR Million Dollar
Sales Club; she is listed in "100 of the Best Real
Estate Agents in Washington, D.C. and Maryland."
She is also licensed in Virginia and is a Graduate of
the REALTOR® Institute.



Mount Vernon
INTOWN PROPERTIES, INC.

5008 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
Office: (202) 364-8200
Residence: (202) 363-9337
Fax #: (202) 364-1194

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

Results since 1956

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



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

If you are considering renting your
HOME OR APARTMENT
Call Susan Bader today for more information

(202) 244-1000
5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Excellent references upon request



Patricia W. Swierczek
Foreign Service Staff Officer (Ret)

35 years Foreign Service experience plus the
25 years brokerage experience of QUALITY HOMES Inc.
add up to an unbeatable QUALITY team! Whether you
are returning to the U.S., retiring in Alaska or Australia,
or going out on assignment, all of your real estate needs
are given our QUALITY care.

Sales/Rentals • Property Management • Relocation Service
Office: (703) 780-5100 • FAX: (703) 971-0340 • Res: (703) 971-9251



QUALITY HOMES REALTY, INC

Experience the Quality Commitment!

Potomac Square • 8403-J Richmond Highway • Alexandria, VA 22309



CLASSIC ERA
114 N. Alfred Street
Alexandria, VA 22314



ANNE M. CORRERI
Associate Broker
Licensed in Virginia and D.C.

"If we don't sell your house, ERA will buy it!"

*Dedicated to professional service. Consultant in residential property and investment
property. Former Foreign Service and Foreign Service spouse.*

Office: (703) 684-6300
1-800-736-2230
Home: (703) 256-9248



**McGrath
Management Corporation**

13100 Worldgate Drive, Suite 120, Herndon,
VA 22070 • (703) 709-2264 • Fax: (703) 709-5230

Experienced Staff Providing Personalized Service
Specializing in the NORTHERN VIRGINIA AREA



Property Management
Residential Sales
Fax Machine #

- * Property Management
- * Residential Sales
- * Investment Properties



(703) 709-2264
(703) 938-5050
(703) 709-5230

Allied Owners Are Serving at 46 Overseas Posts

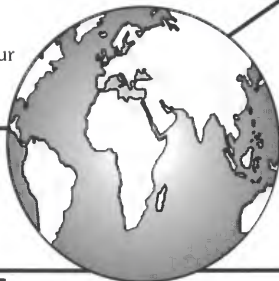
ASSIGNED OVERSEAS

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

ASSIGNED

TO WASHINGTON

- Large selection
- Immediate Occupancy
- All area locations
- Wide price range
- Immaculate condition



AARON DODEK, CPM
Senior Property Manager/Vice President

THEODORE ARTHUR, USIA Ret.
Associate Broker/Property Manager



7001 Wisconsin Avenue • Chevy Chase, MD 20815

(301) 657-8440 or 656-8600 or FAX 907-4766

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

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

Among Our 36 Agents The Following
Are Foreign Service Affiliated



John Baker
John Clunan
Christina Griffin
Josephine Holliday
Mariella Lehfeldt
Lynn Moffley Magruder
John Y. Millar
Janice J. Lyon Millar
Lynn Oglesby
Joanne Pernick
Robert Skiff
John Turner



MGMB Inc. Realtors

Foxhall Square 202-362-4480
3301 New Mexico Ave., N.W. Fax: 202-363-8954
Washington, D.C. 20016 Write for free relocation kit!

SIMPLY THE BEST

Whether you're relocating from overseas or purchasing or selling while PCS, you need the best in service, experience and expertise.

Call Bobbee for free information and assistance, or request a seminar at your embassy.

- 10 Years Experience in Real Estate in Northern Virginia;
- Former Foreign Service Spouse;
- 5 Years Experience Giving Real Estate Seminars at U. S. Embassies Abroad;
- Associate Broker;
- NVAR Million Dollar Sales Club.



Bobbee Cardillo
Associate Broker

I can make it easy for you,
as I have for many of your associates!



**Mount Vernon
REALTY INC.**

4069 CHAIN BRIDGE ROAD • FAIRFAX, VA 22030

OFFICE: 703/691-0555 • HOME: 703/978-5530

jean fales

associate broker

lic. va & dc



*your real estate needs
are my speciality*

RE/MAX

properties of distinction, inc.

4600-c lee highway

arlington va 22207

703/522-1940 fax 703/564-0466

SUBMIT!

**FOREIGN SERVICE
JOURNAL**

The *Foreign Service Journal* needs your writing skills. We are particularly interested in submissions for the Postcards from Abroad section, featuring snapshots of life overseas, and for the Speaking Out and From the Field columns. Reviews of books published in the current year are also welcome.

Send submissions not exceeding 4,000 words for features or 2,000 words for columns to:

Editor, Foreign Service Journal

2101 E Street, NW

Washington, D.C. 20037

Please include a return address and telephone number, and allow six weeks for review by our staff and editorial board.

Don't resist your literary impulses. Submit today to the *Foreign Service Journal*.

PROPERTY MGMT.

PEAKE PROPERTIES LTD.:

Specializing in the leasing and management of your Northern Virginia home. Caring, personal attention. Nearly 20 years of experience in serving the FS community's property management needs. Muriel Peake, Broker. 1350 Beverly Rd., Suite 220B, McLean, VA 22101. (703) 448-0212, FAX (703) 448-9652.

