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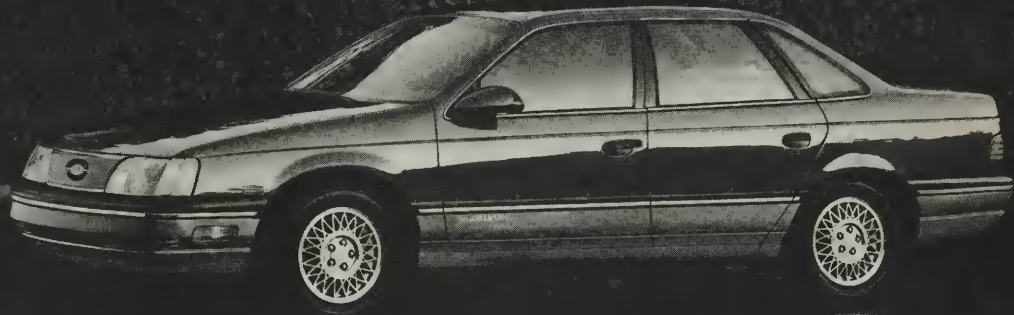
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Embassy of the Future?

In the next five years, the State Department will undertake a \$4.2-billion overhaul of its most vulnerable diplomatic facilities. Beginning on page 21, Robert Lamb, the coordinator for diplomatic security, discusses the planned program and other security measures, as well as their effect on the conduct of diplomacy and on Foreign Service life.

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Full Careers for Only a Few

If you have not noticed, the Foreign Service personnel system has changed mightily these past few years. Relatively few officers now can look forward to full careers in the Service. According to Director General Vest, as quoted in the *Washington Post*, only 28-30 percent of current mid-career officers will make it over the threshold into the Senior Foreign Service. These fortunate 3 of 10 will not be home free either, since Under Secretary Spiers has accurately described the SFS as a zone of "sudden death overtime," with shortened time-in-class limits and far from assured limited career extensions. Consequently, roughly 90 percent of FSOs can expect to end their careers involuntarily at an average age slightly over 50.

Since most FSOs pay little attention to personnel policies, they may be surprised to learn they no longer can expect a full career, even if not selected out for poor performance. Even though it is not fully in place yet, the new personnel system already is making major waves. As an illustration, about 240 of the 438 FSO-1s who opened their six-year windows in 1981 probably will have left the Foreign Service involuntarily by next year, and roughly 100 senior officers have had their careers ended involuntarily in the past three years. If you junior and mid-career officers begin to think the way has been cleared for your rapid promotion, note that the SFS as a percentage of the total Service has declined from its 20-year average of nearly 21 percent to only 15 percent. The SFS's share is likely to drop further as promotions over the senior threshold continue to run at rates 30-50 percent below 10-year averages and additional seniors are forced to retire. In the past two years the senior corps has declined by about 140 officers through this combination of forced retirements and slowed promotions, and in addition management is actively considering downgrading 171 SFS positions.

AfSA began exploring some of these issues through open meetings on Foreign Service personnel policies on October 21 and 31, and we would appreciate hearing what members think about current personnel policies.



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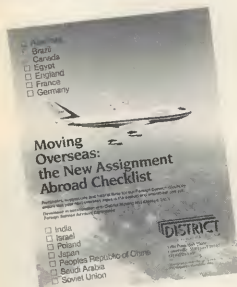
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LETTERS

KAL Controversy

Bravo for publishing the detailed exposition on faulty "spy scenarios" for the doomed Korean airliner ["Tragedy of Errors," September]. Thomas Maertens's research is thorough and convincing. In such a topic with large elements of incomplete data, however, the air of mystery will always allow for new spy theories as old ones are so ably and irrefutably blown out of the water.

I had the fascinating but essentially thankless task of writing an article for the January-February issue of *Defence Attaché* rebutting the mid-1984 "spy story" by the pseudonymous "P. Q. Mann." Despite the worldwide media attention for the original article, my reply was (oddly?) totally ignored.

JAMES OBERG
Dickinson, Texas

Good journalistic practice requires that a person attacked in an article containing legitimately disputable points of importance be granted the right of a substantive reply. Limiting me to 500 words in which to reply to Thomas Maertens's article on the KAL 007 case in its September issue, the JOURNAL has failed this test of good journalism. The fault is the more serious when, as in this instance, the person denied the right of substantive reply has, at least residually, standing in the field of which the magazine is the professional journal.

In his article, Mr. Maertens quotes me as saying the odds against pilot error or equipment failure in the KAL 007 case are a billion to one and goes on to remark that this is like saying that accidents never happen. This treatment obscures my meaning, which was, of course, that in view of the evidence the chances of pilot error or equipment failure being the explanation of KAL 007's fatal diversion from course were a billion to one.

In complex events the odds of logically independent factors are multiplicative. In a substantive reply which the JOURNAL refused to print, I listed 19 such circumstances which appear improbable had the flight been unintentional. One of them is

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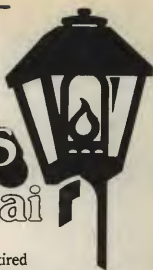
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that the known facts of KAL 007's course imply the airliner must have made a turn to the north abeam or after passing Bethel, its first obligatory reporting waypoint, for which there is no innocent explanation. A second is that the USAF radar tape which would have recorded this turn was erased despite a requirement that records in the case of incidents or accidents be preserved. A third circumstance improbable in the context of an unintentional flight is that the widows of the pilot and co-pilot stated in the presence of four American attorneys that their husbands had been paid for making deliberate overflights of Soviet territory and had become so apprehensive over the risks that they wanted to discontinue them.

The JOURNAL says Maertens's article was reviewed for accuracy within the executive branch. Yet it contains statements that must have been known to be false. No further into the article than the frontispiece we see a map asserting that intercepted Soviet radar data show KAL 007 to have flown straight during the last two and a half hours of its flight. Yet shortly after the disaster two of the best reporters in the country were told, one by a White House source, the other by a Pentagon source, that on its approach to Sakhalin the Korean airliner made a dog-leg to the north which brought it over the Soviet island. There is other non-Soviet evidence for these turns.

Maertens's article is in fact a compendium of misleading statements regarding the case. In publishing it and in refusing to print a substantive reply, the JOURNAL has let itself be put to the service of the cover-up of what the evidence indicates to have been the deliberate putting of unwitting airline passengers at risk.

JOHN KEPPEL
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Essex, Connecticut

The author responds:

Keppel's charges are not new. Three weeks after the shootdown, he sent out several dozen copies of a paper in which he arrived—using probability theory—at the “virtually inescapable conclusion...that the principal purpose of the flight was to provoke an atrocity by the Soviet Union.” The probability of this, said Keppel, was “so great as to make it unlikely that new facts will change the conclusions.” He gave as a premise that Soviet Marshal Ogarkov, who presented their spy-plane story, would not lie about Flight 007's course because it would damage his credibility within the Soviet military. Keppel also assumed that any KAL aircraft flying

Flight 007's route might have an intelligence mission. “These would usually have involved only minor incursions into Soviet airspace,” he said. In sum, the Soviet story is true, the U.S. version is therefore a lie, all KAL North Pacific flights are spy planes, and no facts will change his mind. This was before the International Civil Aviation Organization had even begun its investigation.

