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COVER: In this issue we present three views of the sometimes adversarial relationship between the State Department spokesman and journalists. Senior department wire correspondent Jim Anderson criticizes what he calls current administration unwillingness to make information available to the press. On the other side of the podium, former spokesman John H. Trattner discusses the evolution of the spokesman's role and the uses of background. And another former spokesman, Hodding Carter III, calls on both government and journalism to inform the public better. Illustration by Henry Payne IV.

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The *Foreign Service Journal* is the magazine of professionals in foreign affairs, published 11 times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of State, the International Communication Agency, the Agency for International Development, the United States Government as a whole, or AFSA. While the Editorial Board is responsible for general content, statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 on the editorial page and in the Association News, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

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LETTERS

Invaluable Reservoir

When a retired officer was elected to head the American Foreign Service Association a year ago, this was in every respect a healthy development. It is to be deeply regretted that a recent last-hour "coup" by a group of active officers who set up anything but a "Unity" slate denied him renomination and put forward no other retired officer for the position. Every retired officer with whom I have spoken feels this way.

Retired officers constitute an invaluable reservoir of experience. It is composed of well-seasoned men and women, professional in interest and commitment, of long-term vision uncomplicated by personal ambition and with the leisure to contribute immeasurably to the improvement of our foreign affairs performance. Since there is a ban upon participation in Associ-

ation affairs by senior officers on active duty, the existence of this reservoir is of inestimable value. No matter how bright, conscientious, and well-informed on the minutiae of labor-management problems an officer of Class 5 may be, he cannot possess the breadth of vision, depth of professional understanding, and maturity of judgment which this highest-ranking position in the Association demands. Nor can a lower-level officer muster the influence with departmental officers, Congressmen, the academic community, and the general public which older officers of recognized accomplishment possess. Just as in diplomacy itself, it is not only important to know what is needed to make wise decisions; it is also important to be perceived to know. And it does not hurt to be perceived, because of long experience and accomplishment, to know more than one does. This is one of the intangibles of influence and leadership which the Association has lacked not only in its new role as a bargaining agent with the department but in its Congressional and other public affairs relationships as well.

It would be well to keep in mind that a retired officer is not subject to the debilitating system of rotation which enfeebles the Association. That traditional instrument of planned amnesia is not well suited

to the requirements of modern diplomacy. In the crucial battles which must be waged for a better understanding of diplomacy, the continuity, as well as the experience and reputation, of retired officers can bring to the Association benefits of inestimable value. What we profoundly need is a combination in the Association of seasoned judgment with current information, mature thinking with fresh thinking, discipline with imagination and innovation, prudence and restraint with innovation. We have in our officers—active and retired—just such a combination available. Why not put it together?

SMITH SIMPSON
Annandale, Virginia

The Unity Slate responds:

The Editorial Board of the *Foreign Service Journal* has offered us, the organizers of the Unity Slate, the opportunity to respond to Mr. Simpson's letter.

We wish to point out that we agree enthusiastically with Mr. Simpson that retired officers bring valuable experience and wisdom to AFSA. It is precisely for this reason that we—the organizers of the Unity Slate—sought out the best retired members we could find to join the Unity Slate as candidates for retired constituency representatives. It is why we asked Ambassador Charles Whitehouse to run on the Unity Slate as retired constituency candidate once he decided not to run for AFSA president. It is also why we asked Ambassador Spencer King and—more recently—Ambassador Douglas Heck to join the Unity Slate as candidates for the other retired constituency slots.

For various reasons the Unity Slate was created in some haste but it is incorrect to state that it participated in a "coup."

With regard to the role in AFSA of retired officers as well as of active duty officers it is our view that the by-laws are correct in providing for a blend of both on the AFSA Governing Board. The present board and many members of the Unity Slate have been working together for several years on issues such as implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the "senior glut," preserving the integrity of the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability system, and the assignment of political ambassadors.

We believe this mix of experience on the board strengthens the Association. Many issues are of more direct concern to active duty officers than they are to AFSA's retired constituency, but it is the goal of our slate to use the expertise and ability of our entire slate to the best advantage.

We wish to take this opportunity to



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assure Mr. Simpson and all the retired members of AFSA that we are mindful of their concerns and will welcome their suggestions.

DENNIS HAYES
*Unity Slate Candidate
for AFSA President*

ANDREW GOODMAN
*Unity Slate
Campaign Manager*

Lefever Replies

The article by Jefferson Morley in the March issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* on human rights seriously misrepresented the position of the Reagan administration and my position.

The administration can speak for itself, but permit me to correct the record by providing the readers with a brief statement of my views on human rights and foreign policy as of June 1, 1981. [These were my views before June 1 and are still!] I request that you reprint it in full in the interests of fair and accurate reporting.

The United States as the leader of the free world should pursue a vigorous and humane foreign policy designed to maintain its own security and that of its allies and to help create a world community that respects diversity and is safe for peaceful development. Human rights are an inescapable concern in all our foreign policy decisions because we Americans believe in freedom, justice, and dignity for all peoples. A civilized concept of our national interest must take fully into account strategic, political, and economic factors.

Torture, exile under brutal conditions, harsh emigration restrictions, disappearances, and other abuses are reprehensible whether committed by *friend, foe, or neutral*. There must be only *one* moral yardstick.

Human freedom and dignity today are most seriously violated by the Soviet Union. Moscow not only oppresses its own citizens but also imposes its brutal system on other peoples as in Eastern Europe; it exports that system by direct aggression as in Afghanistan, by proxy Cuban forces as in Ethiopia and Angola, by subversion as in Central America, and by terrorism as in the Mideast.

The U.S. government should use all appropriate means to defend and extend the frontiers of freedom everywhere. These include private persuasion, public condemnation, and trade restrictions. In some cases we must provide economic or military aid to a besieged ally whose human rights record is not blameless. At the same time we should encourage that ally to correct its abuses. To withhold vital aid in the name of human rights and thereby help pave the way for a

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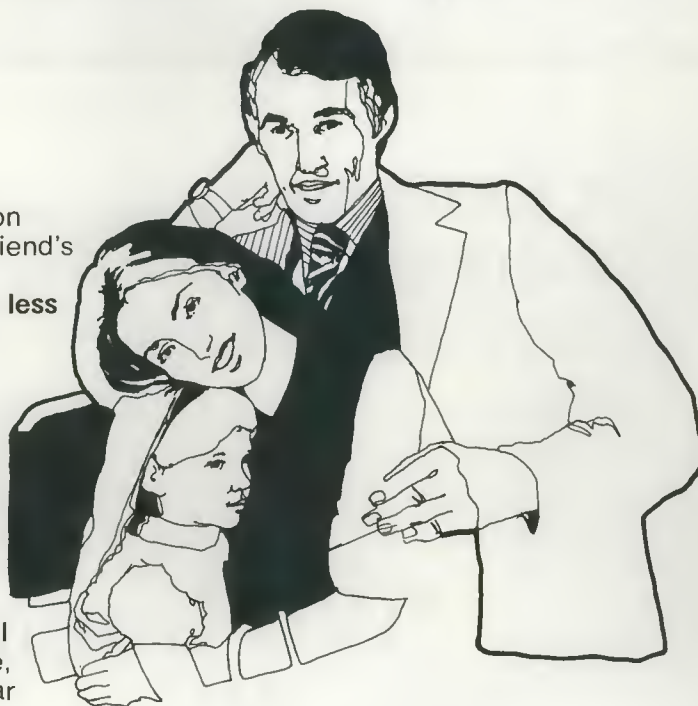
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far more repressive successor regime would be a tragedy.

ERNEST W. LEFEVER
President,
Ethics & Public Policy Center
Washington, D.C.

Jefferson Morley replies:

As Ernest Lefever never specifies where or how I "seriously misrepresented" him, it is a bit difficult to respond to his complaint. I think Dr. Lefever was bothered by my statement that "in his statements and background, Lefever summarized too well the administration's long-term intention

to eliminate human rights from State Department consideration."

I based this statement in part on the State Department chapter of the Heritage Foundation's *Mandate for Leadership*, which Lefever helped prepare. This chapter says (on p. 549), "In the longer term essentially three options exist to deal with the (Human Rights) Bureau." Of these, the first choice is "elimination."

I also based it on Dr. Lefever's statement of July 12, 1979, calling for the removal of all laws "that establish a human rights standard or condition that must be met . . . before our government transacts normal business. . . ."

Dr. Lefever's fervent, if belated, assertions of his faith in human rights do nothing to change the historical record nor to contradict anything I wrote.

I only misrepresented Dr. Lefever by not making more explicit his habit of deliberately obscuring his own anti-human rights policy proposals.

Off the Mark

Not being a member of AFSA, I do not often see the *Foreign Service Journal*. The interview with Ambassador Malcolm Toon concerning career and non-career ambassadors in your April edition was brought to my attention by someone who knows of my own keen interest in the subject. I found it interesting and strongly sympathize with Ambassador Toon's promoting the career service. In at least one respect, however, he was way off the mark.

I can appreciate the temptation to take aim at big fat targets—the ghastly examples of misfits with which we are all familiar. But Ambassador Toon did himself and the individual concerned a gross injustice by taking a cheap shot at a certain former "Hollywood actor."

I have gotten to know this individual well. He came to his job superbly qualified, with a personal background in the country to which he was to be assigned, in addition to first-hand familiarity with the key issues and a bilingual command of the language. It was a pleasure to assist him to prepare for his Senate confirmation hearing, at which he set a standard which career officers will find hard to match. (This is my observation. It has been echoed to me by congressional staffers who were present.)

In response to a question about his Hollywood experience, he commented (genially) that being an actor had not disqualified the president from other pursuits; and besides, he had a dozen pictures which proved he was no actor. My friend's prior experience includes a stint as an officer in the U.S. Navy, head of a labor union, director of several businesses, and an academic background in economics and foreign affairs.

Since arriving at his post, he has established close professional and personal relations with the chief of state, key members of his cabinet, the probable next president and his advisers, the ambassador in Washington, and a stunning array of leaders from the local and American communities.

I cannot honestly think of anyone, career or non-career, more highly qualified to represent the United States in the post he now occupies. I am sorry he has been

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the object of misplaced scorn on the part of an outstanding Foreign Service officer, whose own career I greatly admire.

EVERETT E. BRIGGS
*Deputy Assistant Secretary
 for Inter-American Affairs
 Washington, D.C.*

The Career Spouse

In recent months my attention has been focused on employment possibilities of Foreign Service spouses, and it seems that this same concern is being shared by many others. In the February issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* there was a letter to the editor from Nicole Prevost Logan pointing out the seeming prejudice toward Foreign Service spouses in consideration of positions in the mid-level hiring program. The April issue contained an editorial from AFSA proposing the renewal of an effort to review the concerns of Foreign Service spouses and their families. Although my concern began as a very personal matter, it has grown over the past several weeks, as did my realization that I do not stand alone but have experienced a disappointment, a frustration, a prejudicial decision that has been shared by many other spouses.

As a Foreign Service spouse who has served in Berlin, Taipei, La Paz, and now Quito, as a Foreign Service spouse who has pages of part-time and volunteer work to her credit but no specific career that spans several years, I resent the insensitivity to the forced plight of myself and so many other spouses. Along with five other candidates I applied for the family liaison officer (now called community liaison officer) position here in Quito, took a battery of tests, complied in every aspect with the completion of the application, was interviewed by a panel, and after several weeks of waiting found out that the qualifications were tossed aside when the panel was presented the credentials of a spouse new to the Foreign Service life but with ten years of work experience in the States. If my qualifications were less than hers, I could understand the choice, but when I discovered that my higher testing scores, and most important, my experience with the Foreign Service, were ignored because the panel consisted of persons unfamiliar with and unknowledgeable of the requirements of the CLO position, I decided that I must vocalize the incident.

I have been cautioned not to rock the boat, to accept defeat graciously, to avoid the possibility of harming my husband's career. But what I am concerned about here is the situation of the career Foreign Service spouse. We are expected to believe

that the Department of State is aware of and concerned with our plight and has indeed created the Family Liaison Office in Washington and the CLO positions overseas to help us while we accompany our spouses in their dedication to their jobs. We are asked to believe this, and yet in practice changes are not happening. In this post alone, there have been three FLO officers in the last four years, and to date not one was chosen who possessed previous and recent Foreign Service experience. Why? How can an FLO or CLO be expected to handle the concerns of families living abroad without that experience?

If the Department of State is indeed aware of this problem facing Foreign Service spouses, then it must take an active role and lend firm guidance to posts overseas. Guidelines cannot be followed when posts haphazardly choose panels who are ignorant of the requirements of the job the candidates are applying for. Being told that it was unfortunate that the guidelines and posted requirements of the job were not followed and to consider applying again next year does not correct the situation that happened here and is happening in other posts.

One voice is often not heard or believed, and for this reason I hope that other spouses will speak up and let Washington hear that the possibilities and opportunities they are dangling in front of us do not exist in practice. If we are to give of our lives, time, and effort, then certainly we can expect at least honesty, and maybe even a preference for our dedication to the Foreign Service life.

PATRICIA BENNETT HYDE
Quito, Ecuador

Required Reading

A friend has passed along to me a copy of the February 1982 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, where I found the excellent article by Marjorie Smith, "Working for Cousin Sam."

Rarely have I written a letter to an editor, but after reading this article I felt I just had to write and tell you how very important I consider it to be. I wish it could be made required reading for all Americans serving overseas, in fact, all those at the decision-making levels in Washington as well.

My sincere thanks to Ms. Smith for stating the case so clearly and powerfully, and to you for publishing it.

MARJORIE REGNAULT DE LA SUSSE
*FSS at Paris Embassy, 1960-75
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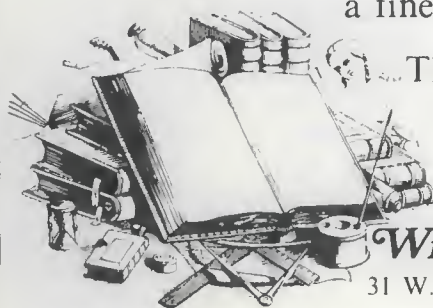
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Nuclear Abyss

THE FATE OF THE EARTH, by Jonathan Schell. Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. \$11.95.

NUCLEAR ILLUSION AND REALITY, by Solly Zuckerman. Viking, 1982. \$10.95.

Jonathan Schell has looked into the nuclear abyss and seen that the fate of the earth *could* be the extinction of man. Einstein came to the same conclusion more than thirty years ago. Schell believes that if the human race is to survive, it must lay down its arms, relinquish sovereignty, and found a political system for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

That is the powerful thesis of this widely acclaimed book (John Leonard of the *New York Times* was a significant exception) that first appeared as three separate essays in *The New Yorker*. The three essays are uneven. The first essay is a comprehensive and compelling description of what we know and do not know about the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons. No one has done this better or with more authority. This essay should be read especially by anyone who still believes that the use of nuclear weapons could serve some rational purpose. The second essay is a metaphysical excursion about death, extinction, and man's duty to the unborn. It is abstruse and repetitious.