FAHEY & ASSOCIATES:

Professional, residential, property management service for Northern Virginia properties. Expertise and personal attention to detail are the hallmarks of our established firm. References provided. JIM FAHEY, 9520B Lee Highway, Fairfax, VA 22031 (703) 691-2006, FAX (703) 691-2009.

WASHINGTON MANAGEMENT SERVICES: Residential property management is our only business. Call, write or fax Mary Beth Otto, 2015 Q St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel (202) 462-7212, Fax (202) 332-0798.

MANOR SERVICES: Former federal law enforcement agent letting his 10-year residential management company expand upon retirement. Best tenant screening. Frequent property inspection. Mortgages paid. Repairs. Close personal attention. We're small but very effective. FS and military references. Lowest rates, Best service. Terish Norton, Box 42429, Washington, D.C. 20015, (202) 363-2990.

J.P. PROPERTIES, Complete professional dedication to the management of residential property in Northern Virginia. Brokers with Foreign Service overseas living experience and 13 years in residential real estate. We work for you. Joann Piekney, 301 Maple Avenue West, Vienna, Virginia 22180. Phone: (703) 938-0909, FAX: (703) 281-9782.

REAL ESTATE

HOUSE EXCHANGE

WANTED. Our Las Cruces, New Mexico country home on 2 acres with swimming pool for

In the states...
or overseas...
The quick and easy
way to sell...

CLASSIFIEDS

your upper Cleveland Park, Chevy Chase, Bethesda or Rockville area home. 1-2 year exchange desired beginning July 1991. Must accept pets. Write Alison Tinsley, P.O. Box 1315, Mesilla Park, N.M. 88047 or call (505) 524-3492.

BLOWING ROCK, N.C.

Cool Mountain Air, 2 bedroom time share chalet sleeps six. August 17th to September 14th. \$400/wk. or \$1050 3 wks. (904) 241-9106.

HOME LEAVE in rural New Hampshire. Completely furnished home-linens, china, utensils, etc. 5 bedrooms, 2 1/2 baths, 2-car garage, canoe, 7 wooded acres near three lakes. Children welcome., July 1991, \$1600 plus utilities. James Curran, Hancock, NH 03449. (603) 525-6672.

WASHINGTON, D.C. ARLINGTON, VA. Personalized relocation, short or long term. We specialize in walk-to-Metro sales and furnished rentals. Arlington Villas, 1-1/2 blocks from Metro, luxurious studio, 1, 2, 3 bedroom. Fully furnished. Washer/dryer, micro-wave, cable, linens. American Realty Group, 915 N Stafford St., Arlington, VA 22203, (703) 524-0482 or (703) 276-1200. Children welcomed. Pets on approval.

BACK FOR TRAINING? HOME LEAVE? D.C. TOUR? We are The Washington Metro Area Short-Term Rental Specialists. Excellent locations. Wide price range. In Virginia walk to FSI. In D.C. and Maryland walk to Metro. Large selection of furnished and equipped efficiencies, 1-bedrooms, 2-bedrooms and some furnished houses. Many welcome pets. For brochures & info: EXECUTIVE HOUSING CONSULTANTS, INC., Short Tenn Rental, 7315 Wisconsin Ave., Suite 1020 East,

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

WILL YOU NEED A FULLY

FURNISHED apartment five minutes' walk from FSI and Rosslyn subway? We have first class efficiencies, one bedrooms, and some two bedrooms and penthouses in River Place. They are completely furnished including CATV, all utilities, telephone, linens, etc. Shortterm leases of 2+ months available. Write Foreign Service Associates, P.O. Box 12855, Arlington, VA 22209-8855. Call or FAX 1-703-636-7606. Children welcome. Please send us dates.

EXECUTIVE CLUB ARLING-

TION AND OLD TOWN ALEXANDRIA. Immaculate and beautifully furnished apartments with full hotel services. One-two bedrooms, some with dens, all with equipped kitchens. Complimentary shuttle to Metro, Rosslyn, and Pentagon. Health Club and outdoor pool. Many extras. Rates within your per diem. Shorter or longer terms available. Executive Clubs, 610 Bashford Lane, Alexandria. VA 22304 (703) 739-2582, (800) 535-2582.

AUSTIN, TEXAS: Lakeway homes and homesites outside of Austin on 65-mile-long Lake Travis. Three 18 hole golf courses, world of tennis center, 400 slip marina, 4000 ft. airstrip: contact Roy & Associates for information, 2300 Lohmans Crossing, Suite 122, Austin, TX 78734 (512) 263-2181.

TOWNHOUSE TO SHARE.

Short or long term. Large bedroom, private bath available for professional person. Share remainder of house with single, male State Department officer. Utilities, phone, TV included. Reasonable rates. One block from FSI and two blocks from Rosslyn Metro. Contact Bernard

Salvo (703) 243-8835, 1606 Key Blvd., Arlington, VA 22209 or Lee Mason (State/DS/STD).

LURAY, VA-3 BR home on Shenandoah River. Panoramic mountain views. All amenities for secluded vacation/romantic weekend. 90 minutes from DC. (804) 479-3604.

GOING OVERSEAS? Why not buy this magnificently renovated four bedroom Victorian town house with one bedroom basement income unit on lovely historic area in cosmopolitan and historic Dupont Circle. Very high rents J. Prashar (202) 232-7980.

OFFICE SPACE to share with four non-profits-all engaged in foreign policy education. One windowed office. Option for additional secretarial space. Share fax, xerox, \$500-\$750. Contact Julie Chitwood, (202) 293-1051. 1726 M Street, N.W.