These premises have formed all his writing on the subject. This accounts for some of his assertions, that electronic jamming was used, for example, that there was a secret communication link between various KAL aircraft, that Flight 007 was acting as a decoy for a U.S. spy plane, and so on. There is no evidence for any of this, of course. Nor does Keppel explain how such assertions fit his deliberate-provocation theory. Keppel nonetheless justifies such speculation by claiming (in his *KAL-007 Newsletter*) that his earlier defective hypotheses in no way invalidate the later true one “any more than five revolver shots that miss a target nullify the sixth and final bullseye.”

As for charges that KAL regularly overflew Soviet territory, this was refuted long ago by ICAO: “There were no records of such deviations.” The Japanese and Soviets would obviously have seen any deviations and attempted to stop them, one way or another. Although the claim originated with plaintiff's attorneys, no reference has ever been made to the “widows' story” in any public document during the pre-trial hearings related to the case.

Similarly, Keppel claims that the airliners must have turned at or after Bethel. This is only one of several turns which Keppel has asserted “must” have taken place. His only “evidence” is that some early turn is necessary in order for the aircraft to have made a later turn over Sakhalin as the Soviets claimed. (See my letter on this subject in the *New York Review of Books*). The ICAO report, in contrast, said the airliner followed the same general off-track flight path for the entire flight, which is what the U.S. map shows as well.

On the Alaskan radar matter, the Air Force does not routinely track outbound civil aircraft. One radar tape was recycled as usual some 30 hours later, about the time it took for information to reach Alaska on the extent of the deviation. Information from another radar was preserved, however. It showed the KAL aircraft 12 miles off course at Bethel, and not turning as Keppel speculates.

The editor responds:

Mr. Keppel's original response to Mr. Maertens's article ran to 14 double-spaced

pages—far too long for our LETTERS column, which normally is limited to communications of about two pages, or 500 words. In a covering note, in fact, Mr. Keppel admitted this. "I am aware that the enclosed letter...poses editorial problems," he wrote. "Very long as a letter, it would be laconic and technical as an article," he added, while stating he was "not willing to rewrite it" into a form acceptable as an article.

The Editorial Board agreed with Mr. Keppel that the manuscript was both too long as a letter and too technical as an article. Given his stated refusal to rewrite it as a response article, which would run under our COUNTERPOINT rubric, the board had no choice but to request instead a letter of normal length. The JOURNAL frequently prints letters and articles critical of previous pieces—a COUNTERPOINT article appears in this issue—but it depends on the cooperation of dissenting readers to work within its format.

Arms and the FSO

After reading Carol Madison's article ["Coping with Violence," July/August], I can tell little seminar content has changed since I attended in 1980 and 1982. As dumbfounded as the aggressive driving film leaves audiences, I recall even more ludicrous information. A lively discussion developed on the wisdom of ramming a vehicle quickly and without much thought because it might be a stalled car, an accident, or a legitimate police roadblock. The regional security officer suggested that, if one did make such a mistake, the worst that could happen would be *persona non grata* expulsion since we all had diplomatic immunity. When asked about the hundreds of communications officers and others who do not have this privilege, he feigned ignorance and stuck to his "go for it" line. Perhaps that particular RSO will be assigned to Paris and encounter stalled cars, accidents, police roadblocks, and aggressive passing techniques in the city and the Bois du Boulogne.

One apparent change in the course is that no speaker offers to accompany interested individuals to a firing range for weapons training and familiarization. The option of weapons training is instead denied but, as Ms. Madison states: "A life or death situation could arise in which a gun is available but the RSO or marine is not."

The Office of Security has undoubtedly given thought to "across the board" firearms training but has opted for mobile teams to provide diversified training. I suggest contact with the National Rifle

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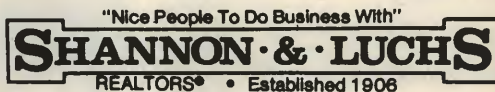
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Association, which is devoted to the promotion of firearms safety and counts President Reagan and Vice President Bush as life members. This organization would probably be happy to assist the State Department in providing optional weapons training to prepare today's Foreign Service—where the already-grown threat of terrorism exists—to cope with certain kinds of violence. Let's face it. A radio can't shoot. Need I say more?

JOHN N. KENNEDY
Foreign Service Officer
Centreville, Virginia

Diplomatic Loyalty

The feature 10-25-50 in the October issue cites an issue of October 1975 which states, *inter alia*, that the "diplomat, as the president's agent, [has] first loyalty...to the chief executive." I am a retired Foreign Service officer, and this statement is news to me. Apparently the rules have been changed. When I became an FSO, I took an oath of allegiance to the constitution of the United States, and that oath said nothing about the president, the secretary of state, or the chief executive.

In my opinion, that oath was a good one. It made it incumbent on a federal officer, as the remainder of the quotation indicates, to tell the truth as he best sees it and, in this light, he has no loyalty to any government official but rather the duty to answer to the demands of the American people as the constitution may require. What this means, in effect, is that an officer is bound more by his conscience than by the orders of his superiors and that he also has considerable latitude of interpretation.

The JOURNAL of October 1975 is totally wrong to say that a diplomat's loyalty is to the chief executive. It is not and never has been. In a foreign, evil empire, back in the 1930s and early '40s, diplomats and others took an oath of personal loyalty to their *fuhrer*, Adolf Hitler. Where, indeed, are Adolf Hitler and his minions now, except as caricatures in the movies? But our U.S. constitution, after nearly 200 years, is a vibrant, living code to a way of life which, whatever its faults, has brought the blessings of liberty and dignity to hundreds of millions of people.

ANDREW JOHN KAUFFMAN II
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

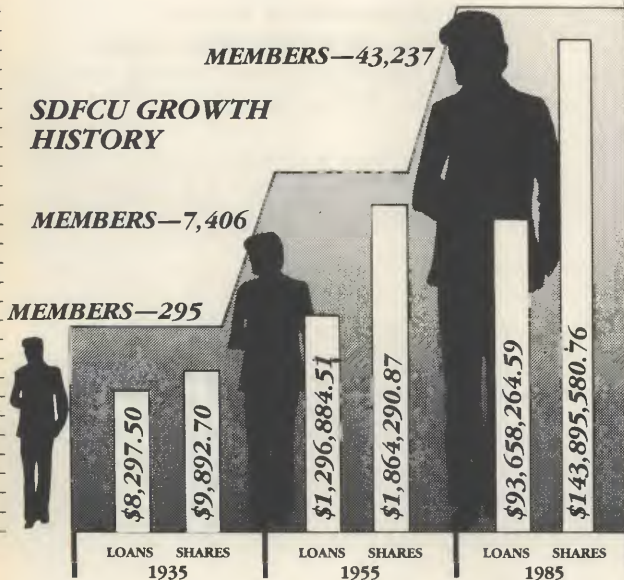
Author Query

I am preparing an article on dilettante diplomacy—the high political cost to the United States of using non-career ambassadors—and would welcome case studies and anecdotes, both tragic and comic, of amateur U.S. envoys, both past and present. Informants will not be quoted by name or designation.