The third essay is entitled "The Choice." In Schell's opinion, the doctrine of deterrence is not a choice because of its inner contradiction. We cannot rely "upon preparations for annihilation to prevent annihilation." We live with one foot in each of two worlds—the nuclear world with its possibility of extinction and the pre-nuclear world of sovereign states employing the instruments of violence. These two worlds cannot coexist. Man will bring on his own destruction—the species will end—unless sovereignty and the nation-state system are abolished.

Schell seems to be saying that the choice is between extinction and utopia. He asks us to act out of love, not out of fear. He asks us and everybody else—Russians, Chinese, Argentines, Iranians, Cubans—to give up sovereignty and all arms, conventional as well as nuclear. He asserts the

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need for a world-wide political revolution to contain the universal and irreversible scientific revolution. Brave words. No one who reads this book could any longer respond to the nuclear problem with a "shrug of indifference." But Schell takes us only to the threshold of a new world. He leaves to others the hard task of giving concrete meaning to the urgent imperatives of the nuclear age.

Lord Zuckerman, distinguished scientific adviser to British governments, writes with clarity, succinctness, and common sense about nuclear weapons and nuclear war. He does not "obscure reality in a miasma of words, numbers, and acronyms." For instance, on the purpose of nuclear weapons: "There is, in fact, no realistic and no theoretical justification for the belief that nuclear weapons could ever be used as a rational extension of conventional armaments." Or on the neglected question of how much is enough: The British government "has given the seal of approval to the concept of 'minimal deterrence'; that is to say the British view is that the size of its nuclear force is adequate to deter aggression."

Scientist Zuckerman advances a far-reaching but probably impractical way to slow down the nuclear arms race. He believes the momentum of the arms race is fueled not on the field by the military, but in the laboratories by the scientists and technologists. Governments should stop research and development of new nuclear weapons. But would other governments agree? And could that be verified?

Lord Zuckerman's book, like Schell's, will give strong support to those who believe the United States should never initiate the use of nuclear weapons or start a nuclear war.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Eisenhower Revised

THE DECLASSIFIED EISENHOWER, by *Blanche Wiesen Cook*. Doubleday and Company. 1981. \$17.95.

At its best, this book offers a tantalizing glimpse of what may be available when all the classified materials relating to the Eisenhower presidency are opened to the public. Cook, a professor of history at the City University of New York, made several visits to the new Eisenhower Library at Abilene, Kansas, and drew upon the declassified papers to write a revisionist history of the Eisenhower administration. Unfortunately, *The Declassified Eisenhower* suffers from two flaws. The first is that only a portion of the Eisenhower papers has been declassified, so that Cook's work con-

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tains unavoidable gaps, for which she compensates by drawing heavily upon previously published sources.

The second flaw is more serious. This book is not an objective history, but starts off from the premise that "since 1960 the world's military-industrial complex has come to dominate every aspect of life." The American diplomats who reported on the Soviet Union from Riga prior to the establishment of formal U.S.-Soviet relations in 1933 are portrayed as unduly influenced by the German culture of the Latvian capital. Averell Harriman, "an international banker," is depicted as preserving German industry from wartime destruction so it "would be enlisted to serve the West's economic war against communism instead of the Thousand Year Reich." Similarly there are references to Eisenhower's "acquiescence in and material support for British atrocities in Greece," and to the alleged similarity between Winston Churchill's famed Fulton, Missouri, "Iron Curtain" speech in March 1946 and an earlier one by Hitler's propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels. In sum, if this version of history strikes your fancy, the book is for you. Otherwise, it should be avoided in the expectation that a more objective work based on the Eisenhower documents will yet be written.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

China and Harvard

CHINABOUND, *John King Fairbank*. Harper & Row, 1982. \$20.

This reviewer respects and admires John Fairbank as a scholar, historian, and teacher—he would undoubtedly reverse this order—a judgment which no one is likely to contest. I subscribe generally to his conviction that in the interest of both nations it is important to continue to improve relations between the United States and China—a sentiment which is considerably more controversial. Under these circumstances, I am disappointed to find Fairbank's personal memoirs somewhat less than compelling.

There is no doubt that his productive and exciting life deserves an autobiography. Fairbank, born and raised in South Dakota, tells us of his years in Exeter, Wisconsin, Harvard, and Oxford, and how an almost casual remark by a professor started him on his career in Chinese studies. He begins his adventures in China in the early 1930s, where he studied, taught, traveled, and absorbed the sights, sounds, and smells that are so invaluable to the understanding of the country and its people. Fairbank returned to teach at Harvard

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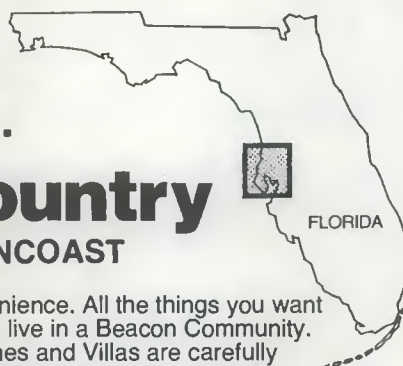
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and, following the outbreak of World War II five years later, entered government service. In the book he relates these experiences, including several stints in Washington and China and his later problems and frustrations during the McCarthy era. He describes his leadership and determination in promoting Chinese studies in the United States; the role he played in improving Sino-American relations and in educating anyone who would listen that there is only one China; and lots more. It is a somewhat rambling, good-humored, and very readable description of a large chunk of recent history from the perspective of China, Chinese studies, Harvard, and Fairbank—all getting approximately equal time.

So what is it about this book that bothers me? Perhaps it is the strong "self-image of uniqueness" which, while justified, is a bit too dominant throughout the volume. Maybe it is because I am not Harvard. Since Fairbank admits that "today my acquired religion is Harvard," perhaps it would help to be of the same persuasion. Maybe it is the literally hundreds of names of scholars, leaders, and friends, most of whom seem to float onto a page, then quickly disappear. Even this may show my bias, because when he reaches the 1950s, '60s, and '70s, and the names of China specialists and political leaders became familiar, my attention peaks considerably.

If you are China-oriented, a Harvard alumni, one of the seemingly infinite number of Fairbank students, or preferably all three, you will want this book on your shelf. If you are none of the above, this is not a "must" book for you. But in either case, *Chinabound* represents an important piece of history which would be much more difficult for anyone else to reconstruct from unedited notes and papers. And in this sense, it is also a book that had to be written.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

Passionate on Vietnam

WHY WE WERE IN VIETNAM, by Norman Podhoretz. Simon & Schuster, 1982. \$13.50.

It is fair to say that few books about the Vietnam war are of outstanding quality. However, a certain number of them are important, among them David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest*, Frances FitzGerald's *Fire in the Lake*, Michael Herr's *Dispatches*, and Frank Snepp's *Decent Interval*. These were bestsellers and influential. *The Pentagon Papers* falls into the same category. All these books (the *Pentagon Papers* particularly in the New York Times edition, which was very selective)

can be termed anti-Vietnam war. On my three shelves of books about the war, about ninety percent of the books are written from the anti-war perspective.

On the other side there are only very few that deserve mention: Guenter Lewy's *America in Vietnam*. Peter Braestrup's *Big Story* (whose author would probably disclaim being in any category, since he only analyzed the media's performance during the Tet offensive in 1968), and Sir Robert Thompson's *No Exit From Vietnam*. None of these books is written with passion. During the Vietnam war, and even today, the passion was and is for the most part found on the side of the opponents of U.S. involvement in that war.

Now a book has come out that is passionate on the side of the war's proponents. Norman Podhoretz knows how to write and how to make a case: *Why We Were in Vietnam* is, first of all, one of the few books that places the Vietnam war in the larger setting of the doctrine of containment. Furthermore, it is written by someone who knows the American intellectual community, which is one of his main targets of attack, inside out. And the book also provides a shrewd analysis of the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations' attitudes.

For a rounded appreciation of what happened, this book alone will not suffice, but it is essential reading for any such rounded appreciation. Podhoretz has performed a public service in providing this summary and analysis of how we got into the war and how we got out of it. Few of the people whose actions and reasoning he describes and analyzes emerge unscathed. The book, predictably, has been attacked on many counts, but on many more counts it stands as an excellent, even brilliant analysis of the times in which we live, the mistakes that have been made, and the meaning of the debacle for the present and for the future.

—MARTIN F. HERZ

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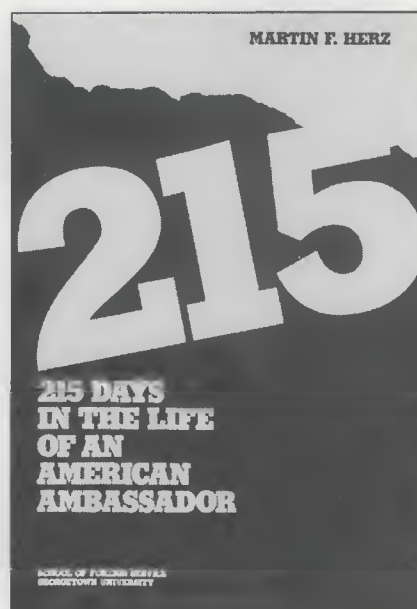
THE THIRD WORLD AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: *Cooperation and Conflict in the 1980s*, by Robert L. Rothstein. Westview Press, 1981. \$27.

The fact that this book has been written at all is probably more important than what it says. Not because it was written by Robert Rothstein, a recommendation in itself, but because it was commissioned by the State Department. After six years of North-South stalemate and the promise of more to come, the department needed a fresh look at things, a "framework and

guidelines" for determining a policy for the 1980s. This book is the result. Third World critics who denounce the United States for indifference—as well as academics and protagonists of whatever persuasion—take note.

There is much to recommend this book. Like Rothstein's previous works, *The Weak in the World of the Strong* and *Global Bargaining*, this work is a sophisticated, lucid, and systematic treatment of a complex subject. Not the least, it provides an interesting *tour d'horizon* of the dynamics of the North-South dialogue, its issues, and actors, enlightened by analytical vignettes on key factors, e.g., stability, the interna-

tional system, and Third World unity and perspectives. Above all, Rothstein sustains a conceptual coherence—something which he criticizes both sides for lacking. In perhaps his best line, Rothstein reminds us that the importance of the Third World cannot be assessed "... without references to broader foreign policy goals: the interest of the United States is not merely in access and trade, but also in political security and systemic stability." Another integrating theme is that neither the national approach focusing on the satisfaction of basic human needs, nor the international approach stressing the restructuring of the global economy alone is workable.



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Henry C. Alter, Dean of Continuing Education, Cooper Union

"The author is too modest about this book. Although it consists of diary notes taken in Sofia, it contains a wealth of insights on the realities of diplomatic life in general and American diplomatic operations in particular. I am recommending it widely to people interested in foreign affairs."

Sidney Hook, Hoover Institution, Stanford

"While it is set in Eastern Europe and there are special problems in that area... the account has universal application. I could identify with so much of the description of the daily life and of the myriad of problems of reporting, Embassy morale, consular work, and bureaucratic relationships. Herz has done a real service in presenting the life of an Ambassador as it is."

David D. Newsom, former Ambassador and former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

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They must be combined in a mutually supportive way.

Rothstein derives his rather modest recommendations from a careful analysis of disparate elements: the near- and long-term mutual interests of both sides, the chaotic state of the international environment, specific sector problems (oil, food, trade, and finance), and several different scenarios of the future (continued low-level crises, disintegration and disorder, reconstruction of the system, and policies of differentiation and selectivity). None of these scenarios, he believes, can arrest the inexorable trend toward, at best, slow growth, at worst, systemic crisis and collapse. Rothstein believes the United States must pursue an "eclectic" policy toward some "interim bargain." Essentially, the United States and the other developed countries should try to break the deadlock by overtly accepting the need for some structural reform and making certain substantive concessions in return for Third World acceptance of a more manageable negotiating process. One only wishes Rothstein had been more forceful in recommending that the United States take the initiative and stop merely reacting to Third World demands. But it is there by implication.

None of this is spectacular—nor could it be. There are no sure-fire answers. The value of the study is, not that it furnishes a list of prepackaged answers, but that it asks the right questions. Now we hope it is read by those who commissioned it.

—ROBERT K. OLSON

The Industry of Defense

THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY, by Jacques S. Gansler. The MIT Press, 1980. \$9.95 (paper).

Four factors determine the health of the national military posture: military strategy; the choice of forces to match that strategy; the quality, cost, and efficient use of military manpower; and the ability of the defense industry to produce needed equipment at prices the country can afford. Analyses of the first two factors abound, and the third is at least discussed. But Jacques Gansler's *The Defense Industry* is virtually the only comprehensive treatment of the defense industry—including concrete, practical prescriptions for improved economic performance—to appear since the 1960s. The so-called "Carlucci initiatives" introduced into the Defense Department by its deputy secretary borrow much in spirit from Gansler, and they could help institutionalize industrial planning at DoD.

Anyone mistaking the strategic importance of this subject should recall, for example, U.S. inability to replace rapidly the large number of tanks Israel lost in the early days of the 1973 Mideast war. Today, plant and labor problems mean that the Trident nuclear missile submarine—the only weapon that just about everyone agrees is needed—cannot be produced faster or more cheaply. Besides describing such isolated incidents, Gansler shows that a healthy defense industry is essential for maintaining the military balance with the Soviet Union. In the 1970s, military salaries have absorbed an increasing share of the defense budget, squeezing out weapons procurement. At the same time, the cost of many standard military items—aircraft, tanks, ships—has risen steadily in real terms. One result: in the 1950s the United States bought about 3000 tactical aircraft per year, in the 1960s only 1000, and in the 1970s just 300. A larger fraction of the Soviet defense budget is free for weapons procurement. The Soviets are today out-producing the United States in many categories of military equipment, a fact that cannot be adequately explained or compensated for by the inferior quality of Soviet technology. Obviously, factors other than quantities of conventional equipment determine the military balance.

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Still, if the defense industry is weak, we are clearly not getting the military capability for which the rest of the economy is sacrificing.