ARLINGTON/ROSSLYN, Virginia. Walk to Metro! From this immaculate two bedroom unit in convenient Colonial Village! Call Gary at (202) 637-6011. (\$890/month).

FARA APARTMENT RENTALS: Fully furnished efficiency, one and two bedroom apartments. One block from State Dept. Competitive rates. Call (202) 462-3910. Write FARA housing, Rm 2928, Dept. of State, Washington, DC 20520.

TAX RETURNS

TAX PLANNING & preparation 15 years experience. Virginia M. Test, CPA, 3485 Brittlewood Ave., Las Vegas, NV 89120.

FREE TAX CONSULTATION for overseas personnel. We process returns as received, without delay. Preparation and representation by enrolled agents, avg. fee \$195 includes return and TAX Trax, unique mini-financial planning review with recommendations. Full planning available. Milton E. Carb, E.A., and Barry B. De Marr, E.A.CFP, FINANCIAL FORECASTS, metro location 933 N. Kenmore St. #217 Arlington, VA 22201(703) 841-1040.

AFSA TAX COUNSELING:

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

ATTORNEYS specializing in tax planning and return preparation for the Foreign Service Community available for consultation on the tax implications of investment decisions, business-related deductions, separate maintenance allowances, real estate purchases and rentals, home leave deductions, audits, etc. Contact Susan Sanders or Paul Clifford Farha & Sanders 1606 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 667-5111, FAX: (202) 265-1474.

ATTORNEY, FORMER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER: Extensive experience with tax problems peculiar to the Foreign Service. Available for consultation, tax planning, and preparation of returns. No charge for telephone advice. M. BRUCE HIRSHORN, BORING PARROTT & FOUST, P.C., Suite D, 307 Maple Avenue, West, Vienna, VA 22180. Tel. (703) 281-2161, FAX: (703) 281-9464.

MAIL ORDER

FOR A FREE CATALOG of premium hair, skin nutrition products and tapes, write: Theresa A. Erney, 9888 Par Dr., Nokesville, VA 22123.

NON-RUN PANTYHOSE, as seen on T.V. 5 pair, \$20.00, plus \$2.50. S & H. Sizes: S,M,L colors: white, black, off-black, nude, suntan, pearl/check or money order. Allow 3 to 4 weeks delivery. Pantyhose, 125 N. Kresson St., Baltimore, MD 21224-1711. FAX: (301) 327-7909.

AVON for free catalog mailed to you, write: Stephanie Y. Hughes, 713 Grandview Drive, Alexandria, VA 22305.

BOOKS

BOOKSELLER specializing in supplying scholarly and reference material to libraries and research scholars will purchase small or large collections and individual valuable books in the following subject areas: History, travel, biography, folklore, military history, exploration, sociology and ethnography. Please contact W.B. O'Neill, P.O. Box 2275, Reston, Virginia 22090, or call (703) 860-0872, or FAX: (703) 620-0153.

EARN CASH with writing skills! Details: EARS, Box 1664 Manassas, VA 22110.

BOOKS, BOOKS, BOOKS! We have thousands in stock, do special orders daily, search for out-of-print books. "Free book reviews." Visa, Discover or Mastercard. The Vermont Book Shop, 38 Main Street, Middlebury 05753.

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

ATTORNEYS/WILLS

FORMER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER NOW PRACTICING LAW in D.C./Maryland, general practice, estate planning, real estate, domestic. Gregory V. Powell, Furey, Doolan & Abell, 8401 Connecticut Ave., PH-1, Chevy Chase, MD 20815. (301) 652-6880.

REX R. KRAKAUER, ESQUIRE Providing representation for the special legal problems of Foreign Service Personnel and Staff living abroad. Divorce, Pensions, Real Estate, Wills and other matters. 51 Monroe Street, Suite #1400, Rockville, Maryland 20850. Telephone: (301) 294-6100, Fax: (301) 738-8802.

WILLS-ESTATE PLANNING by attorney who is a former Foreign Service officer. Have your will reviewed and updated, or a new one prepared. No charge for initial consultation. M. BRUCE HIRSHORN, BORING, PARROTT & FOUST,

P.C., Suite D, 307 Maple Avenue, West, Vienna, VA 22180. Tel.(703)281-2161, FAX (703) 281-9464.

SPECIALIZING IN SERVING FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS AND THEIR FAMILIES-Our firm can assist you in drafting wills and powers of attorney, administering estates, establishing conservatorships and guardianships and providing advice on real estate matters. Prompt response to your inquiries. CLIFFORD, FARHA & SANDERS 1606 New Hampshire Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009 FAX: (202) 265-1474 Tel: (202) 667-5111.

FINANCIAL PLANNING

ROLAND S. HEARD, CPA, has worked overseas and is familiar with foreign service and contract employee situations, computerized tax services, financial planning, member AICPA, Tax Division and Personal Financial Mgmt. Division. (703) 242-8559. P.O. Box 1144 Vienna, VA.

ORGANIZED FINANCES UNLIMITED. Bill paying, personal budgeting, net worth and cash flow analyses, financial planning. Kathy Jatras, CFP, 3209 North Nottingham Street, Arlington, VA 22207, (703) 237-5592.

INVESTMENT SERVICES former FSO specializes in providing financial services for Foreign Service personnel-stocks, bonds, tax-free, mutual funds, money management. Call COLLECT worldwide (202) 857-5485, Peter de Castro, Second Vice President, Smith Barney, 1776 Eye Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

HOUSE REPAIRS

PAINTING, plastering, dry wall, roofing and internal and external repairs expertly and reasonably done or arranged by a Foreign Service scion, William Cave (301) 681-7285. For references contact Lehfeldt (301) 365-2561 or Precht (216) 932-8651.