RUSSELL WARREN HOWE
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BOOKS

Superpower Survey

By JONATHAN DEAN

Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan. By Raymond L. Garthoff. *The Brookings Institution, 1985. \$39.95 (cloth), \$16.95 (paper).*

Raymond Garthoff's massive, 1100-page analysis of U.S.-Soviet relations in the decade of the late 1970s-early '80s comes close to being the definitive account of this key period. Garthoff's background as an official directly engaged in many of the developments he describes, his knowledge of Soviet sources, the scope and detail of the information covered, and the high quality of the analysis make it very unlikely that this book will have a serious rival for years to come.

The troubled U.S.-Soviet relationship will remain the focus of U.S. foreign policy for the foreseeable future; it could result in cataclysmic war. Every foreign affairs decision-maker and expert in this country needs to work his way through this encyclopedic account and to use its clearly presented, yet often controversial, argumentation as a basis for reflection on the issues. It will be a difficult but rewarding task, particularly in this post-summit period.

Garthoff has three main aims: to present an in-depth historical account of major events in the U.S.-Soviet relationship in the period; to analyze the factors that left that relationship in fragments; and to draw conclusions from this experience which could contribute to the development of the broadly supported, long-term strategy for U.S.-Soviet relations that is still so much needed in this country. "The real task" of the future, as he puts it, is "to clarify and enlarge the areas of common interest on which cooperation can be built and to identify and seek to manage the continuing competition in the large areas of diverging and conflicting interests which remain."

Jonathan Dean, a retired Foreign Service officer, is the arms control adviser to the Union of Concerned Scientists. He was the chief U.S. negotiator to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks.

The book begins with movement toward detente under President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger. Garthoff credits the Nixon administration with having had a workable vision of the U.S.-Soviet relationship, but with having created exaggerated public expectations of the administration's short-term achievements which contributed to later disappointment.

Garthoff perceptively describes the emergence of a triangular U.S.-Soviet-Chinese relationship: The United States first tried to play a classic role as the fulcrum in the balance between the other two, but moved noisily toward a claimed

military alignment with China which made the Soviets apprehensive and the Chinese recoil, shifting the role of fulcrum to China from the United States.

The author's account of U.S.-Soviet arms control talks is masterful. In relentless detail, he documents the costs in terms of errors of fact and judgment of the secretive, back-channel Nixon-Kissinger approach, which nonetheless represented a considerable achievement. Garthoff has been criticized by some reviewers for presenting the Soviet Union as primarily reacting to U.S. arms initiatives in its own force buildup. It is true that, in the literal sense, the Soviets reacted to the U.S. inno-

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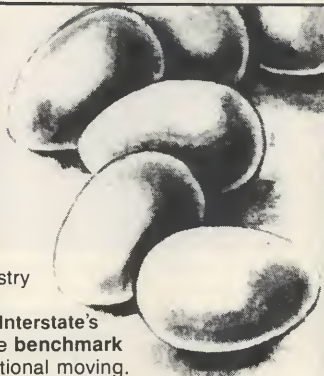
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vative lead. But the real objection of the critics is to the Soviet decision to pass the United States in nuclear weapons, rather than leaving the United States with its earlier lead in all branches except ground forces. The author does not analyze this decision in any detail, and this is perhaps the main omission of the book; Soviet achievement of nuclear equality has been the most significant development in the relationship since its outset. Continuing parity in strategic weapons is the hard but still unaccepted fact around which the relationship will revolve in the future; neither country is capable of achieving decisive, enduring superiority over the other.

Garthoff argues that Soviet involvement in Angola was originally motivated more by a desire to counter Chinese influence than to frustrate U.S. moves. He believes that better U.S.-Soviet consultation on the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Angola, and Somalia could have headed off or reduced Soviet-U.S. confrontation over these issues. The history continues with treatment of the SALT II negotiations, the fall of the shah, a fascinating account of the events leading up to the invasion of Afghanistan, the collapse of SALT II, and the return to a more confrontational U.S.-Soviet relationship in the first Reagan term.

This excellent book can be criticized on two important counts. Garthoff is as well-qualified as any American to write authoritatively on the motives and assessments that led to U.S. policy and actions toward the U.S.S.R. in the 1970s. His knowledge of Soviet policy and published Soviet sources, as well as his access to some leading Soviet officials and academicians, makes him the equal of any American expert in this field of Soviet policy. But the U.S. and Soviet systems cannot be equated with respect to availability of reliable accounts of motivation for important decisions. Soviet secretiveness, itself one of the major problems of the U.S.-Soviet relationship, prohibits this. Garthoff is of course aware of this discrepancy in information sources. It is unavoidable, but the author's way of dealing with it is not.

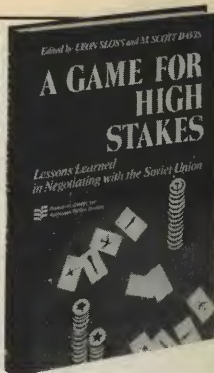
Garthoff meticulously presents all the defects of logic and poor judgment which entered into U.S. decisions, but because the same fine-grained examination is missing from his description of Soviet motives, his criticism of Soviet actions is sometimes less trenchant. And he tends to equate his assessments of U.S. motives, which because of the quality of his sources can be considered definitive, with his assessments of Soviet motivations, which at best are tentative: How do we really know that Soviet actions early in the Angolan confrontation were designed more to counter

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Chinese than U.S. influence, or that Brezhnev's proposal to send forces to the Middle East in the October war, which triggered such alarm in Washington, was based on a desire to make a relatively constructive contribution to ending the Arab-Israeli hostilities about which Brezhnev had repeatedly given Washington advance warning? This can only be supposition, and the actual Soviet motivations could have fallen anywhere in a wide spectrum of positive and negative possibilities that the author does not fully describe or evaluate. This methodological problem plays a prominent role in Garthoff's assessment of the significance Soviet leaders attach to their concept of peaceful coexistence, especially in the context of U.S.-Soviet confrontation in the Third World—the aspect of U.S.-Soviet interaction that is likely to be crucial for the future of the relationship.