The early chapters of this book describe the structure and performance of the defense industry since the Vietnam war. The first lesson is that the various sectors of the industry—prime and sub-contractors, shipyards, and aerospace companies—have different characteristics and different problems. Gansler claims that the Defense Department and Congress persist in applying the same rules and standards to all sectors. The second lesson is that a classic free market economy does not and probably cannot exist in the defense industry as a whole. Most defense money is not awarded competitively, and the "visible hand" of government affects daily every aspect of the industry. Competition among the relatively small number of prime contractors bidding on a major program often ends after the development phase, when a sole contractor is chosen for production. This system encourages firms to "buy in" to the production contract with low bids and then "get well" on design "improvements" and cost overruns. Rivalry among prime contractors is therefore fierce but does not lead to production efficiencies. Subcontractors and parts suppliers live in a

harsher environment. Since many are highly specialized, slackened demand or a lost contract can wipe them out. Renewed demand, on the other hand, does not induce new firms to enter the market because of the many barriers to entry (regulations, specifications incompatible with civilian industrial practices, etc.) imposed by the government. Bottlenecks caused by the specialized and sickly parts suppliers can thwart plans for increased production. Thus, when the United States sought to replace Israeli losses in 1973, DoD found that, whereas the prime tank contractor (Chrysler) could "surge" production, the sole subcontractor supplying turret castings could not.

The reader whose economics is weak should not be deterred from reading this book. Gansler's prose, while not particularly concise, is clear and free of jargon. The many graphs and charts are remarkable for their clarity. And lest anyone miss something, all the main points are summarized again and again—a rather annoying repetition. Gansler seems at home when discussing the productive capacity of U.S. defense industries. Chapters on research and development, foreign military sales, the defense industries of other countries, and wartime mobilization are thinner gruel, but one is grateful for them anyway, as they make the book complete.

What of Gansler's recommendations for rescuing the defense industry? He is certainly well-qualified to propose them, having degrees in engineering and economics and long experience in the defense industry as well as the Defense Department. A defense "insider," his views are far from radical or sensational, but sober and hard to sloganize. Though he rejects nationalization out of hand, he renounces an ostrich-like laissez faire just as firmly, seeking a "theory of the second best." This he finds in a mixed approach, where government involvement at the level of the prime contractors is recognized as inevitable and pursued self-consciously, but a semblance of free-market conditions is nurtured among the subcontractors and parts suppliers. Above all, DoD and the Congress are urged to treat defense industrial planning as a serious ingredient of national security, not as an afterthought. As with any book of wide scope and few precedents, one should probably reserve judgment on whether particular analyses and recommendations will stand up to future study. But such studies are sure to be done, because Gansler's book has already made industrial considerations take a place beside strategy and weapons choice in the journals and in the corridors of power.

—ASHTON CARTER

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Judges and Ambassadors

As questions regarding career and non-career ambassadors continue to be debated, the suggestion has been made that a committee somewhat like the one created by the American Bar Association to examine candidates for the Federal Judiciary be established to review the qualifications of proposed ambassadors. The ABA established a Standing Committee on Federal Judiciary in 1948, as unqualified appointees, chosen mainly for political reasons, were obtaining seats on the Federal Bench. It also came out of the steady growth and increasing complexity of legal processes following the Second World War. Although it was initially resisted and used mainly as an aid to the Senate in the confirmation process, every president since 1952 has consulted the committee and it is now firmly entrenched.

AFSA believes that a similar committee should be created to make recommendations on the qualifications of both career and "political" candidates for ambassadorships but recognizes that the proposal raises several difficult questions. The first and most basic of these is where would such a committee fit into the selection process. One possibility would be for a committee of distinguished former ambassadors to be created by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to review the qualifications of persons presented for confirmation. This process would at the very least stiffen the spine of the committee, whose casual and indulgent attitude permits the confirmation of candidates provided their

qualifications are somewhat better than those of Caligula's horse.

Another possibility would be for the administration to create such a committee to advise the Secretary of State and the White House. In our view the committee created by the Carter administration was a flop and we are not seeking to repeat that experience, but the Bar Association has very successfully given discreet and well-founded advice on prospective judges prior to their selections and we see no reason why a small panel of distinguished "wise men" could not perform a similar function with regard to ambassadorships.

Perhaps we should note at this point that while we are proud of AFSA and are flattered by the suggestions that it should form such a committee it is our view that AFSA is not and never will be comparable to the American Bar Association, with its nationwide membership.

We conclude, therefore, that while we would be glad to participate, the committee should be created under appropriate auspices. We recall that the Bar Association committee began in an advisory capacity to the Senate and now gives advice to the Executive Branch as well. This might well be the route a Committee on Ambassadorships would follow. The need for a committee is obvious and we hope that discussion of this proposal will lead to its early creation. ☐

Congress Swings

Like a Reverse Pendulum, Congress Now Attacks U.S. Central American Policy from the Left

By I.M. DESTLER and PATRICIA COHEN

When, in 1977, the Carter administration embarked on an opening to the left in its Central American policy, one of the greatest impediments was the U.S. Congress. The Panama Canal treaties eventually were ratified, for instance, but only after an enormous political struggle capped by insulting Senate reservations and penny-ante House restrictions on the implementing legislation. Then, when the administration abandoned its support of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua and proposed emergency assistance to woo the leftist Sandinista government that came to power, the Carter aid bill was delayed by the House and riddled with restrictions. The Carter administration ended up on the defensive against a rising conservative tide.

The 1980 election both confirmed and reinforced this tide, bringing a Reagan presidency, formal Republican control of the Senate, and informal control of the House by a conservative coalition. In February 1981, Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced the sort of policy shift that many conservatives had been advocating: a hard line against Soviet-Cuban involvement in Central America, pressure on Nicaragua, and stepped-up support for a government in El Salvador that was fight-

ing a bloody civil war against left-wing rebels.

What was the result? Cheers that the preferred congressional policy was finally being pursued? Inter-branch consensus at last? Nothing of the sort. Instead, the Reagan-Haig Central American policies have met with a sharp and growing congressional attack—this time from the left!

Logical Shift

At first glance, this seems totally inexplicable. And certainly it is if one thinks of congressional behavior as simply a reflection of the average policy orientation of its members, for why then would a moderate Congress attack from the right, and a conservative Congress attack from the left? But on closer examination there appears to be a clear logic to this sort of shift, one that flows from the nature of Congress and the broader politics of U.S. foreign policy. Executive-congressional relations have developed a curious "reverse pendulum" effect, in which a move by the White House in one policy direction tends to drive Congress in the other. Before spelling this out, however, we will first examine the congressional response when Haig outlined the new policy toward El Salvador.

The Carter administration was moving, during its final weeks, toward a tougher Central American line—pressuring Nicaragua about its support for Salvadoran rebels and expanding military assistance to El Salvador. Nonetheless, the new administration chose to emphasize its differences with its

predecessor. The secretary of state pinpointed El Salvador as the place where it would "draw the line" against communism, and underscored the new tone by ostentatiously removing Ambassador Robert E. White, who had aroused the ire of congressional conservatives. In February, a white paper was issued purporting to document Cuban and Nicaraguan support of the guerrillas. Haig promised the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to do "whatever is necessary" to prevent a Communist victory.

The hard-line rhetoric pleased conservatives like Jesse Helms (R.-N.C.), new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemispheric Affairs. But it generated public concern about the prospect of a Vietnam-type quagmire, and brought criticism from liberals and moderates that the administration was exaggerating the Soviet-Cuban dimension and underrating the internal sources of revolution. Representative Michael Barnes (D.-Md.), newly designated chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, held hearings where these criticisms were aired, while flaws in the hastily prepared white paper fueled the attack.

The Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs committees, both more liberal than their parent chambers, responded to these concerns. And they employed their primary legislative vehicle, the annual foreign aid bill, to give them weight. Legislators focused on two major worries: that the administration's ap-

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proach was reinforcing the hard right in its human rights abuses and opposition to social reform, and that in resisting a negotiation with the rebels it was discarding an important option for conflict resolution. The statute they fashioned did not explicitly block administration policy or legislate an alternative, though a minority would have liked to do so. Instead, it employed a device used by conservatives in the Nicaragua bill of 1980—it required that the president “certify” that certain criteria were met before providing military aid to El Salvador, and repeat this certification process every six months.

The more critical members, such as Christopher Dodd (D.-Conn.), would have liked to attach a stronger procedural handle, such as a legislative veto over the president’s certification decision. Most Republicans, led by Richard Lugar (R.-Ind.), would have preferred something less restrictive, but their effort to change the certification conditions into “sense of the Congress” goals failed by 51 to 47 on the Senate floor. In the December conference on the bill, the administration’s ability to bargain for softer language was limited by the fragility of the coalition supporting the foreign aid legislation as a whole. Therefore, as signed into law in December, the bill required that Reagan certify that the government of El Salvador be “achieving substantial control” of its armed forces in order to end “indiscriminate torture and murder”; that it be “implementing essential economic and political reforms, including the land reform program”; holding free elections; and demonstrating a willingness to negotiate a political settlement.

Denouncing Reagan

By this move Congress had left the actual decision in the president’s hands, and few members really believed that Reagan could afford *not* to certify, since to do that would mean abandoning his policy. As the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Clement Zablocki (D.-Wisc.), declared, the president really had “no alternative.” Yet by asserting that the conditions had been met, the administration put itself in the position of

minimizing or overlooking continuing atrocities and acts of repression. So the expected presidential action brought the anticipated congressional denunciation: Congressman Jonathan Bingham (D.-N.Y.) labeled it “fraud, pure and simple.” As one aide put it, certification gave legislators “a handle to beat [Reagan] on the head with,” and Democrats in particular were not reluctant to use it.

This rather noisy exercise raised the political costs of the administration’s initial policy in El Salvador, and pushed at least its declaratory position toward the center—toward greater emphasis on reforms, elections, and negotiations. This brought some do-



Representative Michael Barnes (D.-Md.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, held hearings where criticism of the administration’s hard-line Latin American policy was aired.

mestic success in the spring of 1982, as the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a substantial increase in military aid. But when the newly elected constituent assembly voted to suspend key elements of the land reform program, congressional committees reacted sharply: Senate Foreign Relations proposed unanimously to slash military aid for fiscal year 1983; House Foreign Operations voted to kill the entire Reagan administration supplemental foreign aid request for FY 1982. Both actions were subject to reversal either in committee or on the

floor. So were the numerous committee amendments of the spring which would curtail or reshape the proposed Caribbean Basin initiative. But regardless of their eventual fate, the mere fact of these actions suggested that critical pressure was likely to continue.

Right-wing Republicans were not entirely inactive. Jesse Helms (“Duarte is far to the left of George McGovern”) and Stephen Symms (R.-Idaho) reacted to liberal attacks and apparent administration concessions with a counterattack of their own. The latter came close to winning Senate floor approval of a resolution to reaffirm the 1962 congressional commitment to employ “whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms,” to stop Cuban aggression and subversion in the western hemisphere. This resolution was then referred to Senate Foreign Relations, which considered it together with a number of proposals from the left: one from Dodd and Paul Tsongas (D.-Mass) calling for prior congressional clearance for all military aid, covert operations, and military action in Central America; another from minority leader Robert Byrd (D.-W.Va.) to add to the War Powers Resolution a particular impediment on the use of U.S. troops in El Salvador; and another from Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), Lowell Weicker (R.-Conn.), Thomas Eagleton (D.-Mo.), and Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.) to condition aid on government participation in unconditional negotiations. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee artfully managed to combine elements of all of these—including a watered-down version of the Symms bill—in a joint resolution it reported to the full Senate in May. But this patchwork product was vulnerable to assault from both left and right once it reached the floor. Liberal House critics like Benjamin Rosenthal (D.-N.Y.) and Gerry Studds (D.-Mass.) were looking ahead to Reagan’s second required certification in July as a target for more critical rhetoric and action.

After further congressional action in the summer and fall, the administration position may end up looking better, or worse, than the balance reported here suggests. But one thing is

Association News

FSLRB Finds Merit In Two AFSA Unfair Labor Practice Charges

The Foreign Service Labor Relations Board has made a finding of merit in two unfair labor practice charges filed by AFSA against the State Department. Both alleged bad-faith negotiation by management in failing to respond to proposals made by the Association. The first concerns standby pay and on-call duty. The chief aim of the standby proposal is to preserve the freedom of movement and activity of employees during the period outside their regular working hours when they are away from their duty stations and not receiving compensation. AFSA's proposal would, *inter alia*, make on-call duty purely voluntary.

AFSA's second proposal would expand the definition of "immediate family" in emergency visitation travel regulations.

As we went to press, the FSLRB was attempting to reach a settlement agreement with the department before issuing a formal charge.

Accord Reached On AID Open Assignments

After a year of negotiations characterized by both AFSA and AID management as "long and arduous," the two organizations signed an agreement on June 4 establishing an open assignments system. The two-year agreement, which governs assignment cycles beginning May 1, 1983, covers "all established and known projected vacancies" overseas and in Washington. The agency will inform all Foreign Service employees of vacancies for the 1983 cycle by July 30, 1982, in a worldwide cable.

"I think the agreement is significant in three ways," AFSA President Charles S. Whitehouse told Association and management representatives after the signing ceremony. "It is good for AID to have a system fully supported by management and the affected personnel, and it is important for agency personnel to feel they can get an honest, open shot at positions that become available. Finally, I think the step we are taking today is



AID Administrator McPherson and AFSA President Whitehouse sign agreement.

consonant with the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and the emphasis it places on achieving a high degree of compatibility among the foreign affairs agencies." Added AID Administrator M. Peter McPherson, "This program just makes a lot of sense to me. It seems only fair."

All members of AID's Foreign Service eligible for transfer must submit a minimum of four assignment preferences by September 30. Assignment boards will then attempt to match preferences to positions by December. There will be a second update cable January 10, 1983, listing any new positions and those left unfilled. The agreement provides for appeals and for revision of the agreement itself after the first year's experience.

In a side letter, AID agreed to provide AFSA with information on the results of the new assignments system—who got what positions and whether they were bid on. The agency estimates the system will cover 95 percent of the vacancies in the bargaining unit, the rest coming open due to illness, death, etc.

The agreement came after a year of negotiating which saw the filing of an unfair labor practice charge complaining of agency refusal to negotiate. After the charge was settled, there were months of proposals, counterproposals, delays, and a final flurry of negotiations that began last April. As AID Standing Committee Chairman William Schoux said, "Thanks go to the negotiators on both sides, all of whom did a fantastic job on a relatively complex and difficult subject."

Ruling Clears Way for Performance Pay

On June 4, the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board issued a ruling clearing the way for long-delayed issuance of performance pay to the Senior Foreign Service. Unless it is appealed by management, the State Department and AID would appear to be required to implement in a timely manner the performance pay agreement concluded with AFSA and to issue awards of performance pay to 20 percent of Senior Foreign Service employees based on selection board rankings.

The impasse arose when ICA refused to sign the five-agency, two-union performance pay agreement and refused to negotiate an agency-specific agreement with its union paralleling the agreement AFSA had concluded with State and AID. ICA maintained that management could not be bound by selection board rank orderings; that composition of selection boards was exclusively within the

domain of management to determine; and that the amount of performance pay to be distributed could not be safeguarded by advance confidential notification to the employee organization prior to determination of rank orderings.