AUTO PARTS/ETC.

AUTOMOTIVE PARTS & ACCESSORIES: Original equipment and aftermarket for most makes. Servicing FSO's and embassies A.S.A.P. AUTO PARTS, DIVISION OF HUMCO, INC. (301) 327-4000 FAX: (301) 327-7909.

AUTOMOBILE STORAGE: Controlled, indoor heated, insured, high security, long-term/short term, TSR or private auto-vault, division of HUMCO, Inc. Tel: (301) 327-4000.

PET MOVING SERVICES

AIR ANIMAL, "the pet movers" an IATA air freight forwarder USA origin pet shipping services 4120 W. Cypress-Tampa, FL 33607. Voice 813/879-3210, FAX (813) 874-6722. USA/Canada 1-800-635-3448. Contact Dr. W. Woof-Veterinarian.

HOUSE SITTING

FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY with 22 years' service want to housesit or rent your small home (McLean-Vienna area) for two months beginning July 1, 1991. Contact: Pat Tua, American Embassy/Brasilia, APO Miami 34030. Phone: 61-366-1217 (Brazil). Renters are one adult and two near-adult children.

EMPLOYMENT

PARTNERS OF THE AMERICAS, international service-oriented organization is seeking an executive secretary with supervisory experience. Salary commensurate with experience. Contact Mrs. Staten (202) 628-2300.

VACATION RENTALS

SOUTHWEST HARBOR, MAINE, Shore Cottage for five. Privacy, convenience, gorgeous view of Acadia Park, \$750/week. Ph.: 301-652-2356.



AFSA award winners, 1991

The 1991 AFSA Awards were conferred at a ceremony on May 3, Foreign Service Day, in the Dean Acheson auditorium of the Department of State. Three awards are given to Foreign Service officers for "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent."

The winner of the Christian A. Herter Award, for senior officers, was David C. Dunford. The award was presented by Christian A. Herter Jr., who read the following citation: "As chargé d'affaires and deputy chief of mission at the American Embassy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, he demonstrated leadership, creative initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and loyal dissent in dealing with the critical problems raised by the Gulf crisis. He established a crisis management system, ensured that key policy issues were addressed, worked hard to ensure the welfare of the local American community, established effective working relations with the U.S. military command, and achieved cordial relationships between half a million American servicemen and women and their Saudi hosts."

Dunford joined the department in 1966 and has served overseas previously in Cairo, Quito, and Helsinki. He is no stranger to crises, having dealt with several hijackings, including that of the *Achille Lauro*, as director of Egyptian Affairs from 1984 to 1987. He also has held a series of important economic positions in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs



PHOTOS BY MARTIN MARCIS

Award presenters included (l to r) Christian A. Herter, Jr.; Mrs. John Sterry Long; Ambassador Nathaniel Howell; Pamela Harriman; Ambassador Bruce Laingen; William B. Wharton II; and Clifford R. Wharton Jr.

and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

The William R. Rivkin Award, for mid-level officers, was presented by Mrs. John Sterry Long, widow of the late Ambassador Rivkin, to Paul B. Daley. Daley was cited for his work as an economic officer in Riyadh, where he "provided extraordinary leadership and initiative in establishing close cooperation with the host government and national oil company during the Gulf War. He demonstrated a high level of courage to resolve crucial strategic energy issues related to the conflict, and thus made a vital contribution to the war effort and to the interests of the United States."

Daley graduated from Columbia University after completing a four-year tour in the U.S. Marine Corps. Since joining the Foreign Service in 1977, he has served in Bangladesh,

Jamaica, Somalia, Washington, and Saudi Arabia. His next assignment will be as chief of the Economic Section in newly liberated Kuwait.

Michael J. Fitzpatrick received the W. Averell Harriman Award, for junior officers, from Pamela Harriman. His citation noted that "as a



Pamela Harriman presents the W. Averell Harriman Award to Michael J. Fitzpatrick.

AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards announced

The 16th AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards, named in memory of Ambassador Clifton Reginald Wharton, were presented by two of his sons, Clifton R. Wharton Jr. and William B. Wharton II, on Foreign Service Day to the Merit Award winners. Ambassador Wharton was honored as the first black American to attain the rank of career minister.

Of the 20 winners, nine are female and 11 are male. Eight are graduating from schools in the Washington, D.C. area, six attend schools out of the area, and six attend overseas schools. Fourteen winners come from State families, two from USIA, and four are from A.I.D.



The Merit Award winners from the Washington area pose at the award ceremony with Dr. Clifton Wharton Jr., William B. Wharton II

political officer in the American Embassy in Lima, Peru, he demonstrated outstanding courage and integrity by insisting that reports on human rights be factual and accurate, regardless of the source of the abuses. Because human rights issues threatened anti-narcotics cooperation with a friendly government in the country that produces most of the cocaine consumed in the United States, he took the initiative in developing policy proposals to deal with this conflict between two urgent foreign policy goals."

Fitzpatrick first joined the State Department in 1986 as a presidential management intern assigned to the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. He became a Foreign Service

officer in 1988 and Lima is his first post.