The author accurately presents the Soviet view of coexistence as the continuation of all forms of political and economic struggle between communist and capitalist countries short of military warfare. He describes the Soviet view, correct in nearly all instances, that the causes of Third World political and social upheaval are local, not created by outside influences, Soviet or other. He then cites Soviet statements that the Soviet Union does not export revolution. But—and here is the problem—he appears to consider such statements as an effective self-imposed limitation on Soviet behavior in Third World countries. The difficulty is that such a principle, even if adhered to as a generalization—and there is room for skepticism here—leaves very broad scope for individual judgment and for intervention in specific cases. Given the Soviet approach to peaceful coexistence, once a revolutionary development has begun, it can be helped and nurtured. But at what point does revolutionary change start? There is a large spectrum of possible assistance to local political movements in which the Soviet Union engages—and the United States as well—short of dramatic actions like flying in Cuban divisions. Garthoff's approach lends itself to the misconception that there is something to build on here in moving toward some long-term solution to Soviet expansionism.

An illusion that has appeared in many versions over the years still dominates U.S. thinking about the Soviet Union. One is the vision of long-term progress, however slow and arduous, to some lasting plateau of better understanding through conciliation and resultant change in fundamental Soviet attitudes. Second is the vision that the only U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union that has a chance of success must,

given the nature of the Soviet Union, be based primarily on military containment. Some who hold this view believe that the Soviets, if restrained for a sufficiently long period, will eventually lose their appetite for expansion, which would mean radical transformation in their present world outlook.

The second approach has the benefit of not being based on short-term hopes for a transformation in Soviet behavior which, if it ever occurs, will be in terms of sociological change over generations. But the problem is that active containment that relies primarily on military means—what Garthoff calls confrontation—is most effective, and safest, when one side has assured superiority over the other. This approach is still possible in a period of rough military equality, but implementing the containment policy becomes more difficult and more risky—all the more so for a country as discontinuous and inconsistent in its foreign policy as the United States.

The underlying difficulty is that many Americans are still looking for a definitive solution to the problem of the knotty, dangerous U.S.-Soviet relationship, some approach that will get rid of the problem for good. Perhaps it remains a national characteristic to believe all problems do have some specific solution, a characteristic linked to our own short-range historical consciousness and resultant short-range view of the future. But does the choice for U.S. policy really have to be between alternating extremes of excessive optimism about changes in the Soviet attitude, with primary emphasis on negotiation and dialogue, and excessive pessimism, with primary emphasis on force? Do we only have the choice between trying to contain the Soviets by interposing conciliation or by military force, or by some combination of the two, until their next breakout, political or military, and then starting in again all over from the beginning? It should be possible to accept that the U.S.-Soviet competition will continue indefinitely, without resolution or solution, and to aim deliberately, not at eliminating the competition itself, but instead at limiting and regulating it, at least in its overtly military aspects. This conclusion is the underlying message of the Garthoff book.

In order to have a rational U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union, our leaders have to educate the American public to see the relationship as an ongoing continuum stretching over the indefinite future, with many ups and downs, but no resolution or final outcome. In short, to think about the future in a long-term sense, as the Soviets do.

Our leaders must make clear that, in

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a continuing competition, Americans should not be so outraged by specific Soviet moves that they act to terminate aspects of the relationship which are to our advantage or desirable for our security. The Soviets have had the self-discipline, even when deeply affronted by U.S. actions—as when Kissinger squeezed them out of a broader role in Middle East affairs or when the United States bombed Soviet vessels in Haiphong harbor—not to react by dismantling other aspects of the relationship of benefit to them. Relations will inevitably cool in such circumstances. But they should not be severed. Soviet efforts to expand must be firmly contested. But one requirement of continuing competition is to accept both gains and losses in individual contests for influence with steadier nerves and more equanimity. Viewed in the long-term perspective, most such political engagements will remain inconclusive. We have only to look at the shifting orientations of China or Egypt over the last 40 years to realize this.

Of course, accepting that we are engaged in a continuing competition with the Soviet Union has the unpleasant connotation that we realize that the U.S.S.R. will continue to attempt to expand its influence in cases where costs and risks are not too high. Some neo-conservatives might insist that, in adopting such an approach, the United States would be "legitimizing" Soviet expansionism by accepting its continuation or by somehow equating it on a moral plane with U.S. efforts to defend western pluralism. The western system does have real superiorities over the Soviet, especially in regards to capacity to resolve domestic conflicts with a maximum of flexibility and a minimum of violence. But neither this factor nor external force or inducements, successful as they may be on specific occasions, will extirpate for all time all efforts by a large country to extend its influence. The United States, too, is moved by similar considerations. The Soviets may believe their socialism will in time become the leading principle of world society. But it is we whose Great Seal proclaims "The New Order of the Centuries." Both countries have an engrained propensity to help groups that have values similar to theirs by all means, including military ones. Instead of attempting to eliminate the competition, the objective of U.S. policy must be to limit it—to "manage" it in the overall sense, as Garthoff says at the outset of his book, much as atoms control has been seen as a means of managing, or damping down, the worst effects of a continuing military competition.

The Soviets, with their concept of ex-

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tended competition under the heading of peaceful coexistence, have been on this track for some time. The Basic Principles of U.S.-Soviet Relations of May 1972 and the Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement of June 1973, which they sponsored, were heavily discredited by the disappointments of the detente period. This does not mean that this approach was wrong. A fully articulated set of agreements may not be achievable. But the discussion that accompanies efforts in this direction could be useful. It should be possible to limit the delivery of arms by both sides, to exercise other forms of restraint in specific circumstances, to reach useful partial accords like the Berlin Quadripartite Agreement, to agree on modest steps of arms control, and, at least to some degree, to demilitarize the continuing competition. The Soviets are not delivering modern MIG fighters to Nicaragua and the United States has not as yet delivered the most modern portable anti-aircraft weapons to the Afghan rebels. Whether or not this restraint rests on formal understanding, it is restraint. The approach can be built on. This is the kind of outcome to which Garthoff's insightful, immensely important, book can help us move. □

Reviews

The Specialist: Revelations of a Counterterrorist. By Gayle Rivers. Stein and Day, 1985.

Terrorism has become an assault on western society, with the United States the principal target. As the number and deadliness of terrorist attacks has increased, so too has the number of books and articles providing facile formulas for coping with this complex problem. *The Specialist* is another in this genre.

Gayle Rivers is the *nom de plume* of an unidentified mercenary whose self-proclaimed mission is to reveal "the world of counterterrorism as it really is—and has to be." And, indeed, the book makes for interesting reading, but until Rivers can document his story, it should be regarded as inspired fiction. It purports, however, to be a 100-percent factual account of actual counterterrorist operations led by Rivers while in the employ of various western governments, including that of the United States. Rivers maintains that he is frequently hired by governments to conduct retaliatory operations against terrorists of various stripes. Yet why would these governments need to employ a mercenary when they are willing to provide troops and other direct support for Rivers and his team? The United States, Britain, West

Germany, and other governments have devoted many years and millions of dollars to developing capabilities of all types in the anti- and counterterrorist areas. The idea that an outsider must be brought in to do the job is hard to swallow.