On being asked to resolve the impasse, the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel determined that the claim of ICA management (then joined by AID and State management) that these issues were non-negotiable and therefore not subject to third-party arbitration had to be resolved by the FSLRB.

After reviewing all the facts, including AFSA's *amicus curiae* brief in support of the negotiability of the proposals, the FSLRB ruled that the Foreign Service Act did not contemplate these provisions as "reserved management rights" and they therefore were subject to negotiation and third-party arbitration by the FSIDP.

AFSA, Management Agree On Payment of Obstetrical Care

The Association and management reached agreement on June 2 on a revision of regulations to permit payment under the department's medical program for the obstetrical care of employees and dependents assigned abroad.

A year ago the AFSA chapter in Lima brought to our attention the fact that the department specifically excludes obstetrical care from its otherwise full medical coverage. The exclusion placed a severe financial burden on employees overseas. Even if an employee is covered by private insurance, meaning eventual reimbursement for a portion of her expenses, many hospitals require advance payments for obstetrical care and hospitalization—amounting in some instances to several thousand dollars. AFSA's general counsel advised the department that the exclusion was a clear violation of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (P.L. 95-555), which made distinctions based on pregnancy a violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Six months later the department had yet to respond to our position and AFSA prepared to file an unfair labor practice charge. This brought action, a management proposal simply to delete language from its regulations in 3 FAM 685.2e, which excludes obstetrical care. We felt this was only half a loaf and counterproposed language specifically permitting payment for obstetrical and maternity related expenses. We are pleased with the agreement, which does away with a needless financial burden for Foreign Service families stationed overseas.

Some Reservations About Reservations

Employees occasionally cable us to request we make hotel reservations for them in the Washington area. Unfortunately, such requests are of a personal nature and do not fall into our area of responsibility. The Foreign Affairs Recreation Association, however, will be glad to help in placing reservations.

Since cables requesting reservations do not meet the conditions for transmission under the telecommunications agreement, we cannot get authorization even to reply to employees who make such requests. Please take note, and contact FARA.

AFSA Meets SFSA

AFSA is pleased to have the opportunity from time to time to meet with representatives of similar organizations from other countries. Comparing the problems and procedures of other diplomatic corps is a useful and illuminating exercise. Recently we were able to talk with two representatives of the Swedish Foreign Service Association. AFSA President Charles S. Whitehouse and Executive Director Robert Beers met with Hans F. Grönwall, president of the Swedish Foreign Service Association, and Mats Elgqvist, a counselor in administrative and consular matters at the Swedish embassy in Washington.

The following is a summary of our conversation. We are grateful to Messrs. Grönwall and Elgqvist for their time and interest.

AFSA What is your association's administrative organization, and what are its principal areas of concern?

SFSA We have a board that runs the organization—14 people plus a president. We have an office where we have three people—one professional and two office clerks. Fewer than fifty percent of our members work in Stockholm. Our main job is in the salary field and taking care of special individual problems. There are personnel unions, and we cooperate closely with them because we consider ourselves salary-wise to be in the same boat. But then, of course, we also have all the distinct problems that only apply to the Foreign Service—family problems, allowance problems, housing, security, education, etc.

AFSA Are your salaries pegged to the civil service? Do you negotiate them every year?

SFSA Yes, they are pegged, so there is a lot of automaticity involved. We have a very centralized system in Sweden, so we have two or three unions who negotiate for all the civil servants, about 500,000 people. They conclude a central agreement. This year I think it was for a general salary raise of about 8 percent, and then there is a fraction of that—one or two percent on top of the eight percent—which is negotiated on a local basis. This means, for example that we have a total pool of \$100,000 or so that we can bargain for on an individual basis. It sounds like very little, but three or four hundred people are affected by it. So, though

there is a lot of automaticity, there is a lot of complicated bargaining going on all the time too. Then, of course, we have the special Foreign Service allowances, and those we bargain for each year.

AFSA At this moment, the biggest problem for us is the problem of the two-income family. We are finding more and more spouses who don't want to go abroad. We have worked to get reciprocal agreements with countries such as yours, Canada, etc., to get jobs; we have some working couples; and we are trying to get jobs within embassies and AID missions for dependents. It is very, very difficult.

SFSA Yes, and you can imagine, since we have much smaller embassies, that it is much more difficult to find jobs for a couple at one embassy. It works out in Brussels because we have an embassy and a mission, or in New York, where we have a consul general and the mission to the United Nations, but most places it is impossible, since very often they are both on the same professional level and the same age. We also have the problem where the wife is an office clerk and the husband is an officer, and that creates some problems. And, we have several officers in Stockholm who have declined to go to any job or post because their wives have good jobs in Sweden which they cannot continue abroad.

AFSA Can you stay in the Foreign Service under those circumstances?

SFSA You can stay up to a certain point. But if after seven or eight years you can't go abroad, it is very questionable. We have a backlog of people who are between 30 and 40 who are staying in Stockholm, and don't want to go abroad. And that creates a real problem because there are people abroad who want to come back to Stockholm, and the whole rotational system is built on the principle that everyone should rotate. We have some guiding principles with management that a normal term in Sweden is now between three and five years and then you are put on a list if you have been in Stockholm for more than five years. There is a great deal of pressure put on you, but otherwise the system would not work.

AFSA Do your officers get a good deal of choice in where they would like to go?

SFSA Quite a lot. Once a year the department sends out a "wish list" identifying the posts that will come open in the



From left: Mats Elgqvist (SFSA), Charles Whitehouse (AFSA), Robert Beers (AFSA), and Hans Gronwall (SFSA).

next year. And unless you have just arrived at a post, you should say what kind of job you want in the future—if you want to specialize in economic or commercial work, etc. If you are stationed in one of the industrialized countries, then you are supposed to list a less developed country and one behind the iron curtain, and then it is up to the personnel department to decide, and they negotiate with every single officer. Occasionally there have been posts that have been hard to fill. Ninety percent want to go to London, Paris, and Washington. Very few want to go to Lusaka. You have to try to find a fair system so that every officer goes both to less developed countries and others, but it is very difficult to convince people to go to these posts. And there are always medical reasons or personal reasons for not wanting to go to a place, and of course these must be taken into account.

AFSA Are these the kind of problems you negotiate with your government about?

SFSA No, it is the principles—how long your stay is at a post and also the mixture of having good and bad posts. There are principles we have signed and that the foreign minister has signed, and we monitor these. Once a week we sit down with Personnel and they present us with a list of upcoming transfers and we can ask questions. We see this name on the list and recall that this person has been posted to Paris, Vienna, and Washington, and now they are suggesting London. And we ask how this goes along with the negotiated principles. And they give an explanation and we listen. But we can never say you have to put this person there or over our dead body will this person go there.

AFSA As career officers do you move between political assignments and, say, economic assignments?

SFSA Yes, we do. There are those who

specialize and there are those who move. It is always the question of whether one should attract generalists who become specialists or specialists who become generalists. The theory changes about every eight years.

AFSA What have you done and what has been discussed in the way of special allowances or pay for spouses for giving parties?

SFSA We just met with Marilyn Holmes of your Family Liaison Office and we discussed all these ideas. We discarded some of them, for instance a salary. We are now hoping to negotiate a pension whereby the spouse who has been working will have the opportunity to get points for the general additional pension that everybody who works in Sweden can earn during his or her active life. This is important for those who are prevented from working in Sweden and getting the pension, which requires 30 years of active employment, because they were accompanying their spouses abroad for 15 years. So they would get two or two and one-half points out of a total of six possible points per years. This is what we are looking forward to concluding with the government.

AFSA What about allowances for clothes used for official entertainment? Or is there a tax deduction?

SFSA There is no deduction. We used to have different scales for various clothes. These allowances are tied to the seniority of the people because junior officers don't have those obligations. The important thing we are trying to do is to get this agreement we have negotiated for the spouses. We are trying to widen the number of countries with whom we can enter on this.

AFSA Are we the first country with whom you've made such an agreement?

SFSA Yes. We have an open labor market in Scandinavia and we have no difficulties there. We will continue with the

Common Market countries. They have told us that we could tack on a similar program.

AFSA This in effect eliminates the need for a special work permit for non-citizens? In other words, a spouse can go out and look for work anywhere in the United States?

SFSA Yes, but with the amount of unemployment in this country it's not that easy. For a wife who is for instance a nurse, however, it is a golden opportunity. Professional workers must pass the exam and the tests are being run at the various embassies. If you want to work in Texas, California, etc., you must pass the state exam.

AFSA Have you found that the problems of working couples are so difficult that recruitment is falling off?

SFSA No. We had in the last year about twelve or fourteen hundred applicants for ten posts. It costs a lot to run that kind of screening system.

AFSA What is the total number in your Foreign Service—clerical and officers?

SFSA 1700.

AFSA Do you work on what we call grievances?

SFSA No. They do it themselves. We try to steer clear of it because we have special lawyers who look after these questions. We have had one or two.

AFSA You are negotiating, then, almost exclusively on issues that affect the whole, rather than individuals?

SFSA Yes. We were interested to hear about your elaborate medical program and about the alcoholism-related activities. We are interested in this because alcoholism has been very hush-hush. We are trying to get people to talk about it now. How do you feel about this program?

AFSA We think it has been successful. The confidentiality with which the department has handled cases has been very laudable.

AFSA Queries Clark On Solutions to Senior Officer Glut

In a letter to Joan Clark, director general of the Foreign Service and director of personnel, AFSA's State Standing Committee has asked management a number of questions on how to resolve the so-called senior officer glut while suggesting it is partially caused by "a substantial increase in non-career appointments in the department and overseas."

Drawing on a report by the Senior Officers Association, the standing committee noted that at present there are 50 to 75 senior Foreign Service officers who are not assigned or who are filling specially created temporary positions. In addition, noted the standing committee, "there reportedly are a significant number of senior officers occupying positions which are classified beneath the officers' rank." This in turn has reduced the number of positions available to mid-level officers, as would one reported solution to the glut, the banning of stretch assignments, the process of assigning higher than rank. The committee hoped that justice could be done to senior officers without penalizing mid-level officers.

Haig, Reagan Laud Careerists in Memorial Service

Secretary of State Alexander Haig read a letter of praise from President Reagan to the Foreign Service and added laudatory words of his own during the annual memorial ceremony on Foreign Service Day commemorating members of the Foreign Service who have died under heroic or tragic circumstances. This year the name of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Ray, who was assistant U.S. military attaché at the Paris embassy, was added to the plaque maintained by AFSA in the diplomatic entrance to the State Department.

The letter from Reagan cited specific examples of what the president called "recent efforts that have made us especially mindful of the Foreign Service's contributions." The Sinai withdrawal could not have been achieved "without the diligence and perseverance of our Foreign Service," which has also aided peace efforts in southern Africa. Though "diplomacy has always been a risky business from the days of Benjamin Franklin," said Reagan, "our diplomats . . . are now considered targets for international outlaws who arrogantly claim the



Secretary Haig speaking at Foreign Service Day ceremony.

right to take innocent human lives in furtherance of goals held by a radical few." Concluded the president: "The senseless, cowardly murder of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Ray who, while not technically a member of the Foreign Service, was serving with our diplomatic mission in Paris, reflects the risks that increasingly face the men and women in our diplomatic corps."

Haig added to Reagan's remarks that today, "We can afford nothing less than the guiding wisdom of the foreign policy professionals. The Foreign Service has long been known as a byword for professionalism. Our liberty and our prosperity are due in some great measure to the professionals who so often know neither settled hours or personal comfort. It is indicative of the president's high esteem for the Foreign Service that for the first time in many years a professional holds the second highest appointment in this department."

Capacity Crowd of Retirees Jams AFSA's Foreign Service Day Brunch

AFSA held its traditional post-Foreign Service Day brunch on Saturday, May 8, with a capacity crowd in attendance at the Foreign Service Club.

AFSA President Charles S. Whitehouse outlined the Association's principal areas of concern. These include the unfortunate image of the Foreign Service conveyed in the prize-winning film *Missing*, starring Jack Lemmon and Cissy Spacek; the increasing percentage of political ambassadors named by the Reagan administration; and the problems arising out of overseas assignments for two-income Foreign Service families. AFSA Vice President Anthea de Rouville summarized the status of the negotiations to implement the Foreign Service Act of 1980 on such issues as the Senior Foreign Service, performance pay, the separate maintenance allowance, and danger pay.

Robert Beers, AFSA's executive director, provided a forecast on possible changes in the Foreign Service Retirement



AFSA Executive Director Robert Beers addresses members at brunch.

and Disability System plus an update on developments in the general area of retirement, including Social Security. The spirited question and answer session following the speakers' remarks indicated that more and more of AFSA's retired members are taking advantage of the post-Foreign Service Day brunch to inform themselves on matters of personal interest and direct concern that are not covered in the regular Foreign Service Day program.

Panel Names First Bohlen Award Winner

Anne Cook Murphy has been selected by a panel of AFSA's Awards Committee to be the first recipient of the Avis Bohlen Award, which cites a family member of a Foreign Service employee "whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance American interests in the tradition of the late Avis Bohlen." The award was created by a gift from Pamela Harriman, wife of Averell Harriman. Murphy is the wife of Richard W. Murphy, currently ambassador to Saudi Arabia. The selection panel membership consists of AFSA's president and vice president, the director general of the Foreign Service, the director of the Family Liaison Office, and the president of the Association of American Foreign Service Women.

clear: in fewer than eighteen months, the Reagan administration revived causes that Reagan's election victory seemed to have buried: the issue of human rights in foreign policy, and the so-called Vietnam syndrome about anti-communist military involvements.

What broader conclusions can be drawn from this experience? Certainly congressional behavior has not been characterized by the deference or inattention that many executive branch officials would favor. Nor has the Reagan administration engaged in the sort of advance consultation that many inside participants and outside analysts have prescribed. Rather than seeking a clear congressional mandate, it regarded the election victory as its mandate and sought to capitalize on the political fluidity of an administration's early months to put across its new line. In doing so, it seemed to regard the proper congressional role as limited to providing support and writing the checks. Congressional critics responded to this attitude with noisy, visible challenges to executive authority which cannot but generate doubts in foreign capitals about the administration's capacity to deliver on its promises or threats.

Rewarding Critics

How do we explain the speed and strength of this reaction? In today's decentralized Congress, whose members are individualistic entrepreneurs, political rewards tend to go to the policy critics. Legislators have a wide range of policy views, and many seek publicity and reputation by public position-taking on foreign policy issues. Criticism generates more news than support. Amendments aiming to alter current policy are more consequential, and generally more visible, than actions which support that policy.