The new award for Foreign Service secretaries, the Delavan Award, given for extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism, and morale, was conferred jointly on two groups known as the "Bonn Group" and the "USNATO Group." Kathryn Kleiman and Beverly Rochester of the Bonn Group and Carol MacLeod of the USNATO Group were present to receive the awards from Ambassador W. Nathaniel Howell, who read the citation: "The 'Bonn Group' of 10 Foreign Service secretaries launched a worldwide discussion of the problems and future prospects of the secretarial corps. The 'USNATO Group' of

Winners:
Lisa Ann Bleye
Rachel Bonkovsky
Basit Chaudhry
Jason Failla
Matthew Herbert
Aharon Levy
Robert Livingston
Colin McCormick
David Moore
Jessica Oppen
Katherine Parker
Jose Santos
Joseph Silver
Richard Snyder
Jennifer Somers
Laura Spruce
Kimberly Taylor

Christine Tefft
Megan Tiedt
Jared Von Arx
**Honorable
Mention:**
Leilani Arthurs
Theresa Augustus
Matthew Cohen
Felicia B. Denny
Oliver Fringer
Nicole Holzman
Betsy Kerksiek
Marcia MacNeil
Lisa Marinelli
Andrew Martin
Elizabeth Moran
Laura Sell
Seth Shortlidge



PHOTO BY KATHY MARCUS

Mr. and Mrs. William Wharton met with local Merit Scholarship Award winners at a reception before the award presentations.

eight secretaries thereafter organized a conference in Brussels with management officials from Washington and secretarial representatives from several European posts, which made specific proposals with regard to recruitment, compensation for specialized skills, career development, training, personnel management, and promotions. These secretaries demonstrated unusual initiative, leadership, and intellectual courage and have made an outstanding contribution to the effectiveness, professionalism, and morale of the Foreign Service secretarial corps."

The other members of the Bonn Group are: Shirley A. Adams, Suzanne Chapman, Judy Copenhaver, Virginia Crawford, Elizabeth Franke, Elizabeth Krause, Barbara



Ambassador Howell gives the Delavan Award for secretaries to (L to R) Carol Emery, Beverly Rochester and Kathryn Kleiman.

McLaughlin, and Margaret Tindall. The remaining members of the USNATO Group are: Jocelyn Baskey, Carol Emery, Catherine M. Lawson, Noel Harrington-Aydlin, Barbara Maloney, Adda Million, and Carolyn Smith (USIA).

The Avis Bohlen Award, given to a member of a Foreign Service family for outstanding volunteer

ideals of voluntarism, human concern, and hard work. She established pre-natal classes for expectant Egyptian mothers, organized volunteers to help at a local leper colony, assisted the Marine detachment, and opened the Hambley home to hundreds of American sailors on port calls to Alexandria. She extended help tirelessly and unselfishly to large numbers of individual Americans and Egyptians who needed assistance."

Patricia Hambley is a native of Scotland and a trained nurse. She had various nursing positions in the Australian outback and Yemen before marrying into the Foreign Service and traveling with her husband to Tunis, Tripoli, Jeddah, Cairo, Washington, and Alexandria.

Ralph L. Boyce Sr., a Foreign Service veteran of A.I.D. and USIA, received from Ambassador L. Bruce Laingen the Matilda W. Sinclair Award on behalf of his son, Ralph L. Boyce Jr., political counselor in Bangkok. The Sinclair Awards are granted for distinguished achievement in the study of a hard language and its associated culture. The other Sinclair winners were Richard A. Christenson (Korean), J. Michael Cleverley (Greek), Jon F. Danilowicz (Bengali), Philo L. Dibble (Arabic), John M. Koehig (Indonesian), Robert W. Ogburn, (Korean), Russell A. Powell (Persian/Farsi), and Derwood K. Staeben (Greek).

The following individuals were chosen by the Sinclair Selection Committee to receive honorable mention: John C. Clarkson (Finnish), Dan Fried (Polish), Robert D. Griffiths (Thai), Eva J. Groening (Bulgarian), Dennis J. Ortblad (Japanese), Thomas B. Robertson (Hungarian), David L. Shuler (Japanese), and David A. Tyler (Hebrew).

At the same ceremony, newly installed DACOR President Joseph Donelan Jr. conferred the Foreign Service Cup on Ambassador William H. Luers, former U.S. envoy to Venezuela and Czechoslovakia, who, upon retirement, was appointed president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett Jr. received the Director General's Cup from Director General Perkins for a distinguished career spanning more than 40 years, including ambassadorships to the Dominican Republic, Portugal, and NATO.



Patricia Hambley receives the Avis Bohlen Award from Pamela Harriman.

work, was won by Patricia Hambley, the spouse of Mark G. Hambley, American ambassador to Qatar. This award was also presented by Pamela Harriman, and was accompanied by the following citation: "As the spouse of the American Consul General in Alexandria, Egypt, from 1986 to 1989 her dedication tremendously furthered the interests of the United States by epitomizing the American

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

(Questions appear on page 13.)

1. Theodore Roosevelt
2. The Creel Committee
3. Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett served as minister resident and consul general in Haiti from 1869-1877.
4. 1971
5. Robert Livingston set up the first office in Philadelphia in 1781.
6. John Adams wrote from London to Secretary of State John Hay in December 1785.

Streamlining EEO claims

Proposed legislation would amend the Foreign Service Act and allow Foreign Service employees to bring EEO action before the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB). On April 11, 1991, AFSA testified before the House Subcommittee on Civil Service of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service supporting the proposed legislation.

A provision of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 has the effect of prohibiting Foreign Service employees from bringing discrimination claims, including those based on age, sex, race, and religion, before the FSGB. This means that when cases involve both an EEO action and an action subject to grievance, the Foreign Service employee must bifurcate his or her complaint and file part with the FSGB and part through the Equal Employment Opportunity process.