But *The Specialist* has a more significant shortcoming. It provides yet another rationalization for the deceptively simplistic theory that retaliation can solve the problem of terrorism. While punitive and even pre-emptive capabilities certainly form part of the answer to this problem, the international nature of contemporary terrorism argues for a broader solution. Furthermore, reliance on simple retaliation runs the risk of ensnaring the United States and other democratic governments in a more fundamental conundrum. If we employ the terrorists' methods against them, can we control our use of these techniques or do we risk the democratic principles and safeguards that are the foundation of our society? —MAYER NUDELL

Foreign Assistance: Investment or Folly. Edited by John Wilhelm & Gerry Feinstein. Praeger, 1984. \$42.95.

With a regularity enshrined as ritual, our foreign aid programs are studied by committees who, year-in and year-out, conclude their efforts with inspiring recommendations. The reports are then carefully placed in the bottom of the secretary of state's in-basket, never to be heard from again.

The report of the Committee on Security and Economic Assistance is the latest in this series of failures. Commissioned by Secretary Shultz in the spring of 1983, a distinguished group of 24 citizens chaired by former Foreign Service Officer Frank Carlucci delivered their completed tome in November of the same year. But the 17 recommendations remain largely unfulfilled. Congress has not increased foreign assistance; the mutual development and security administration agency is nowhere in sight; sub-Saharan and Caribbean assistance is at bootstrap level; and the "mystique" of Economic Support Funds rolls merrily along.

Foreign Assistance: Investment or Folly, consists of the papers on which the Carlucci report was based. The volume, edited by John Wilhelm and Gerry Feinstein, reels off 24 position papers covering everything you ever wanted to know about foreign aid. Wilhelm, former commission executive director, does a commendable job with the introduction. It is doubtful, however, that his hope that the book will "play a role in the evolution of a rational

and viable foreign assistance policy that can win and maintain the support of the American people" will be fulfilled.

Of particular interest is Elliot Berg's stiff yet comprehensive essay on the effectiveness of economic assistance. His largely pessimistic assessment is diluted by vague and uninspired alternatives that seem no better than the existing activities. And his use of Egypt as a case study is correctly chided by John P. Lewis's rejoinder that the home of the pyramids is "by definition an atypical recipient." What would be "typical," however, is not Lewis's chore to define.

Six of the essays are devoted to security assistance, a crucial element of Carlucci's call for a Mutual Development and Security Administration. They reveal the intricate, numbing dilemma of guns or butter. One is appalled to read the old canard that security assistance is a savings because the personnel costs of friendly forces are so much cheaper than those of the United States.

The book concludes with an essay called "A Constituency for Foreign Assistance." Using a comparison of opinion polls from 1957-82, the study indicates that foreign aid does have a constituency, but one that has become weaker, fragmented, "and politically less effective." But the concern with constituencies misses the mark. Today, when we are head over belly button in debt, when the balance of trade is reducing us to an agrarian society, when our foreign policy is conducted by small countries with big bombs, and when both the Congress and the president act like leaderless boy scouts lost in the forest, the wonder is that our assistance program has any constituency at all. —WILLIAM SOMMERS

From the Think Tanks

Sustaining World Economic Recovery: The Challenges Ahead. By Jean Baneth and Enzo Grilli. *World Bank Staff Working Papers*, #737. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1985. 59pp. Although the world economy is now in a recovery, significant problems still exist, such as the large debts of some developing countries and growing pressures for protectionism in the industrialized world. According to this report, however, if the recovery is to develop into sustainable growth, not only must Third World countries continue making adjustments in their economies, but the industrialized governments need to revise their fiscal and monetary situations; it is particularly important that the United States reduce its budget deficits.

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DIPLOMACY

FSOs or MBAs?

By EDWARD MARKS

Participation in the Foreign Service promotion process usually inspires selection board members to voice numerous reactions, reflections, and, of course, proposals for reform. Perhaps the most common topic is the well known problem of inflated language in EERs. However, my service this year on a selection board raised another issue—how does the Service see itself? To judge by the evaluations I read, today we have developed quite a different self-image from that of the traditional diplomat.

The Foreign Service selection precepts carefully describe the criteria to be used in differentiating between one officer and another, based on studies that have identified certain traits or skills as important for superior performance in the Foreign Service and after negotiations between the State Department and AFSA. Prepared with exquisite care and attention, these guidelines are then turned over to the rating officers, who then proceed to employ them imaginatively in pursuit of their own agenda: the rewarding (and occasional punishment) of subordinate colleagues.

The rating officer must have an image in mind of the "ideal" Foreign Service officer; the model against which the specific rated employee is to be measured. Reading and reviewing the files of 342 FS-2 economic and consular officers has left me with the impression that the image of the ideal FSO has changed in several ways during recent years.

Most important, according to these EERs, he or she may no longer be a diplomat. The contemporary FSO apparently lives in a world where all questions are essentially problems and all problems are solvable, given the right organizational approach and sufficient energy. In this world, the perfect FSO is a hard-driving,

Edward Marks has been a Foreign Service officer for 28 years. He is currently a senior visiting fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies. This was his third experience as a member of a selection board.

energetic, young executive. Perfect FSOs solve problems and do so rapidly and continuously. Most important, they begin to solve problems immediately upon arrival in a new job. Technological competence, particularly with computers and systems, is also very desirable. Computer literacy is obviously one of the desired traits, although in many cases the literacy appears to be quite basic, e.g., how to do word processing.

The ideal FSO, at least at this grade, is young. The EERs for a large number of FS-2s give the impression that they are describing junior officers. There is often a breathless air as if the rating officer was both bemused and enthralled with the precocious antics of talented children. I had to remind myself that I was reading the files on experienced people being considered for what we are assured is to be the "top of the Service" for most officers.

While the primary impression is one of a hard-driving executive, the precepts' emphasis on interpersonal skills has apparently created an absolute moratorium on hard-edged personalities. Nobody apparently has a temper any more, although a few people have trouble suffering fools gladly (not more than a venial sin, however, as the rating officer in these cases invariably admits with charming frankness to a similar weakness).

All this paints a picture of an aggressive doer who is also sensitive to other people's needs and desires. This makes the officer an excellent supervisor who leads by example and suasion (rather than the whip or the EER). The overall image is that of the contemporary young American business executive, highly motivated by success and absorbed in short-term problem solving.