The incentives are especially weighted toward criticism in a policy area where *no* course of action offers much promise of politically rewarding success. The public does not want to "lose" another country to communism, but neither does it want to lose American lives in an obscure civil war. Right-wing oppressors are politically unattractive associates, but so are anti-Yankee Marxists. What we would like

to see emerge as the outcome in countries like El Salvador and Nicaragua—peace, democracy, open economies, and support and admiration for the United States—is most unlikely. Thus, those out of power can rest assured that any U.S. policy adopted by those in power will yield messy, unattractive results. Therefore, administration supporters are likely to lie low, while critics go public in a big way. It is doubtful that Richard Lugar will highlight his Central America policy involvement in his run for re-election. Even an ideologue like Jesse Helms may be forced into pragmatic compromises, as evidenced by his aide's visiting San Salvador to warn Roberto



Senator Christopher Dodd (D.-Conn.), one of the most severe critics, called for prior congressional clearance for all military aid, covert operations, and military action in Central America.

D'Aubuisson, head of the extremist ARENA party, that he could not expect carte blanche support from congressional conservatives.

The change of mood within Congress is further accentuated by shifts in people and institutional allegiances brought about by the presidential transition. In 1979 and 1980, Congress was the base for conservative foreign policy staff activists and the think tanks that supported them. But in 1981 their focus shifted to the administration. Some, like Richard Perle, longtime aide of Henry Jackson (D.-

Wash.), moved to executive branch positions; others, like Helms's aide John Carbaugh, remained on the Hill but redirected their energy from reversing presidential decisions in Congress to influencing these decisions within the executive. Conversely, liberals shifted their focus to the Hill, where they were now free of political obligation to support the administration.

Such criticisms of policy and adjustments in allegiances are likely to occur during any change of administration. But in 1980–82 they were reinforced by at least two things peculiar to the Reagan administration.

One was the sharpness of the ideological shift, the degree to which government policy and rhetoric swung very close to one of the poles of American opinion. By adopting a hard-line approach, the Reagan administration yielded some valuable political ground to its adversaries: opposition to political murder and human rights abuses, and concern about sliding into a war.

The second was visible administration disorganization and infighting. There remains a considerable predisposition among members of Congress to defer to the executive, reflecting both a wish to avoid ultimate responsibility and a genuine belief that only the president and his aides have the capacity to carry out a clear, positive foreign policy. But if executive branch leaders seem to be demonstrating instead their incapacity, their inability to agree on and articulate a clear policy course, the claim to leadership is undermined.

All of this suggests that a *reverse pendulum* dynamic has been at work on Capitol Hill. It has more than offset both the 1980 elections and the Reagan capture of the White House. As a direct result of the change in administration and administration policy, the congressional balance has shifted in the opposite direction. Of course, congressional noise has been more impressive than congressional action, and use of the certification procedure on El Salvador does reflect a reluctance to take control. But the fact that the administration must go repeatedly to the Hill for resources to implement its policy—including ever-unpopular aid money

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Administration

On June 25, as we went to press, Secretary Haig resigned. Although this article deals with what the author views as the press offices' shortcomings under Haig, we believe that it contains many valuable insights for current and future administrations.



The lid is on at the State Department. A reluctant press office and a communications revolution have combined to inhibit the flow of news needed for an informed public.

By JIM ANDERSON

The 13 years that this reporter has been in contact with the State Department press office have witnessed an uneven descent into what—we can only hope—is the current rock bottom. A UPI colleague of mine, just back from a decade of covering the news in the Far East and Mid-east, recently sat in on a noon news briefing at the State Department. She was aghast. "It's incredible," she said. "It's like dealing with a hostile government."

(Incidentally, the "noon news briefing," like the "German Democratic Republic," is now a complete misnomer: It does not take place at noon; it rarely produces news; and, in view of the lack of information, it is not brief.)

By contrast, the press conferences and "backgrounders" by the British Foreign Office spokesman, Nicholas

Jim Anderson, State Department correspondent for United Press International, has covered the department since 1969. He is the senior wire service correspondent there and former president of the State Department Correspondents Association and the Overseas Writers Club.

Left: Jim Anderson notes a department spokesman's comments at a noon briefing.

of Silence

Fenn, who accompanied Foreign Secretary Francis Pym to Washington in April, were enough to make a State Department reporter weep. Fenn was factual, informed, concise, literate, and accurate. It was a poignant reminder of what the State Department press operation used to be, and what it could be again.

The reasons for the current decline are numerous. Not all the blame lies with the State Department nor even with the Reagan administration. Some is the fault of the reporters and their masters; some is due to the technical revolution in the communications business. But the chief blame must be attached to the State Department, and the main problem is organic—to use one of Secretary of State Alexander Haig's favorite words—a symptom of a failure in the system.

Let us start with the symptom, a press office which has distinguished itself mainly by raising "no comment" to a minor art form. Lars-Eric Nelson, Washington bureau chief of the *New York Daily News*, says: "The press policy of an administration can't be better than its foreign policy and this administration doesn't have a foreign policy. Apart from that, this press operation is gratuitously stupid."

Barrie Dunsmore, ABC News: "Any press operation is a reflection of the secretary of state. In Haig's case, he doesn't really like or trust the press and his press office functions accordingly. . . . The best spokesmen have been those who were able to shape news coverage without ever being quoted. [State Department spokesman] Dean Fischer doesn't do this and we all suffer because of it, including Haig."

Are these just some cry-baby reporters complaining about the administration's lack of skill at spoon-feeding them? On the contrary, these are professional, veteran reporters who have

each been through at least a decade of covering the State Department, who represent a growing feeling of resentment, and who voice the conviction that there is something seriously wrong. At a minimum, the administration is wasting an opportunity to build a national consensus behind its diplomacy. At worst, it may be repeating the fatal errors of the Johnson administration, which tried to disconnect its conduct of foreign policy from the wishes of the American public.

Worst Possible Sources

Some may imagine that by stifling the flow of information the administration may escape the publication of some unfavorable or unwanted news stories. But there should be no mistake: the frequent failure of the press office to provide access to information does not curtail the stream of news stories about foreign policy. They continue to be written, but much of the information comes from the worst possible sources: unhappy partisans who leak or fabricate information, foreign embassies, congressional sources with their own axes to grind, and other agencies in the government (including the White House staff) which are busily trying to undercut the State Department.

The failure of the press operation at the State Department is not due, I believe, to professional incompetence (although there have been many lively arguments in the press corps on this topic since the fiasco of the staged news conference with the Nicaraguan guerrilla). When it is decided that the spigot of information will be turned on, it flows efficiently. Ironically, the few exceptions in the desert of "no comments" are so unusual that they arouse skepticism. The natural question is, "What are they trying to sell now, and why?"

The department's general lack of

candor in dealing with the press is but part of a larger clampdown on information within the U.S. government, a swinging back of the pendulum ten years after Watergate. For instance, the Reagan administration is moving to restrict the Freedom of Information Act, it is making it easier to classify documents, and it is cutting down on such sources of information as the unclassified briefings and documents that used to come from the Central Intelligence Agency. As John H. V. Shattuck, Washington director of the American Civil Liberties Union, told the *New York Times*, "Generally, this is a government that is expanding secrecy in almost every way. It's not just in comparison with the Carter administration, either. They want to turn the clock back on the Watergate reforms." While trying to achieve its stated goal of keeping technical information out of the hands of the Soviet Union and its allies, the administration and Congress are both considering restrictions that will make it more difficult for information about government policy to reach American citizens. The Soviets will probably know less, but so will Americans.

As part of the general clampdown on information, the first task given to William Clark when he moved from the State Department to the National Security Council at the White House was to prepare a policy that would reduce the number of leaks to the press. The president, it seems, was furious about a story in *Time* magazine about the sale of U.S. planes to China. For some undisclosed reason, the task was handed to Rear Admiral John Poindexter, a deputy to Clark, who appears to have as much experience in dealing with the press as most reporters have in running battleships.

To his credit, Clark asked for the opinion of several reporters on the final draft of the memo that Poindexter pre-

Then & Now



James Reston (1941):
"Each day at noon, we would go down the day's business. None of it could be attributed, of course, but if we asked questions, we got answers."



Barrie Dunsmore (1982):
"Any press operation is a reflection of the secretary. In Haig's case, he doesn't really trust the press and his press office functions accordingly."

pared. The reporters—including this one—were stunned to see that the policy would have had the practical effect of cutting off all professional contacts between reporters and government officials dealing with "national security information"—a term so broadly defined it would have included almost everything the government did. It would have required every contact with "members of the media" to be cleared beforehand by an assistant secretary of the department and required the official interviewed to prepare a memorandum covering the main points of his or her discussion with the reporter. No busy official

would have gone through the bureaucratic maze to set up the interview, and if, miraculously, an interview were actually to have taken place, the system would have been an efficient means of ensuring that the official didn't say anything worth reporting.

Clark removed that offending paragraph from the memo, but the consideration of such a thorough gag rule appears to have left a residual belief on the part of many State Department officers, who are sensitive to political nuances, that they will never be punished for *not* speaking to a reporter, but that their careers could be jeopardized by an incautious word to one. As a result, it

is now increasingly difficult to get a simple fact—such as the size of the current AID program or military assistance program, or even population or refugee figures—out of the various desks and regional bureaus in the State Department. Many bureaus now seem to have a policy of automatically turning all press calls over to the press office, although Dean Fischer swears that there has been no order restricting Department officials from dealing with the press. But, one way or another, the message has permeated the building. The cries of outrage from Haig and the president about leaks have had a chilling effect. The lid is on.

In fairness, two points should be made. In dealing with the past, the news business is a bit like childbirth: one remembers the joy but forgets the pain. Everybody remembers the salad days when Hodding Carter III and Robert McCloskey were running the State Department press operation during the Carter and Nixon administrations, respectively, but reporters tend to forget some of the undistinguished eras in between those two paragons.

Also, the communications world in which the U.S. government operates has vastly changed, and not necessarily for the better. Vermont Royster recently recalled in *Policy Review* how it was when he came to Washington to cover the White House in 1936: "When the door [to the Oval Office] opened, we gathered around the president's desk, no more than twenty of us. There were some desultory questions; I remember being overcome at being a few feet away from the president, at being one of the little band entitled to this privilege."

James Reston of the *New York Times* recently described how it was when he came to cover the State Department in 1941: "Each day at noon, we would go down the day's business. None of it could be attributed, of course, but if

we asked questions, we got answers. You could say, 'Mr. Secretary, I don't understand how your ambassador could make a statement like that.' He would answer, 'It's very simple. The ambassador was drunk at the time.' "

Contrast that with the current situation, in which a State Department spokesman faces as many as ten television cameras and more than one hundred reporters in the briefing room, many of them from foreign news agencies. Each stammer, each bead of sweat, every indiscretion on the part of the briefer could appear on the evening news, to arouse anger, contempt, or laughter.

And, one must admit, some of the questions at the daily briefing are dumber than the answers. The questions are sometimes argumentative, politically loaded, or naive. On any given day, contentious questions may come from the partisans in the Israel vs. PLO dispute; from the two sides in the Taiwan vs. China debate; from various pressure groups, including one which believes that the Club of Rome is a Marxist plot to destroy Western culture and that Alexander Haig, while masquerading as a Roman Catholic, is really a secret member of the Italian P2 Masonic lodge.

The television correspondents, who tend to have louder voices and sharper elbows than most of their colleagues, are angling for a juicy 15-second response from the spokesman which will give them a "talking head" other than their own and might make the difference in persuading the producer to make room for a State Department story on the evening news. But real understanding does not come in 15-second slices and, as Reston says, "It is the least qualified and loudest who tend to dominate when the television cameras are around." The presence of one obstreperous reporter backed by a camera crew can destroy the relaxed

relationship between reporters and the person they are trying to cover.

At the State Department, the cameras and lights are a holdover from the Iranian hostage crisis, when Carter administration officials decided something was needed to counter the demoralizing film footage coming from Teheran every night. The first effect of having cameras at the briefing was that Hodding Carter became a national figure and TV presence as he supplied a counterpoint to the Iranian "students" who were dominating the television screens. But the cameras stayed when Hodding Carter left, and their presence continues to trivialize the level of information coming from the briefings. It makes one long for the elitist days on the three black sofas in the secretary of state's anteroom.

Worse Than Necessary

But, even given the changed situation in the world of communications, the State Department press operation is lamentably bad, worse than it has to be. The current situation accurately reflects Alexander Haig's not entirely misplaced mistrust of the press. It must be said that he did try to establish good relations. He tried several different experiments, including an early "social evening," a disaster during which several reporters practically mugged him with an endless stream of questions as he vainly tried to make easy banter. There was a series of four-person breakfasts with the secretary—meant to be informal and not for attribution—which lasted until one reporter, apparently misunderstanding the ground rules, infuriated Haig by running the whole thing as an interview.

On his various trips around the world (Haig, like his predecessors, usually takes 10 or 12 reporters who pay their own way), the secretary gradually came to the apparent conclu-

sion that the reporters' needs for a daily story were incompatible with his requirements for quiet diplomacy. Information aboard his plane became mundane or even nonexistent.

The low point was probably his summer 1981 trip to Asia, during which he tried to brief reporters thoroughly on his aims and the current relationship with China. His intent was pure, but his language, characteristically, was not. A preliminary background briefing by Haig at the State Department left most of the reporters with the impression—which turned out to be correct—that the United States planned to upgrade the list of military equipment that the Chinese would be permitted to buy. But because he worded it so carefully, reporters from the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* believed that the decision had not yet been made. The reporters from those two important papers badgered Haig unmercifully about it during the trip, stopping just short of accusing him of intentionally misleading them.

The strained relations between Haig and the press finally ruptured when Haig's spokesman, Dean Fischer, and Richard Burt, then director of politico-military affairs, talked to two reporters in a hotel bar in New Zealand during the same trip. Intending to demonstrate that not a sparrow falls anywhere in the world without Al Haig's approval and inspiration, even when he is in China, they erroneously told the reporters that Haig was the principal author of a U.N. Security Council resolution on the Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor. In fact, the work had been done primarily at the United Nations, and Jeane Kirkpatrick, furious at what she considered to be Haig's raid on her territory, complained to the president, who then came down on Haig. Rela-

(Continued on page 33.)

Decompressing



Both government and the press need to work harder to help the public carry on an informed debate on world affairs and reach a consensus on foreign policy.

By **HODDING CARTER III**

Why is it that the press and government do not do a better job of maintaining the public dialogue that is so necessary if the people of this country are to interpret national policies and deal with current issues? Both are guilty of failing to help the public arrive at an understanding of the many crucial questions of our times.