In its testimony, AFSA pointed out that the proposed legislation would provide Foreign Service employees with rights already enjoyed by Civil Service employees in many agencies.

The Department of State strongly opposed these possible changes in the act, since State's Civil Service employees currently do not have the right to take EEO complaints to their equivalent of the FSGB, the Merit System Protection Board because they have not organized and negotiated for that

The Secretary's Pin for Outstanding Volunteerism

The Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFWSW) presented the first annual Secretary of State's pin for outstanding volunteerism to winners from the five geographic bureaus who demonstrated exceptional service to the community and outstanding activities directed toward the host country.

Jairo Granados, Maputo, was honored for his efforts to improve the lives of Mozambican children. Accepting for him was Gloria Kirk.

Mai-Anh Adams, Port Au Prince, was recognized for opening her home to all members of the mission. She helped raise \$31,000 for local charities then spent months visiting hospitals, orphanages, and other facilities to determine how best to distribute the money.

Joanne Grady was honored for her volunteer work in Beijing, where she established the Beijing International Volunteers. She also works with the China Disabled Persons Federation and serves as an adviser to the Special Olympics International. In addition, she was an organizer of the U.S.-China Women's Conference.

Sheila Switzer, Madrid, received an award for founding and directing a group of volunteers from the international community in Madrid whose purpose is to aid the handicapped, terminally ill, orphans, single mothers, and the needy.

Finally, Patty Stammerman was honored for her work in Dharan, Saudi Arabia, where, with no CLO, no staff, and no budget, she kept morale high and provided a contact point for the ex-patriot and military communities.

Anne Kauzlarich, former head of AAFWSW, presented the five awards.

privilege. The procedure is not denied to them by law, however, as it is for Foreign Service employees.

The department also testified that the professional Grievance Board staff would not be able to handle the additional cases that this legislation would generate, although the FSGB itself has indicated no concern over this.

There is ample evidence that the Department of State needs to do something to improve its proce-

dures in the area of EEO complaints. It is the only cabinet-level agency without an affirmative-action plan and has the third-worst time record in the government for resolving discrimination complaints—with a backlog of claims dating from 1983.

The proposed amendment was approved by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee on April 30. We hope for passage of the bill by Congress later in the year.

Assignments and promotions:

State management met with AFSA April 11 to fulfill its commitment to mid-term discussions of assignments and promotions. The talks stemmed from the two-year package of labor-management understandings agreed upon in 1990.

Management, expressing satisfaction with the 1990 experience, placed particular emphasis on the value to the department of the

CALENDAR

June 7: Deadline for applications for the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund scholarships and educational loans. Federal employees and their families are eligible. Contact Steve Bauer, 303/933-7580

June 13: AFSA conference on "American Pharmaceuticals in the World Economy"

June 27: International Associates Council luncheon.

State Standing Committee: Mondays at 12:30. Room to be announced.

A.I.D. Standing Committee: Tuesdays at 12 noon.

early, priority assignment period during which DCM, principal officer, and special embassy program positions were filled.

AFSA expressed concern that negotiation of new agreements in the spring of 1992 might be protracted and difficult if the current "experiment" could not be modified to ameliorate the provisions Foreign Service officers had already found

most objectionable—the scheduling of promotions and assignments.

The department proposed to return to promotion selection boards during the summer months, with announcement of senior promotions in September and all others in mid-October.

AFSA will shortly be reviewing the department's open assignments notice for 1991. We will insist on clarity and consistency in the mes-

sage. Employees should read carefully all official communications on the 1991 cycles and query AFSA on any unclear details. The two most important changes are:

- **Open Assignments. Bids** will be due September 1 and the priority assignment period will begin October 1—both dates prior to the mid-October promotion announcement. This is not the sequence in effect before

News Briefs

Prescriptive Relief: AFSA successfully countered State's efforts in the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations to eliminate prescriptive relief from the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

In an appearance before the subcommittee and in subsequent informal exchanges, AFSA pointed out that testimony from the department was flawed and that existing law did not "require" the department to keep "convicted criminals" on the payroll for extended periods. This concern was addressed by the last Congress, which amended the Foreign Service Act to forbid it for employees convicted of felonies for which a term of imprisonment had been imposed. AFSA this year carried the matter one step further, urging approval by the subcommittee of an amendment that will eliminate the "sentence of imprisonment" provision from the ban. We were persuaded that circumstances often arise in felony cases that preclude such sentences, without mitigating the seriousness of the felonies.

As this edition of the *Journal* went to print, AFSA was awaiting Foreign Affairs Committee consideration of the subcommittee's amendment to the Foreign Service Act. Unknown was whether or not the department would make another attempt to get outright abolition of prescriptive relief by having its preferred amendment introduced in the full committee, despite its defeat in the Subcommittee.

Honoraria Ban: Final attempts to prevent implementation of the 1989 Ethics Act honoraria ban have failed. On March 15, the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals declined to impose a preliminary injunction, ensuring that the ban will continue while the merits of the lawsuit challenging it are argued in District Court. The appeals court judges suggested that if the ban is later struck down, employees could accept freelance earnings they had put in escrow.

Legislation is progressing through both the House and Senate which would end the ban for most federal employees below the GS-16 pay rate. Pending the resolution of this issue, AFSA advises employees to place freelance earnings in escrow.