The more than 300 EERs I reviewed made few references to the obvious fact that the subjects live and work in—or at least are intimately concerned with—a world largely exterior to the United States. Apparently, this element was not viewed as significant. The word "sophisticated" appeared in exactly one of the EERs we reviewed, and the concept was almost as rare. The idea that a successful FSO should be at home in widely varying cultures and in various levels of those cultures is apparently not considered important today. The idea that a successful FSO should have a delicate touch in cross-cultural operations does not appear to be fashionable these days.

There was little reference to the classic representational functions and their role in fulfilling diplomatic responsibilities. Instead there was continual reference to the rated officer's active role in local American

community activities. Admittedly this is a serious priority of the economic and commercial officer, but surely not to the exclusion of "foreigners."

All in all, there seemed to be little concern for foreign culture and language interest, much less competence. Even more striking, there was little concern for qualities of a longer-range perspective such as wisdom, understanding, sophistication, experience itself. Maturity was used almost as a pejorative, a code word for old. Striking by its absence was the idea that a first-class officer could grow in a job and

perform better with experience.

Certainly old-fashioned diplomats had a self-image somewhat at variance with reality. For every George Kennan there must have been at least one Terry Thomas, but there was a diplomatic ideal. The EERs I read this year have a very different ideal, that of a headquarters-based bureaucrat or executive. The new image, a sort of government MBA type with an anachronistic concern for fine drafting, certainly reflects contemporary mores and fashions. We should, however, consider the implications. □

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CLIPPINGS

Going by the Rules

"Travel records of the [State Department and USIA] show that in fiscal years 1982-84 a total of 260 employees and dependents elected to travel by sea, as the rules allow. The cost was \$556,232—higher by more than \$400,000 than airline tickets would have been.

"The public first heard about this abuse of federal travel regulations last year, when the General Accounting Office reported to Representative Jack Brooks (D.-Texas) that a USIA employee being transferred to Washington from Uruguay included a \$14,440 ride up the Mississippi on the riverboat *Delta Queen* as part of his family's travel arrangements.

"Brooks was so outraged that he asked the auditors to do some more research. They found that the *Delta Queen* wasn't the only floating royalty favored by Foreign Service and USIA employees.

"Of the 260 seafaring travelers, 120 chose to go—first-class all the way—on the pride of the British passenger fleet, the *Queen Elizabeth II*.

"The total cost for the QE II trips was \$289,305. Air fare would have been roughly \$81,000....

"The official Foreign Affairs Manual encourages employees to take the most direct and economical routes to and from their foreign posts. But the regulations don't prohibit traveling by sea, and many employees evidently assume that a leisurely cruise on a luxury liner is just one of the perquisites of serving abroad."

Jack Anderson, October 1

Bashing Shultz

"The conference was called, dramatically enough, 'The State Department Held Hostage.' Chaired by Richard Viguier, publisher of the *Conservative Digest*, the conference was a grand opportunity for the disaffected right to bash, of all people, Secretary of State George Shultz. Wearing stickers emblazoned with an umbrella (to commemorate British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, who sought to appease Adolf Hitler), some 150 delegates accused Shultz of being too soft on terrorists, too warm to the Soviets, and too cool toward

freedom fighters in Angola, Afghanistan, and Mozambique.

"The odd thing about such criticism, say administration officials, is that Shultz is a leading advocate of using force against terrorists. One explanation for the right's indignation is Shultz's refusal to fill key State slots with true believers."

Time, August 12

Just Doing a Job

"[John Burroughs] has just assumed the post of U.S. consul general in Cape Town—the number three spot in the American diplomatic team, also known as the country team.

"He's also black, a fact he notes, 'I can't do anything about, so I don't attach any significance to it....'

"Having gone through the civil rights upheavals of the 1960s, he thinks, has tempered him for South Africa's far more rigidly imposed, and public, racial segregation—apartheid.

"It's something I considered before coming," he says calmly—a look on his face of having been through it all before—'I go about my job as best I know how, when I have to go to a hotel, or restaurant, I just go....'

"His philosophy is straightforward: 'Go wherever I want to go, and we'll see.' Just as he's determined not to let being black get in the way of his day-to-day life, he also sees no problem, or significance, in his color to his job.

"I'm a diplomat who happens to be black and I don't particularly see any significance in my being here and being black,' he says. Just John Burroughs, career diplomat."

*Michael Sullivan
in the Washington Times,
August 13*

Diplomatic Letdown

"[Sasha, a Soviet soldier in Poland] tried to defect at the U.S. embassy in Warsaw in May 1984. He carried a note giving his history that had been written in English by friends. But a consulate officer told him 'We can't do anything to help you. You must go away.'

"The U.S. embassy in Warsaw declined to comment, but one U.S. diplomat muses that he was probably too small a fish for the embassy to risk so much....

"Finally at about midnight on the last Sunday of June, underground Solidarity leaders picked him up, and he was on his way to the West. He had no forewarning, but as always simply trusted his Polish protectors who, unlike the U.S. embassy, had never let him down.

"But does he resent the democratic United States for not helping him? 'I didn't have any experience of American democracy,' he says, 'so I couldn't be disappointed in it.'"

*Frederick Kempe
in the Wall Street Journal, August 12*

Raising Doubts

"It was hard to figure what France had done to deserve Evan Galbraith. It got harder every time Ronald Reagan's first ambassador to Paris popped off on the French domestic political scene, say, or on the ingrained gutlessness of his own country's professional diplomats. In less than four years he set some sort of record by drawing four formal protests from the French foreign ministry....

"So it's not as if nobody noticed. It's that the right people—the president and his political handlers—couldn't care less. If they had a care for the value of old allies, they would have had no trouble finding in this great land of ours a successor whose credentials were not necessarily impeccable but at least self-evident....

"Instead, the White House has come up with Joe M. Rodgers, a stunningly successful, multimillionaire building contractor from Nashville whose qualifications on paper are even less imposing than those of his predecessor....

"Anybody who raised \$100 million as finance chairman for the 1984 Reagan-Bush campaign was bound to catch the boss's eye. But why, in one of the three or four most important diplomatic relationships the United States conducts, do we go out of our way to raise gratuitous doubts?..."

"Geography, a nuclear strike force, an aloof relationship with NATO, an impending constitutional crisis turning on next year's parliamentary elections, a fiercely protective trade policy—all these account for the [Academy of American Diplomacy's] conclusion that 'the next American ambassador in Paris will face formidable problems requiring the utmost skill and capacity.'"

*Philip Geyelin in the Washington Post,
August 19*

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Foreign Service Journal, December 1975: "For the past four months a Women's Action Organization *ad hoc* committee of 20 women married to Foreign Service spouses and pursuing independent careers has been studying the career options of Foreign Service spouses. The committee believes the three foreign affairs agencies should urgently consider:

- "1. The need for a skill bank...;
- "2. The need to identify employment and educational opportunities for spouses abroad...;
- "3. The need for bilateral arrangements with other countries...;
- "4. The need for chiefs of mission to encourage spouses who wish to use their talents and training to work in host countries when permitted by law;
- "5. The need for an ombudsperson for dependents..."