In a country in which all but thirty or so cities are served by monopoly newspapers, print news is presented as if the market were competitive. There is a grabby, short-hand headline, a compressed lead, and an inverted pyramid of information. A lead paragraph of twenty-five words, to be followed by six hundred or so more words, cannot

Hodding Carter III was assistant secretary of state for public affairs and department spokesman, 1977-1980. Prior to that he had been the editor of the Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, Miss., and a Nieman fellow in journalism at Harvard. He is now the anchorman and chief correspondent for Inside Story. This article is adapted from a talk given at the Foreign Service Club as part of the series "Public Diplomacy in the '80s" sponsored by the ICA Standing Committee.

Left: Hodding Carter at a noon press briefing in 1978.

Information

do justice to a subject of any complexity; it is inherently distorted. If that is true of the print press, what of television? I used to tell reporters who worked for me in Greenville, Mississippi, that we could take the entire 22 minutes of the "CBS Evening News" and put it into two and one-quarter columns of the *Delta Democrat-Times*.

A minute and half is a long time in television, yet anything we see on TV sticks with us with far greater gravity than that which we read. If the compression of the newspaper lead distorts reality, then television too must distort. Television is a vital communicating force, but it has not come to grips with the information it must handle.

An example of the power of television is the grip in which it held the nation during the Iran hostage situation. Compare the intensity of the public interest with that when hostages were held for a similar period of time by North Korea. There were no cameras in Pyongyang. Television news is determined by pictures, and in the Iran situation the networks had daily footage of the mobs and the principals. In Washington, for reasons that seemed good at the time, the decision was taken that the State Department spokesman would deal with the issue as frequently as it was raised by reporters. In retrospect, there were better ways to serve the public's right to know. We could, perhaps, have conducted background briefings rather than had the spokesman appear daily on television. We were forced into a situation where we were responding on television to words that came by network satellite faster than information coming by diplomatic cable.

In the foreign affairs profession, as in government in general, there is a sense that we do our work best when we do it with the least interference from outside observation. We feel our

subjects are so complex, so fragile, that it is not worth the effort to translate our work to a public that has neither the time nor the education to pay attention. The information government gives out is also often poor because of the well-founded but often misapplied belief that we may confound or destroy sensitive negotiations and inner diplomatic workings. There is a belief that as the guardians we should be given the benefit of the doubt until such time as we have demonstrably failed.

Great Mistakes

Only rarely is the inclination not to share adequate information with the people a result of glaring mistakes or criminal behavior or political machination. It is usually the belief that the material seems too premature to disclose. One of the great mistakes we made in the Carter administration was the number of times we accepted this argument. The press office pushed for nine months to explain what the government was trying to do with the Panama Canal treaties. The answer would always come back from the seventh floor that since there was not yet an agreement, to talk about it would be to interfere with the process of getting one. But during those nine months, the enemies of the treaties went about the business which would culminate in the most extraordinary expenditure of political capital for the achievement of a long-term interest of the United States that I have ever seen. The same thing happened with SALT II. There was an absolute veto on public education for fear of jeopardizing the negotiations. But the opponents of the process suffered no such inhibitions. As a result, we gave up the ground we should have been holding at a time when we desperately needed to mobilize those for whom the issue was relevant. The recent groundswell of public support for arms control shows that

the numbers of those people are large indeed. But we didn't get out the facts and consequently our thesis was badly misunderstood.

Most editors and newsroom directors seem to believe that Americans really don't care about foreign policy. I used to think that in Greenville. But they would have cared about the Tokyo Round, for instance, had we presented the steelworkers with the ways the negotiations affected their plants' ability to function in the world market and, ultimately, their jobs. Nobody in Greenville cared about South Korea—except of course the merchants who bought or sold goods there. Nobody cared about Asian relations—except the soybean, rice, and cotton farmers, whose ability to exist depended on those markets.

The press is inhabited by people who do care about doing better. Those who work in public policy should start by dealing directly with those who deal with the news—at every level. A cynical approach, one that restricts information, will create an audience that trusts neither press nor government and is ripe for experiments of less appeal to us all. At the end of his term, Henry Kissinger for one recognized the necessity of an expanded public dialogue if something approximating a national consensus on foreign policy was to be constituted.

The press is consoled by polls that show it is trusted more than government. But those polls also contain disquieting information. It would therefore be useful if journalists, too, follow Kissinger's prescription. Something that writer Jim Perry said would be applicable to both sides of the government-press relationship: "It's our castle all right, and we ought to defend to the last man its battlements and its position. But we are mighty big and we are mighty powerful and we ought to have more visitors' days." □

Some Notes



Recently, the department's spokesman has been cast into the glare of a public spotlight, but some of his most important work in explaining administration policy occurs behind the scenes.

By JOHN H. TRATTNER

Tongue somewhat in cheek, a close associate of the secretary of state expressed doubt a few years back about the value of the daily press briefing. It was during a tense moment in the early months of the hostage episode with Iran. "Do we really need a spokesman down there every noon, generating headlines and making problems?" he said. Given the circumstances of the time, with decisions being taken by harried policy-makers under the intense stare of an excited press and a hypnotized public,

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Left: John H. Trattner fields a question during the noon briefing.

on Background

it was a point one might sympathize with even if its author weren't serious. He had expressed that sense of semi-exasperation often felt over the years by others in similar positions: the press, always the press to worry about—and the damned press guidance.

The press-relations function did not develop, though, as a way to torture management and the bureaucracy or to entertain spokesmen and their staffs. It exists mostly because reporters cover the State Department and ask questions.

If there were no such job as department spokesman, it would, as the cliché tells us, have had to be invented. Ever since its institution, spokesmen have struggled, most of them gamely, to endow this creature of necessity with some virtue. In the last five years television has made the job one of the more visible in the government's foreign affairs establishment. But few know much about it.

After 1945, as press interest in the department grew in scope and volume, so did the need to respond to it in an organized way. Individual reporters had long been querying individual officials about whatever interested them or attracted their attention. At some point, a supplement to this emerged. Periodic sessions began, where a designated officer met with reporters as a group around a table to deliver announcements and statements and to answer questions. Eventually, somewhere in the 1950s, this became a daily event. In the 1960s a specially outfitted briefing room was dedicated by the secretary. Meanwhile, the rank of the briefing officer was rising to its present level of assistant secretary, and a small staff was helping him and manning the telephones. Their second-floor Office of News turned into the larger Office of Press Relations and developed a variety of services for journalists and department officials alike who needed various kinds of help. At

the same time, what had been an intermittent task—counseling and assisting the secretary in press situations—became a serious, daily responsibility.

Of the several capacities in which any contemporary spokesman operates, people are most familiar with his daily on-the-record, on-the-podium stance at midday. Yet when he assumes it, neither of the institutions he works with—the department and the press—always has a realistic concept of what he can and cannot do. In a business where the most important and interesting information is also likely to be the most sensitive, the spokesman is, each day, caught to some extent between the instinctive hope of the department that he will say as little as possible and of the press that he will say as much.

Inevitably Unsatisfying

By definition, this can never work out to the total satisfaction of either side, of course. But spokesmen, who are used to and tolerate that inevitability, keep running into people in both quarters who do not. In the department, for example, otherwise sophisticated colleagues sometimes try to side-step reality by pretending that press questions can be ignored at will. "Don't say anything on that," they will advise the spokesman, who knows a sensitive matter is certain to be the first one raised by reporters in the press briefing. "Try not to get into it." Half an hour later, the spokesman is ankle deep in questions on that very issue—and taking flak from journalists who want him to be completely forthcoming on it.

To be sure, there are a few questions which, for a variety of good reasons, can never be wholly or intelligently answered; everyone involved accepts that fact. Others can be held for reply later, after time for research and reflection. Still other questions, however,

touching on very tender or urgent areas indeed, need some kind of response then and there, not days later when the machinery has ground out answers that may no longer matter. For the spokesman, therefore, it is fairly regularly a matter of going it alone—winging it, in current parlance. And that is part of what he's paid for.

If spokesmen were asked to list the factors most critical to doing the job effectively—on the briefing platform and off it—three would be on every list. They are access, guidance, and truth.

Regardless of the circumstances in which any spokesman works or the amplitude of his instructions, access at all levels of the department is basic and vital. On the record or otherwise, a spokesman states, explains, and defends policy; he also speaks for the department and, on a great many occasions, personally for the secretary. To deal with policy or represent the secretary, however, he must know and understand both. In particular, his personal relationships with the most senior officials are important. Better than anyone else, the secretary can provide an authoritative sense of how to handle tough issues and thus lend confidence to a spokesman's words. Similarly, knowledge of a subject in detail is indispensable to anyone who must address it publicly, and the spokesman must therefore constantly commune with his sources of information, absorbing what he needs by eye, by ear—and by that most valuable of senses, the sixth. As a means to these ends, nothing can replace or improve on direct access.

As for guidance, its essence is the grasp and sense of things a spokesman develops precisely through this access to key associates and information. Written press guidance is a major adjunct to this. It is used by the spokesman each day as an aid in responding

A Footnote on Handling the Press

Despite some troublesome practices, nothing is about to replace background as the transmission that drives the foreign policy news machine. Like it or not, it is here to stay. It makes sense, therefore, to sketch a few sensible rules of thumb for those who engage with the press on background.

Agree with the reporter ahead of time what is being discussed. If possible, indicate areas of a subject or related subjects that cannot be included. If, despite this, the conversation begins to edge off limits, be quick to say no. Or if questions are asked outright that cannot be answered, say as much, adding frankly that no signal should thereby be inferred. Never, even on background, use "no comment" since most of the time it will be interpreted (correctly) as "yes." Don't ask who a reporter's other sources are.

Remember that background contact is an opportunity for the source as well as the reporter. Carefully judge such matters as the extent of the reporter's information on the

subject under discussion, his objectives, how well he understands what he is hearing. Use the occasions the conversation supplies to underline what the U.S. policy or viewpoint is, to correct errors or misimpressions, to gather the reporter's own information, observations, and comments. Refrain from volunteering information that exceeds what is necessary.

Avoid being inadvertently quoted on the record. It never hurts to confirm at the outset what the basis of the conversation is to be. If no sourcing of any kind is desired, deep background is the correct basis. If it is to be simple background, decide what attribution will be used in the finished story. Be helpful within the limits imposed by the subject at hand, and be courteous. Treat the reporter as an equal. Do not be provoked, inveigled, or flattered into indiscretion. Don't be glib or try to impress with knowledge, gossip, or name-dropping. As in most things, common sense will take one far.

—J.H.T.

to questions. Much of it is quite perishable and must be replaced or overhauled frequently. Produced at the bureau level and cleared upward if necessary, guidance can be voluntary or requested, detailed or general, broad-gauged or specific, legible or illegible—helpful or useless.

The Best Guidance

Bureaus alert to developments with a press impact on their interests, and which do not wait to be asked, invariably turn out the best guidance. So do those of their public affairs advisers who write the material themselves instead of asking others, and who kindle good relationships with the bureau leadership. People who have labored all morning, or perhaps for days, to write and clear a piece of guidance may naturally feel rather proprietary about it, especially if the spokesman in actual use deals it what they feel is mortal injury. For years, however, spokesmen have had recourse to an old, unwritten but undoubted rule allowing them to use their considered judgment and experience to question any guidance, and to revise or otherwise adapt it to the realities and imperatives of the moment.

Whatever their authors' views of their handling, most guidances are not documents intended for verbatim use. Rather, they are suggestions, reminders, and sources of facts and figures. The proper use of written guidance is precisely what the word itself suggests—as a guide. It is usually not a script, and it is never a bible.

The case for truth—the third item on every spokesman's list of essentials—is pointed up by a bit of humor from the mid-1970s that made the rounds of the Washington press in the wake of Watergate and Vietnam. The difference between U. S. diplomats and U. S. spokesmen, it asserted, is that diplomats are paid to lie for their

country, spokesmen to lie to their country.

People got a good laugh with that one, but there was a distinctly bitter aftertaste. In foreign policy as in every other area, the image of the U. S. government for most citizens is one constructed and tended largely by the press. That image is still smudged by the heritage of the 1964-75 period when, rightly or wrongly, suspicion of government, its officials, and its spokesmen spread wide among the press, and hardened into a resistant stain. Today's spokesmen are by no means beyond its reach, though a hesitant, gradual restoration of credibility has occurred, like plants taking tentative root in an area devastated by a volcano. Granted, the press itself, especially its television component, is under increasingly critical and well-directed scrutiny by a range of observers who dislike what they see variously as distortion, superficiality, bias, arrogance, and hype in the coverage of government. Nonetheless, a *Washington Post* poll published about a year ago found that when press and government differ over the accuracy or truth of a given story, a majority of the public believes the press.

Flagrant Violations

Despite this history, truth was long ago inscribed as a central tenet of spokespersonship. The fact that a few were held to have flagrantly and repeatedly violated it in 1964-75 has underlined its importance for spokesmen in the years since. Never knowingly to lie or mislead has become a fundamental for department spokesmen. Its meaning and utility were well caught in a remark by Kurt Becker, until recently the government spokesman in Bonn. "If you tell the truth in a democracy," he once said, "you maximize, rather than minimize, your chances for success."

For the most part, the daily briefing is a routine affair. The exceptions come at times of big breaking news (such as Libyan jets being downed in the Mediterranean) or crisis (the Yom Kippur war) or significant policy departures (the United States' taking Britain's side in the Falklands dispute). In such stories, the major interest at the briefing comes in the first three or four days, and some are only one-day sensations. Even in long-run matters like the hostage drama in Teheran, there were many days of no real news whatever.

While reporters who cover the briefing don't therefore expect to come away with big news every day, a number of professional reasons draw them to it. Among these, first, is that most of their substantive information originates outside the briefing or outside the department, with sources who usually speak on a background basis or at an even further remove from direct identification and attribution—"deep" background. At the briefing itself, reporters seek to add to and authenticate this by eliciting on-the-record comment and up-to-the-minute facts; the spokesman's response might supply the peg around which to organize and hang a story.

Second, the briefing is an opportunity to check in on half a dozen running stories to see if anything new is being said publicly—a sort of protective coverage. Third, reporters have a chance at the briefing to keep tabs on what their fellow journalists are working on. Last, radio and television must always cover the briefing because some fragment of what the spokesman says may be useful in a story being gathered elsewhere as well.

As a central, regular event, though, the briefing is an occasion around which it is dangerously convenient for reporters to plan their work. It occupies a notch in some reporters' priori-

ties that—spokesmen would be the first to agree—it sometimes doesn't deserve. It often generates stories which are not really stories, written only because the briefing took place. In short, the daily briefing can be habit-forming.

Conflicting Expectations

The sum of all this is something less than great excitement every day, even though the briefing meets needs which are by any measure legitimate and for which it originally evolved. As we have seen, the spokesman is somewhat squeezed between conflicting expectations of department and press. But a more specific way of looking at the briefing of today is to note the increased number and complexity of issues, their degree of sensitivity, the immediacy with which news of action and reaction travels around the globe, and the much larger numbers of reporters covering the briefing and listening in at other sites in Washington and New York. This has, over time, raised the threshold of discretion and tightened the constraints within which the spokesman operates.