Government Housing and Privacy: In an exchange of letters with State management, AFSA has confirmed a reasonable right to privacy in connection with government-owned or -leased housing when the employee occupant is absent. After a recent evacuation, mission employees entered at least two residences, issued instructions to household employees to stay out of the way, moved personal belongings to storage in a bedroom, and commenced to use the homes as temporary school buildings for the duration of the emergency. In its response to AFSA's complaint, the department noted that although 6 FAM 720 authorizes alternative uses of such properties, it was improper to take such actions without the consent of the occupants.

Contract Travel Rules: AFSA met with State transportation officials April 30 to review the immense dissatisfaction of members with current contract travel requirements. Management indicated they had received many official messages recently in addition to the cases raised by AFSA. We were pleased by A/OPR's expressions of determination to be reasonable in the interpretation of the rules, but had to note that theirs was not the office that reviews travel vouchers. The department has at least beefed up its capacity to respond to inquiries about proposed itineraries.

AFSA insisted that compliance had to be made simple and urged the department to work with GSA to make the addition of private funds to contract travel acceptable by the airlines. We pointed out that the result would frequently be additional revenue for the industry at no cost to the government. The A/OPR officials admitted the logic of such a proposal and agreed to explore the matter. AFSA pointed out that the season for most transfers was about to begin and asked for timely action on the suggestion.

1990. It is an improvement over 1990, however, and AFSA secured a written commitment by the department to curtail assignments to a very few select officers early in October, prior to the promotions announcement. Promoted officers still unsigned will be permitted to alter their bid lists by telegram after the selection board announcements.

- **"Core" Bids.** AFSA concurred in one significant change to bidding procedures, which we view as an experiment. All bidders in 1991 will have to initially submit bid lists which contain at least six "core" bids—bids that are at-grade, in-cone, or for International Relations Officer, General, and do not involve details or training. Bidders must possess the language fluency required for any language-designated "core" bid. No more than three of the bids can be in one overseas geographic region, and two of the "core" bids must be "fair share" bids if the bidder is a "fair share" candidate. No more than three of a senior's "core" bids can be for DCM/PO positions. No particular priority need be assigned to these bids.
- AFSA urges all State Foreign Service officers to give particular consideration to three aspects of the 1991 cycles:

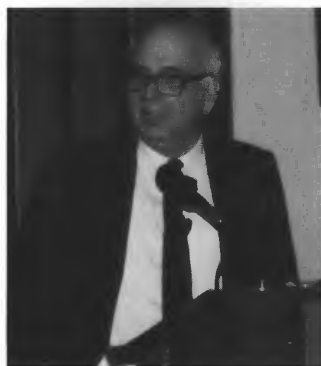
- carefully consider responding when the department calls for volunteers to serve on the promotion selection boards. It is important that we get the best possible composition of the boards.
- use the narrative portion of your bid list message to give your CDO arguments he or she can use to support your job preferences.
- plan now on giving AFSA your observations and suggestions on the 1991 cycles at the end of the year.

Paul Volcker: Better prospects for the world economy

Richard S. Thompson
Professional Issues Coordinator

Former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul A. Volcker, speaking in the "New Diplomacy for a New Era" series, told a Foreign Service Club audience April 8 that he was increasingly optimistic about the long-term prospects for the world economy from the middle of the decade on. But he warned that his forecast allows no room for mistakes, and the path would not be easy.

Volcker conditioned his optimism on several assumptions: that



the U.S. recession—mirrored in several other key countries—will level off, and slow recovery will begin. Europe and Japan will avoid recession and keep growing, and oil prices will stay low. These factors combined suggest a good prospect for reduction in the inflation rate and lower interest rates. He also assumed that the "fast track authority" necessary for the Mexican Free Trade Agreement will be approved, and that budget restraint and responsible monetary policy will continue. Finally, he assumed that the basic thrust in Eastern Europe to-

Public Diplomacy Award

Vernon A. Walters, ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, has received the Public Diplomacy Award from the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service. The award honors a diplomat who has "performed outstanding service in increasing public appreciation of the foreign policy of the United States and/or international issues facing this country."

ward political progress and the development of markets will continue, and will lay the groundwork for better economic results in that region later.

Volcker suggested one intangible reason for optimism: success in the Gulf has reversed the process in the United States of turning inward and has given the country increased confidence, which aids in dealing effectively with international problems, including trade issues.


THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON DC

Serve Your Country a Second Time

Transition-to-Teaching Programs for
Early Leavers/Career Switchers from
Government Service

The need for teachers, particularly in secondary math and science, will increase dramatically throughout the 1990s. The American University School of Education offers professionally accredited, master's level programs that lead to elementary and secondary school certification for persons who have B.A. or B.S. degrees and are interested in making a career transition to teaching.

If you are interested in obtaining information about the teacher preparation programs at The American University, please write or call:

School of Education
The American University
McKinley Building, Room 109 (Box F)
4400 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20016
(202) 885-3720

The American University provides equal opportunity to all qualified persons in its educational programs and activities.

Legislative Issues

Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

As Congress departed for its Memorial Day recess, both the Foreign Affairs and Appropriations committees had completed most of their hearings on the State, USIA, and A.I.D. authorization and funding legislation for FY 1992.

Jill Kent, chief financial officer of the Department of State, presented the department request to the committees. In summary, she stated: "For 1992 salaries and expenses (S&E), the department is requesting appropriations totaling \$2,049,572,000. This is a net increase of \$179 million over the enacted 1991 appropriation level. Within S&E, the majority of the increase is for mandatory inflation increases (\$114 million), while only \$65 million is for program initiatives."