AFSA News

Foreign Service Journal, December 1960: "Comparing work in the Foreign Service with office work in private companies, one cannot help but be struck by the lack of use of office machines in our foreign affairs apparatus. Dictaphones are rare, electric typewriters are resisted, and thermofax or similar reproduction machines are hoarded, hidden, and ham-strung so that great numbers of hard-to-get stenographers sit around waiting for dictation or painstakingly type out copies.... Having merely scratched the surface with those machines which were in common use before World War II, one could eventually look into the modern data-processing machines or electronic computers."

Albert W. Stoffel

Foreign Service Journal, December 1935: "Many years of close observation of the functioning of the Foreign Service justifies me in saying to you in all frankness that I am highly gratified with the fine spirit of devotion to the public interest and the splendid morale, sometimes in the face of serious difficulties, which you have shown. Together we have carried into effect several important constructive measures for the strengthening of the Service."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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Cruise Control

In the summer of 1982, Foreign Service Officer Christopher Paddack of USIA and his family left his post in Montevideo, Uruguay, bound for a home leave in Iowa before taking up new duties in Washington. With the prior approval of the State Department, he took a plane to Santiago, a car to Valparaiso, a ship to Lima, a plane to Miami, another flight to New Orleans, then the riverboat *Mississippi Queen* to St. Louis, where he was supposed to fly to his home in Burlington. When the captain told him that he could be let off in his home town, he decided to deviate from his itinerary and arranged for further passage on the *Queen* to Burlington.

That decision was to have an impact beyond anyone's imagination. The bill for the extra leg appeared in one investigation by the General Accounting Office and triggered two others, meanwhile exposing official Foreign Service travel aboard ships to public scrutiny. Last October ship travel became a cause célèbre in the media, leading to hundreds of letters to Capitol Hill, congressional hearings, and even the Golden Fleece Award. Reacting to the pressure, the foreign affairs agencies quickly revised their regulations to forbid official travel by ship except in cases involving health and well-being, or in instances where the employee pays the added cost and takes annual leave en route.

As a result of one of the GAO investigations, in early 1984 the comptroller general ordered USIA to collect about \$12,000 from Paddack for the cruise despite the fact that the department had approved the arrangement and that the embassy purchased the tickets. Regulations do provide that employees are liable for expenses when an agency erroneously approves a travel arrangement. When Paddack appealed USIA's demand to the Foreign Service Grievance Board, a case that he won last summer but that is now under appeal in the courts, his agency argued that Paddack had committed fraud.

Prior to all this, regulations dating back to the day when ship travel was common permitted State Foreign Service employees to travel to and from post by ship and those in USIA to go one way, as long as the

travel was considered "direct" and by the "usually traveled route." (AID employees could use ships only for medical reasons.) However, the regulations also admonished employees to be economical and prudent. The contradictory provisions are what led to Paddack's travail.

When it came time to leave post in the spring of 1982, Paddack queried the department and gained approval for a route that included permission to take the riverboat from New Orleans to St. Louis. "As the traveler's point of entry would be the Gulf coast of the U.S. and his home leave address is in the Middle West," the department said in a cable, "the proposed travel would be considered direct." Paddack also asked the post administrative officer if cost was a factor and was told that it was not. The embassy's travel office issued all tickets, changing the port of entry to Miami to facilitate scheduling. Included was fare for him, his wife, and two sons aboard the *Queen*, totaling \$12,760. Paddack filed a data sheet at post that showed the riverboat leg and left on July 2, 1982.

USIA claims that the bill for the leg from St. Louis to Burlington triggered an internal investigation that led to a request that GAO rule on whether the riverboat trip was permissible. The request did not come until nine months after the bill arrived, however, and after the comptroller general had already included the riverboat cruise in a draft report critical of agency audit and inspection practices in the summer of 1983. Responding to the draft, USIA Director Wick wrote in a letter to GAO that the travel was "within the regulations," but when the case later reached the Grievance Board the agency said the letter was not binding.

In February 1984, the comptroller general ruled that the officer owed the government the entire cost of the riverboat trip and per diem, arguing that a riverboat was not a usually traveled route and that the Mississippi River was not a direct route from Miami. The GAO disputed Paddack's claim that the trip had been authorized in advance because it was apparently unaware that it was the embassy travel office that had changed the port of entry.

When USIA attempted to collect the money, Paddack brought the case to the Grievance Board. The parties differ as to whether Paddack was offered an opportunity to present his side to the comptroller general, but the board felt that due process had been denied, an official connected with the board told the JOURNAL. The board ruled that the employee had acted prudently, that the travel was direct, and that the comptroller general's claim that a riverboat was not a "usually traveled route"

didn't hold water. The board was vociferous in its finding that "the agency's serious charge that grievant was guilty of deliberate intent to defraud the government is not supported by any evidence. The record shows, in fact, that all of grievant's actions were open and above board." The board also noted that a Foreign Service tandem couple from the State Department took the same cruise as official travel without remonstrance. The board did find, however, that Paddack was liable for the portion of the cruise beyond St. Louis, about \$1600.

USIA has appealed the case to the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, charging the Grievance Board with "abuse of discretion" and having rendered a decision that is "arbitrary" and "capricious." Statute makes the comptroller general's finding "binding and conclusive" on cases involving debts owed the government "except as otherwise provided by law," but the Foreign Service Act does provide a grievance mechanism to settle disputes such as this. Interestingly, the Justice Department will not allow USIA to make a jurisdictional claim because it does not want to concede the possibility of precedence to an arm of Congress.

When the Paddack case first came to light as a result of the first two GAO reports, Representative Jack Brooks (D.-Texas) asked the comptroller general to investigate Foreign Service travel practices. In October GAO reported that "260 Foreign Service travelers used ship transportation during fiscal years 1982-84 at a total cost of \$556,232," while airfare would have been an estimated \$160,047. A small amount of that travel, however, represents disbursement of excess currencies from India and Pakistan that must by regulation be spent on official travel.

Referring to the difference of nearly \$400,000, Brooks said in October that the Foreign Service had "loaded it up and by God they're going to tighten it up now." When Senator Ernest Hollings (D.-South Carolina) threatened legislation that would have prohibited all ship travel, State responded with draft regulations that had actually been in the works for several months limiting it to instances of health and well-being.

As for Paddack, he is out heavy legal fees and possibly the costs of the cruise. "It's been a hardship," he told the JOURNAL. "Basically, I've been scapegoated. I'm the only one that's been mentioned by name—the others are just cases. We've been dragged through the mud."

DESPATCH is a compendium of news about the Service written by the editor. It does not necessarily represent the views of the Association.