Outside the briefing, however, the picture changes. A hefty part of every spokesman's day is spent in touch with individual correspondents, a few in person, most by telephone. Virtually all these exchanges are on one form of background or another. Reporters call to get further elaboration of points made in that day's briefing, to try a different angle of approach, to check on late-breaking developments. Perhaps a reporter has questions to pose in private that he did not ask at the briefing in order to preserve the exclusivity of a story he is on to.

In these kinds of dialogue, the spokesman is no longer an identified individual but an informed source like others a reporter talks to in the course of writing a story. While there are still

limits on what can be said, they are now pushed further back. Views, comments, facts can all be offered with a range and depth not possible in the on-the-record setting, and confidentiality and discretion can still be served. Skillfully and knowledgeably employed, this sort of contact not only serves the reporter's needs. It can advance, emphasize, and clarify department positions, motivations, and objectives and contribute greatly to the accuracy of what appears in print or on the air. It can also kill incorrect stories or parts of stories that would be as embarrassing to the journalist and his organization as they would be troublesome to the department. Even when, as sometimes happens, he is unable to utter a word of substance or drop the slightest hint of what is really going on, the spokesman still has ways to help a reporter avoid running into such problems.

The Background Mechanism

It can fairly be argued that in this one-on-one capacity, giving separate time and patience to reporters and their particular projects and requirements, the spokesman does more important work in the key business of the department than in anything else he does. That, in turn, is one illustration of the significance of the mechanism of background in the journalism of foreign policy.

Most diplomatic reporting contains at least some key material derived in this way, and the more sensitive a story's subject, the greater its reliance on background is likely to be. Typical examples could be adduced indefinitely, but one story in the *New York Times* on a Friday in early May will suffice. It was written at the height of diplomatic maneuvering in the Falkland Islands crisis, a day or so after an Argentine cruiser and a British destroyer had been sunk, and reported on how Washington viewed the prospects for a solution. Those who read the entire 13-paragraph article got, in the following order, these separate pieces of information:

- Informants in the Washington diplomatic and American official community saw no real progress so far. Many of these observers thought fight-

ing would start again by the beginning of the new week (they were right);

- The British had privately told the United States they could accept the Peruvian plan for a solution;

- Argentina had told Peru that, for the moment, it would work only through the U.N. secretary general;

- The State Department's mood was "one of frustration" with the Argentine junta, seemingly unable to agree among themselves on anything but the toughest conditions for a settlement. Department officials were not very hopeful the Peruvian idea would succeed;

- The British had ceased insisting on self-determination for the Falklands inhabitants in favor of a less-categorical U.S.-Peruvian alternative.

None of these tidings, which were clearly the heart and substance of what the story had to offer and composed perhaps eighty percent of its news, was ascribed to any source identified by name or position. Some were not sourced at all. All of it was knowledge and observation which, had the reporter sought it on the record, would not have been there—for him or his readers—because none of its sources would have wanted to talk to him on that basis.

But the information did exist; it was there to be reported; and background and deep background made it available. Nor could any reader have had much doubt that the views imputed to various diplomats and their governments were really theirs, or that the actions reported had not really been taken. In such ways, years of mostly reliable reporting in the background mode has won the confidence of the regular foreign policy news audience. Consciously or not, they are willing to trade the accountability of the on-the-record posture for the increased, if unconfirmed information and the greater penetration into a situation that are conferred by background.

Unfortunately, that is not all they trade. Devices like the leak, and other exploitation, rob background of some of its value to one or more of the groups—the press, the public, the government—whose interests are concerned. Leaks can bring useful information to public attention; they can

also serve the narrow or selfish ends of sources and journalists alike while sacrificing the greater public interest. Needless injury to individuals can occur. Leaks can confuse the public, deliberately or not, about what is, or only may be, policy. Some of them understandably cause governments to undertake countermeasures, which invariably bring only limited or temporary results, some of them self-defeating.

Ordinary background, too, can be taken advantage of on one or the other side of the press-government relationship. A conversation ostensibly held to impart and receive information relevant to a legitimate news story might be used as cover to advance the interests of the source; little or no news may be involved. There have been instances of reporters offering themselves as willing channels for views put forward in these conversations, surrendering part of their integrity for the highly suspect news value of what they receive. Further—in a situation similar to the courtroom jury told by the judge to ignore the witness's last remark when it is still ringing in their ears—official sources are free to take advantage of background by placing in the public domain facts or views they wish to establish and later, to the outrage of reporters, denying them on the record if necessary. For example, if sharp displeasure has arisen over the actions of another government, its full force can be expressed without making it an official position.

Crisis Diplomacy

No discussion touching on press-government relations can ignore the singular problem created by certain crises which directly and painfully abrade U.S. interests and nerve ends. The Iran hostage situation was one of these, not so much for the substantive geopolitical implications or the impact on policy, which were certainly serious enough, but because of the magnitude the affair quickly came to assume in American minds. For months the hostage problem held a lock grip on the public imagination and at times a visible monopoly of the attention and energy of policymakers.

It has been often charged that the

press—specifically television—produced most of this. Among the images commonly evoked in analyses of why the crisis so gripped the nation are the nightly mob scenes from Teheran, the counting of days in news programs each evening, the frequent interviews with hostage families, and that familiar, momentous urgency in the voices of correspondents. The press agrees with some of this. But journalists suggest that government also contributed. The fact of the administration's intense and all-consuming efforts toward a solution were too publicly evident, they say, looking at times like overreaction or even panic, and its obvious anguish and internal debate were too much the stuff of public concern. This simply heightened the feeling of disarray, of fear, of things turned on their heads.

Breaking the Cycle

These things are all arguable. What hasn't been said nearly enough, in the view of one Washington correspondent, is that we must figure out how to break this curious, self-perpetuating crisis cycle—where government, press, and public end up feeding on and reacting to each other in ways that tie the hands of all. As experience has shown, this is dangerous. It might one day be fatal.

Times like these assuredly make life tougher for the spokesman. What doesn't change are the prescriptions that—crisis or no crisis—govern his operations every day. Among them are staying cool and under control, giving the positions he is defending a firm but calmly stated sense of purpose, and carefully choosing his words. He must heed the tensions that abound when news is breaking, and understand how hard it is for even veteran correspondents to withstand the tide of rumor. He must have all the facts. He must know where verity and reality are.

We come back, then, to such assets as access and truth. With them the spokesman, as a substantive figure with a substantive role in the senior councils of his agency, is able to infuse trust and respect into his department and press relationships. Without them, the road would assuredly be bumpy and eternally uphill. □

Administration of Silence

(Continued from page 25.)

tions since then—to use the diplomatic parlance—have been “correct,” but not “frank” and certainly not “useful.”

Don Oberdorfer of the *Washington Post* comments that “the press operation reflects the desires and needs of the principals.” Haig's relations with the press seem to be a microcosm of his dealings with the world in general. Often prickly and unpredictable, he can be charming and persuasive, especially with a small group of men in an informal setting. He has a talent for crisis management—which helped hold the nation together during the Watergate episode—but he has little skill in articulating a coherent view of the world.

But, as Oberdorfer points out, the clampdown reflects something more than just a lack of articulation among the department's top officials or a legitimate concern about national security information. “The big problem is the lack of a sense of direction, or a sense of a policy, that is in keeping with the circumstances of the world. I don't see how any press operation or policy can supply a greater degree of coherence than the policymakers have.”

There is no single document which gives the Reagan administration's comprehensive view of the world. A series of statements has been made: the United States must support the principles of Camp David; the United States values the Atlantic alliance. But nothing has drawn these ideas together and provided a sense of strategy. The administration has taken 15 months to proceed beyond the simplistic idea that SALT II is not good enough and put together a strategic arms negotiating posture. After almost innumerable “fact-finding” trips by Haig and his aides to the Mideast, the administration is still “trying to determine the position of the parties” on the Palestinian autonomy talks. It is an administration that says it values highly its good relations with Western Europe but has filled the major Western European ambassadorial positions with amateurs, hacks, and fat cats. It is an administration which was so torn dur-

ing the first year of its existence with petty struggles over bureaucratic turf that foreign ambassadors were in doubt—and still are today—about whom to call when they want a straight answer.

When a State Department spokesman says, “I have nothing for you on that,” or, “There is nothing I can tell you on that today,” he is, unfortunately, telling the truth. He is reflecting an administration that still hasn't pulled it all together and may never succeed in doing so. It is an administration that is developing a defensive, bunker-type mentality and does not try to explain what the United States is trying to do because it does not have a clear idea of where the country is going.

What can be done to restore communications between the press and State Department officials, and so create a properly informed U.S. electorate and provide a national consensus on which a foreign policy can be securely based? The ideal remedy would be the development of a coherent, well-articulated foreign policy. While awaiting that second coming, however, the department spokesman can play a crucial role in alleviating the current problem.

The spokesman, who has the rank of assistant secretary of state, should use the weight of his office to persuade the policymakers in the department to be more accessible to the press. As Hodding Carter said in a recent interview in the *SAIS Review*, the Bureau of Public Affairs is really the American desk within the State Department, and its proper concern should be to make useful information available to the public about foreign policy decisions. Therefore, the spokesman should be more than a ventriloquist's dummy. He should not create foreign policy, but he should agitate within the system to make it more open to the press and the public. The spokesman's job was combined with the assistant secretary's title for just this reason: to give him more bureaucratic clout. Any spokesman who is unwilling to use that clout so that the public can be better informed about foreign policy is clearly not suited for the job and should step aside for someone who will. □

AIDing and

*An AID director's
penchant for high
technology leads to some
low humor*

By PETER C. WALKER

"NEver mind estimating the percentage of camel's milk in Somalia's food production and sending in useless economic reports to Washington," Ambassador Debevois Minot III—"Derby"—told me on my arrival in Mogadishu. "Your job, as far as I'm concerned, is to keep both eyes on Mike O'Hara." Derby was a seasoned career officer and knew how to use his staff well, but I nonetheless questioned the wisdom of assigning his deputy chief of mission to stand watch over the AID director. I didn't yet know Mike O'Hara.

O'Hara—"Big Mike"—was one of Derby's favorites and a very engaging character. Pushing fifty, he looked thirty, with a disarming smile and twinkling eyes set behind heavy horned-rimmed glasses. His undeniable charm and insouciance penetrated the guard of the rather crusty ambassador and made him a favorite of women in every capital to which he was assigned. He was on his fourth wife when I met him. Each had been a tremendous discovery, each the greatest woman he had ever met. Each had been rarer than a fine wine and as

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quickly consumed. Derby and Big Mike made excellent company, one the foil for the other's witticisms, but when it came to matters of policy and judgment the ambassador wished Mike were building dams in the Sahara.

Keeping both eyes on Mike was not an easy task. He spewed forth more ingenious ideas in one hour than the entire agency in Washington could digest in one week. AID bureaucrats were driven to desperation and given to requisitioning paper shredders when his massive proposals would cross their desks. Working in the field with Mike could be even worse, for one never knew what to believe. There was the time that he proposed a camel-driven grist mill for Somali nomads that was to be developed and built with agency funds. The ambassador gave him the look of an indulgent parent who hears his son's latest excuse for an allowance advance or newest reason why he needs the car till three a.m.

Polly Wolly Doodle

Mike was at his finest, however, when he felt slighted by the ambassador, which happened one sultry morning when the torrid sun made the dirty white minarets and crumbling buildings of the Somali capital more depressing than ever. Derby summoned me to his office, where a timid-looking O'Hara sat beside his desk.

"Sit down, Peter," the ambassador said. "Mike here wants to use my meeting with the prime minister to outline his self-help criteria." Derby's irritation was plain. With war imminent between Somalia and Ethiopia, the last thing Derby wanted to discuss was "self-help criteria."

"Well, those are my instructions," said the AID director defensively. "Washington tells me, 'no self-help, no aid to Somalia.'"

"Dammit all, tell your agency to

sing Polly Wolly Doodle," was the ambassador's final word.

Revenge came a month or so later when Somalia was flooded over one-third of its territory. Mike was in his glory. More than 100,000 men, women, and children were stranded on bits of high ground, without food or shelter, threatened by typhus and plague. Derby called an urgent meeting of the country team, and the AID director was asked to speak first.

"Now, here's the plan," said Mike, pulling out a telescoping pointer as he walked to a chart on the wall. "At 0600 this morning I got through to the Joint Chiefs in Washington. They are ready to pull out all the stops. MATS will send in three C-130s to drop 100-pound sacks of flour. CINCENUR will bring in a C-142 with two choppers, a team of doctors, and a platoon of medics. And ComSixthFleet will move a baby flat-top down from the Med to launch additional choppers over the distressed areas to spot stranded tribesmen and drop more food. I'll be task force commander operating out of Mogadishu, and we'll call it 'Operation Manna.'"

Mike paused for a breath.

"Wait a second," roared the ambassador. "One minor question. What is the cost per day of operating a helicopter carrier out of the Mediterranean?"

"I'm glad you asked that question." Mike pulled a paper from a stack of well ordered briefs in clearly labeled manila folders that filled a large vinyl-covered, snap-closed file box with an engraved plate on the front that said "Operation Manna." "Joint Chiefs estimates it will cost about a million dollars a day."

"Will Defense pay for it?"

"Oh, no," said Mike. "We'll charge it to the AID program and get it out of Congress next year."

Derby had heard enough. The plan was too grandiose; it had a cast of thou-

Abetting

Henry Payne IV



sands and elaborate stage props, with disaster continually emerging from the wings at the conductor's cue while American seraphim cast stardust and medicines on the stricken masses. It was a relief effort as composed by Wagner. But something needed to be done quickly and only Big Mike had a plan.

"No baby flat-tops," the ambassador said. "But go ahead, and for god's sake if anything goes wrong with this operation, it'll come out of your pocket."

The floods came and went and the suffering they brought to the Somalis seemed to meld into the memory of a thousand years of similar disasters in the Horn of Africa—floods, droughts, wars, plagues, and hordes of locusts. Big Mike's relief operation was as well

executed as a Patton invasion, and it saved thousands of lives, but the result seemed ephemeral.

Not long after the disaster-relief effort, the AID director's deployment of American technology was put to the test on a different scale. Big Mike suggested a picnic to me, with both our families coming along as well as General Elmi and entourage. Elmi was commander of the Somali National Army, a Muslim who enjoyed a clandestine whiskey and soda when he met with Derby on the ambassador's verandah. He was an exceedingly handsome man, with high cheek bones, a straight nose, and gleaming white teeth. His lips seemed always curled into a mischievous grin. Whether in a French salon or standing proudly before his

troops on parade, he radiated self-assurance and pride. You could not help admiring the man.