The \$65 million would be for the following:

1. Foreign policy commitments (\$24.9 million): To reopen the embassy at Tirana, Albania; increase participation in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Eu-

rope (CSCE) and Nuclear Risk Reduction Center; and pay costs related to the unification of Germany and a Panama Canal study.

2. Consular Affairs (\$24 million): For increased work required to implement the Immigration Reform Act of 1990.

3. Infrastructure Improvements (\$13.5 million): To implement the Financial Officer Act of 1990 and Beltville Information Management Center.

4. Security (\$3 million): To pay for security upgrades for 800 overseas residences and 40 patrol vehicles for local guard programs.

Chairman Howard Berman (D-CA) of the International Operations Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Congresswoman Olympia Snowe (R-ME), ranking Republican, have modified the authorization bill in five areas. The departmental request for reorganization/elimination of bureaus and seventh-floor responsibilities was dropped from the bill; a proposed new assistant secretary for South Asia was added by the committee; language acceptable to AFSA was substituted for

the "prescriptive relief" amendment proposed by the department; the expanded arrest authority recommended by the department was changed, and Moscow Embassy provisions were changed.

Other legislative activities have included briefing the members and staff on overtime pay for Foreign Service Diplomatic Security officers. The department has granted the adjustments to Civil Service Security personnel in the department but has not approved it for Foreign Service security officers.

Other legislation that AFSA is monitoring on the Hill includes pay comparability and geographic pay increases for the Washington, D.C. area, family medical leave, and due process for employees in the security-clearance process.

Erratum: This photograph of John K. Naland was inadvertently omitted from the election statements in the May Journal. John Naland is a candidate for State constituency representative in AFSA's 1991 elections. Ballots are due on June 30.



The Election Committee has been asked by the Continuity and Outreach Slate to convey the following message: "The Continuity and Outreach Slate urges AFSA members to regard Mr. Harry Gallagher a member of the slate and to include him in what the slate hopes will be votes for the straight ticket."

EVERYONE DESERVES THE RIGHT TO DRINK PURE WATER

Durastill water purification equipment produces pure water through distillation.

Kills: bacteria !!!

Removes: chemicals
nitrates

heavy metals

lead, sodium, etc.

Used worldwide: in homes, offices, embassies, jungle outposts, etc.

Simple to use, economical, durable, all stainless steel.

Write or call:

DURASTILL EXPORT, INC.

112 UNION ST.

SO. WEYMOUTH MA 02190

FAX: 617-340-0364 USA

TEL: 617-337-7990

Special Discount to FSJ readers
(References upon request)

PRICE CLUB®

America's Original Cash & Carry Membership Warehouse Since 1976
66 Locations in the U.S. & Canada

As a Government Employee, You Are Eligible To Join a Very Special Club ...

It's Big ...

A wide selection of merchandise housed in a 100,000 square foot warehouse

It's Quality ...

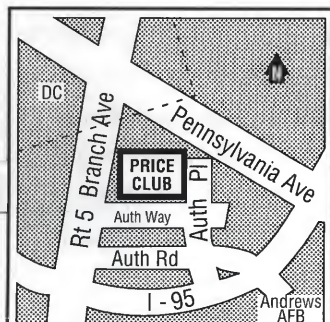
Purchase high quality, brand name merchandise

It's Savings ...

Merchandise for your family at dramatically low prices

Join Price Club and Save on a Wide Selection of Quality Merchandise

- | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| ✓ Food | ✓ Housewares | ✓ Clothing | ✓ Electronics |
| ✓ Lawn & Garden | ✓ Hardware | ✓ Tires & Auto | ✓ Major Appliances |
| ✓ Beach Supplies | ✓ Sporting Goods | ✓ Picnic Supplies | ✓ Pool Supplies |



**4501 Auth Place
Marlow Heights,
MD, 20746**

- Easy access from the Beltway - Exit 7B off I-95
- 10 Minutes from the Woodrow Wilson Bridge
- 15 Minutes from Alexandria
- 15 Minutes from D.C.

OTHER WASHINGTON D.C. METRO AREA LOCATIONS

BELTSVILLE 10925 Baltimore Ave.	GAITHERSBURG 880 Russell Ave.	FAIRFAX 4725 West Ox Road	STERLING 21398 Cascade Pkwy.
------------------------------------	----------------------------------	------------------------------	---------------------------------

WAREHOUSE HOURS

Monday - Friday
12:00 noon to 8:30 p.m.
Sat. - 9:30 to 6:00
Sun. - 11:00 a.m. to 5:00



**Price Club Can Help You Save Money
On Consumables Shipped Overseas.
Call (301) 702-4160 For Details**

PRICE CLUB® IS A REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF THE PRICE COMPANY

PRICE CLUB®

MARLOW HEIGHTS

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

VALID THRU: JULY 31, 1991

**One Day Shopping Pass
PASS # 260**

Cash Only



THE DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGE.

Every member of the Diplomatic Corps is eligible for special privileges through Chrysler's Diplomatic Purchase Program. That means professional service *and* preferred savings on a full line of 1991 Chrysler Motors products. Choose from Chrysler, Plymouth, Dodge and Eagle cars, or Jeep and Dodge Truck vehicles. Delivery can be arranged for the United States or most overseas locations.

To get these special privileges, just mail in the convenient response card on Page 11 and we'll send you a catalog plus complete information on the Diplomatic Purchase Program. Or call (313) 978-6526 or telex 0235264 CHRYEXIMDET. And you'll find out what we mean by Advantage: Chrysler.



**CHRYSLER
MOTORS**

INTERNATIONAL
OPERATIONS