Big Mike's newest example of high technology would make its debut before Elmi and me at lunchtime. He had just received, he announced pridefully, a marvelous new invention from Abercrombie and Fitch which we would test that very day. It was an aluminum pole with a reflector that opened up like an inverted umbrella, concentrating the sun's rays on a grill suspended by the pole, on which you placed hamburger patties or barbecued spare ribs. The Abercrombie catalog called it "The Umbroiler." It should have been called "The Umbrage" or, better yet, "The Umbelievable."

We set out in jeeps one morning,

before the sun began to bake the ground, and by lunchtime we had reached our picnic spot on the coast, where miles of dunes were studded with clumps of thick grass. After a swim, we unloaded the picnic baskets, unfolded lightweight chairs, and began the cookout. Elmi grinned at Mike. "You don't mean to tell me that this American gimmick of yours really works. By god, if it does, you can order a million copies through your AID program, pepper the Somali bush with them, and revolutionize the life of the nomad."

"Don't give me that stuff, Elmi," replied Mike. "Just wait and see." And so at high noon, under the blazing sun, approximately one degree north of the equator and in the middle of the summer, Big Mike set up his Abercrombie and Fitch miracle. As a score of spear-carrying nomads clustered around to witness the "White Man's Magic," Mike placed several hamburger patties on the grill. General Elmi explained to the spectators in Somali that the Americans had invented a new way to cook meat by the heat of

the sun. All eyes were fixed on the reddish patties. For ten minutes all eyes remained fixed on the reddish patties. After five minutes the patties were still uncooked, and Mike had begun diversionary conversation. In another five minutes, as Mike brewed one of his typically ingenious rationalizations, tender chunks of roast kid were brought to our table by nomads whom the general had commanded to fetch native fare to make up for shoddy American technology. The food was delicious.

When we got back, General Elmi could hardly wait to tell Derby about Big Mike's latest debacle. The AID director fumed under his desert hat, expecting a recitation about the pitfalls of high technology and the virtues of the simple but pure life. Instead, Elmi told a parable—or, perhaps, a para-bull.

"It seems that the Americans decided that what Somalia needed most for its economic development was a fine bull to improve the cattle herds," Elmi told the ambassador while Big Mike turned the color of his hamburger pat-

ties. "Of course, they didn't ask the Somalis, but one fine day a prize bull arrived at the port and your AID director of the time arranged a ceremony for turning over the creature to the Somali Republic. On the appointed day, the American ambassador was present, together with the president of the republic, the prime minister, the district commissioner, and other notables, including myself. The bull was let out into the pasture with the Somali cows. Everybody expected him to do his stuff, but he refused to perform and lay down lazily in the grass. There was consternation among the notables, particularly the American ambassador, who was from Texas and knew all about bulls and cows. At that moment, an aged nomad with a walking stick stepped forward and said, 'I can talk to bulls. I will ask him what is the matter.' The president nodded his assent and the old man went up to the bull. 'Why are you lying down on the job?' he whispered in the animal's ear.

" 'Well,' replied the bull, 'I was sent over here to advise, not to work.' " □

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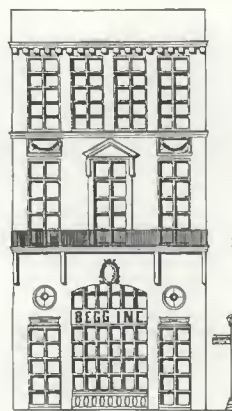
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Congress Swings

(Continued from page 21.)

—means that the Congress can have, and will have a real effect on policy. Of course, the reverse pendulum has not been operating in all policy areas—on economic policy, the Reagan momentum dominated congressional action in 1981 and his embattled recovery program still defines the issues in 1982. But neither is it simply limited to Central America, as demonstrated by the nuclear freeze movement and the sudden surge in arms controls proposals.

Is all this good or bad? The congressional reaction to both Carter and Reagan administration policies reflected public concerns that seemed to be neglected by the administrations, and Congressional pressure succeeded in moving policy at least somewhat. Congress thus provides a useful constraint on any administration tempted to go on ideological binges, a temptation particularly acute in areas of the world of secondary interest to key allies and adversaries. In addition, Congress has managed to affect Reagan's policy, at least to date, without imposing rigid controls on the president or statutory insults to other sovereign states.

Shattering a Coalition

On the negative side, the combination of the administration's initial thrust and the critical reaction has grossly exaggerated the importance of the Central American region and the U.S. stakes there. Coping with Congress has levied an enormous tax on the time and attention of senior policy officials, who must make a major effort in the congressional arena explaining and defending themselves in order to limit legislative action. The public nature of the fight means that yet another U.S. administration comes across as compromised and shaky in its capacity to deliver on policy promises. The administration risks ending up looking both wrong and impotent. What may be worse, the controversy threatens key legislation such as foreign assistance. The fiscal 1982 aid appropriation, the first such bill passed in three years, was the result of a fragile coalition of liberals who favored develop-

ment aid and conservatives who emphasized military assistance. Dissension over El Salvador could shatter this coalition.

Is there a better way, one that might work? The obvious alternative is for an administration to reach for the center, to avoid accentuating the reverse pendulum and try instead to dampen its swing. In fact, in its key foreign policy campaigns with Congress last year, the Reagan White House pursued a strikingly more centrist path—balancing military and economic policy instruments, even stressing continuity with its predecessors. Only in this way could it prevent humiliation on the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia and win



Senator Stephen Symms (R.-Idaho) counterattacked from the right by submitting a resolution to reaffirm the commitment to use force if necessary to stop Cuban aggression.

enactment of the new assistance appropriation. Reagan's proposal for strategic arms reduction, outlined in a speech at Eureka College, may prove to be another step in the centrist direction. The problem with a centrist approach, of course, is the risk that nobody will be very enthusiastic about it. If congressional energy and sentiment are polarized, then a middle-of-the-road policy will be attacked from the left and the right! The likely unpopularity of any near-term outcome in Central America compounds the political problem.

But that same unpopularity also suggests one overriding conclusion—that the administration should, for the sake of its own political interest as well as U.S. national interest, play down the Central American conflict. This prescription will be hard to implement if our leaders really believe that events there are as crucial to U.S. interests as relations with Europe, East Asia, the Mideast—Persian Gulf states, or the Soviet Union. But if the consequences of the internal power struggles in these poor, small Central American states just are not that important to the United States, then the administration spotlight should be shifted to other places. This cannot be done, however, under a hard-line policy that is bound to generate political contention and cause the spotlight to return. Instead, the administration should move to bury the contentious issues in broader international negotiations involving Mexico and Venezuela, play up the Caribbean Basin initiative, and play down the U.S. stakes in any particular outcome in El Salvador. D'Aubuisson's strong showing in the March elections renders this all the more desirable.

Simultaneously, we can follow Robert Pastor's recent suggestion in the *New Republic* and try to turn domestic constraints into diplomatic virtues. Serious consultations with a range of congressional leaders will clarify these constraints, and the results may help convince the Salvadoran government that it must be open to serious negotiations, and that a worsening record on human rights or economic reform might well cause Congress to withdraw aid. Similarly, the fact that Americans will not abide combat involvement should be used to convince the center-right in El Salvador that we will not bail them out militarily. The odds for the complete success of such a policy are not overwhelming but the prospects for other options are hardly any better. Such a course, might, if properly explained, command broad if unenthusiastic congressional support. The reputation the administration would gain for pragmatism and reasonableness in this area might even spill over to other issues, to its benefit and our own. □

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

Learning About Foreign Service Life from Our Juniors

The annual AFSA/AAFSW Merit Scholarship competition provides a window on how the high school generation views and is affected by life in the Foreign Service. A review of more than 90 brief essays written by this year's contestants confirms some stereotypes but reveals a few conclusions that may surprise some readers. It is true that this is not a scientifically balanced opinion sample. It is a self-selected group of achievers in the higher brackets of intellectual capacity. Furthermore, there may be in the essays a little calculated euphoria, rightly expecting the judges' sympathies to be generally pro-Foreign-Service-life-style (a word that appears frequently in the essays). Be that as it may, certain highly credible themes stand out.

What do they like about Foreign Service life?

The most frequently mentioned factor is broadened perspectives, both in the sense of exciting and novel experiences and of cross-cultural understanding. "The greatest thing . . . is growing up under the premise that people are different and their differences are natural"; "I have learned to accept what is different and be more reserved in my judgments"; "[Foreign Service experience] eliminated tunnel vision"; "I believe I have no prejudices for or against any group of people."

Perhaps the second most prevalent theme, and food for sober thought by parents, especially Washington-entangled ones, is that family ties are stronger abroad, partly of necessity. "We took all our vacations together and that made for close family unity"; "My parents passed on to my brothers, sisters, and me a love for other cultures and respect for other nationalities." A third strong theme is that of added maturity, independence, and ability to cope with problems. This seems to vary in direct proportion to difficulties encountered in diplomatic life. Several, who had been involved in uprisings, evacuations, and hostage situations, reacted positively to the experience gained. Others, who have attended boarding schools and had to

travel back and forth to posts alone, revealed in the added confidence this responsibility gave them. Allied to the previous two factors was frequent mention of considerable social association with adults ("I was exposed to adults at an early age") which gave them greater assurance in comparison with their stay-at-home peers. They also appreciated the unusual opportunities to meet interesting adults of all nationalities and stations in life, from native servants to statesmen and artists.

A substantial number wrote of serious interest in international relations springing from their experiences abroad. The notes of idealism, concern for the elimination of misery and for local aspirations ("The world does not revolve around the U.S.") are commendably dominant. There is also frequent reflection of interest in organizational mechanics and in the complexity of intractable problems. "I have come to understand more about American foreign policy by seeing it in action." These interests have been followed up in many cases by participation in model United Nations sessions, doing work on American elections, interning in Congressional offices, and working for international agencies.

Does their education suffer? All have had some of their education abroad, quite a few more than half of it. Predominantly, this was at American or international schools, but there was a substantial sprinkling of local schooling, often in languages other than English. On their own testimony, with only one or two exceptions, they think it was a positive rather than negative factor. One young lady went so far as to say, "I have attended five secondary schools [she was an evacuee] and do not believe this has hindered my education in any way." Most soberly admitted readjustment difficulties in changing schools. But the majority of those who made a comparison felt they got more out of their schools abroad than those in the U.S. They attributed this to the smaller size of schools abroad (the comparison was usually with a large, suburban Washington high school); greater discipline; a more serious attitude toward study (select international group of students); the great advantage and sense of accomplishment of language study *in situ*; more teacher attention; the supportive effect of the relatively elite and compact international community; less peer pressure on social problems such as drugs; and special environmental advantages—"Education is . . . learning to appreciate the new and the different." One student in a Bombay school mentioned the educational value of finding that "I was part of a minority." On the other hand, most recognized

that equipment and variety of educational opportunities of large American high schools, as well as their closer proximity to real life problems, were advantageous.

Does one become an expatriate? Yes and no. Many commented that it was harder to readjust to an American school, after being away from this country, than to a totally strange one abroad. Usually, this was overcome in a few months, but for many, there continues a feeling of being somewhat apart and not being able to join fully in the parochial views and interests of their fellow students who had never left home. Some mention identity crises: "I was too cosmopolitan to be simply an American." But the collateral evidence of school records and counselors reports indicates that this select group thrived competitively and were well accepted by their peers in the United States after a short adjustment period.

On another dimension, there is repeated evidence that patriotism is generally enhanced by Foreign Service life. There may be a defensive element in this, but it is deep and sincere. "Many things about the U.S., which I otherwise have taken for granted, I appreciate more now." "I have always been sure who I was." "The most important thing the Foreign Service has done for me is provide me with a feeling of satisfaction of having learned and explored the world around me. I am as American as apple pie and coffee."

—H. G. TORBERT JR.

Chairman

AFSA Committee on Education

Deaths

RALPH HILTON, who split his long career between journalism and the Foreign Service, died March 12 at Hilton Head Hospital in South Carolina following a long illness. He was 74.

Hilton began his working career at the age of 12 as a columnist and janitor for the *Simpsonville County News* in Mississippi. His family moved to Jackson when he was 15, and he joined the *Daily News* there. When a student at George Washington University, he covered the Mississippi congressional delegation for his hometown paper. Hilton became a free-lance journalist, then joined the Associated Press. In 1943, Nelson Rockefeller, then undersecretary of state for Latin American affairs, asked him to join the staff of the office of Inter-American Affairs in Lima, Peru. For the next 22 years, Hilton served as consul, consul general, and chargé d'affaires of several U.S. missions in Latin America. He held posts in Costa Rica, Argentina, Paraguay, and in Europe. He was a member of

both the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs and the State Department Board of Examiners.

Hilton was the editor and a contributor to *Tales of the Foreign Service*, published in 1978 by the *Journal* in conjunction with University of South Carolina Press. The book is still in print and as popular as ever. Curiosity about the island named for a distant relative led him to retirement on Hilton Head Island, where he fulfilled a long-time dream by founding and running a weekly newspaper, the *Island Packet*. He later founded the *Savannah Journal-Record* and *Southern World* magazine. A self-confessed "unreformed newspaperman," Hilton once said (tongue in cheek): "being an editor is the easiest job on earth."

Mary Jane Kendall Hilton, his first wife, died in 1970. He later married the former Dorothy Asnip, who survives him, as does his daughter, Mary Jane Field, and two stepsons, two sisters, three grandchildren, and ten step-grandchildren.

JEANNE-MARIE KRYZA, wife of retired Ambassador E. Gregory Kryza, died of cancer on April 11 at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C. A memorial mass was celebrated on April 28 at Dahlgren Chapel, Georgetown University.

"Jeannette," as she was known to her many friends, accompanied her husband on Foreign Service assignments to Tangier, Santo Domingo, Curacao, Brussels, Belgrade, Nairobi, Kinshasa, Rio de Janeiro, and Nouakchott.

She was born in La Verrie-Vendee, France. A graduate of the University of Paris, she was a *professeur au lycee* in France prior to her marriage. She also taught in the Arlington, Virginia, school system.

She is survived by her husband, now living at 2028 Wellfleet Ct., Falls Church, Virginia 22043; two sons, Frank T. of New Haven, Connecticut, and Christopher D. of Falls Church; a brother, Guy Deniau, of Pau, France; and a sister, Yvonne Lartigue, of Bayonne, France.

Birthday

LOY HENDERSON celebrated his ninetieth birthday on June 28. Bruce Laingen writes that Henderson "remains the ultimate gentleman, the classic diplomat, the public-spirited private citizen. [His birthday presents] a unique opportunity for all of us to remember him with our best wishes, and . . . reaffirm to ourselves and to the Service the importance of discipline, integrity, and commitment to the health of our profession."

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