THE \$4.2-BILLION MAN

AN INTERVIEW WITH ROBERT E. LAMB



We've got to get the message across that this is a fundamentally restructured security program. It cannot be business as usual

Last June the Advisory Panel on Overseas Security (the Inman panel) made a number of recommendations to Secretary of State Shultz on improving security at Foreign Service posts abroad. Robert E. Lamb, formerly assistant secretary for administration and security, is now the coordinator for diplomatic security and responsible for designing the \$4.2-billion plan to safeguard our most vulnerable embassies and other missions. In late October, the JOURNAL talked to him about the changes that plan will entail.

Under the recommendations of the Inman report, your office will be succeeded by the Bureau for Diplomatic Security. Can you give us some idea of the timetable for establishing the bureau?

We have asked Congress for permission to establish the new bureau as of November 4. This will be a reprogramming action—that is, a realignment within the current legislation—but the Congress has had some problems with our organizational proposals. I'm not certain it will be approved in early November. We are also asking for changes in the legislation that would establish the bureau more formally. We would expect that to go forward in November as well.

What kinds of problems is Congress having? Is the disagreement based on the differences between the panel's recommendations and what Secretary Shultz said when he met with the House Foreign Affairs Committee in July?

Yes, although the areas of disagreement are not great. The Inman panel proposed the establishment of a small staff attached to the under secretary for politi-

cal affairs to handle the diplomatic aspects of our counter-terrorism battle. The secretary weighed this very carefully, and, when he testified, we were considering two different factors. On the one hand, the question of visibility—it's important that terrorism not only be important within the State Department but that it be seen to be important. On the other hand, it's also important that the organizational responsibilities be clear. So the secretary was weighing whether to have an ambassador-at-large or to consolidate all of the counter-terrorism activities within one bureau. Since then, the secretary has decided on an ambassador-at-large so that this function did not appear to be downgraded. I think the Congress understands the rationale and agrees.

The current issue is basically a question of which responsibilities are going to be vested with the ambassador-at-large and which with the new bureau. The Congress, particularly the House Foreign Affairs Committee, envisions an ambassador-at-large who does not have operational and programmatic responsibilities, but whose office is aggressive and lightly staffed, and very much in charge of our international counter-terrorist program. So the issue is whether portions of the anti-terrorist-assistance program should be given to the ambassador or the new bureau. I think we're close to resolving that issue.

But what would happen to the Office for Counter-terrorism and Emergency Planning if the new bureau assumes their operational side and the ambassador takes on their diplomatic



We have not given our post security officers training. We have been almost as deficient in training our professional security officers. This whole field of physical security for our embassies is a new one for us

functions?

That office, just like the Office of Security, would cease to exist. We're talking about an entirely new program. I think it's important that we get the message across that this isn't going to be the Office of Security anymore or Counter-terrorism, but that this is a fundamentally restructured security program. I'm even having trouble impressing this message on the people in Security. It cannot be business as usual.

The Inman panel was critical of the way the security program had been run in the past, saying that the lines of authority weren't clear, that SY didn't have the authority or funding to do what was needed. Will this reorganization solve that? The panel also said that one problem was teaching people that being in the security field was good for your career, that it was not a backwater. Are you addressing these issues?

That criticism regarding the lines of authority was much more valid 12 or 18 months ago than today. If there ever were any questions about lines of authority, I can't imagine how they continued to exist after the third Beirut bombing. Cables have gone out identifying responsibility very clearly. We made it clear that in Washington the lines of authority go through Dave Fields, the deputy assistant secretary of security, through the assistant secretary for administration and security and Under Secretary for Management Ron Spiers, to the secretary. In the field, the ambassador is in charge.

As for the question of professionalism, it is essential that we create a Bureau of Diplomatic Security that has a highly professional cadre of security officers. By professional, I mean well-trained, well-equipped, adequately financed to do what needs to be done. One of the problems has been that during the last twenty years SY has been given additional functions without really being given the structure, training, or resources to take them on. I think that the Inman panel proposals will correct that.

You said you were having some difficulties getting Security to see it this way. Why?

I didn't mean to put it quite like that. We tend to look at any situation through familiar glasses, from the aspect that is most comfortable to us. The message we have to get out is that this is a comprehensive program. This is an opportunity to build a security service that is equipped to deal with the problems of the future. We should not let ourselves be encumbered by the organizational structure and experiences of the past.

The Inman panel recommended the creation of a Diplomatic Security Service complete with its own promotion precepts and career ladder. Do you see that becoming a reality?

Yes. We see it as an identifiable service that will exist under the Foreign Service Act and under the authority of the director general.

Would the couriers be included?

We don't know yet. The Inman panel recommended that they be included, and Ron Spiers has asked for

an analysis of whether they should or should not be in the new bureau.

Would communicators also be affected?

I don't see any communicators in the traditional sense coming into the Diplomatic Security Service. There is a proposal that certain aspects of communications security come into the new bureau. Frankly, I'm a strong advocate of that proposal. When we look at shielding our buildings against technical threats, it's no longer a communications issue; it's a much broader security issue.

Another issue brought up by the Inman panel was that of personal responsibility. They suggested that boards of inquiry be established to enforce personal accountability, a recommendation that the department has accepted. How will these boards work?

There is legislation on this that we hope will be in the Inman panel bill when it goes to the Congress. There is very little discretion in the bill on when these panels will be set up, and frankly that's one of the concerns we have had about the legislation. It could be too discretionary. But if it's too automatic, it could become routine, which we certainly don't want. There would be a board of inquiry, however, in any case where there is loss of life or serious damage. I see the new boards acting very much like the one set up after the bombing of the Beirut annex. But while the procedures then were very much ad hoc, they now will be much more formal. It will be required that the boards be held.

There has been a lot of criticism on Capitol Hill that not enough had been done to pinpoint individual responsibility. Do you think the new boards of inquiry will satisfy this concern?

I think there are people on the Hill who are never going to be satisfied. There are people who wanted somebody hanged after Beirut. I have a very serious problem if these boards are going to be fault-finding. There may be important institutional lessons to be learned, but that does not necessarily mean stringing someone up by the yardarm. And I think anything less than stringing somebody up would not have satisfied some members of Congress with whom I have spoken. But I think these boards would satisfy most of them.

Was anyone removed from post or reprimanded as a result of that second Beirut bombing?

No.

The Inman commission was rather critical of the existing security training, observing, for example, that sometimes regional security officers gave conflicting advice at posts or that post security officers were not adequately trained to supervise guard forces. What is being done to improve training in this regard?

It's our plan to have a professional security officer at every post with more than 35 American employees, and if warranted, at some posts with fewer than 35. There will be fewer administrative officers who han-

dle security work in their spare time. We are developing a training program for post security officers. That's important because in the past we've simply said, "You're going to post X as the admin officer, and one of your collateral duties, besides being the post library officer, is to be security officer." We have not given them training. We have been almost as deficient in training our professional security officers. This whole field of physical security for our embassies is a new one for us. Very few of our security officers overseas have received any formal training in that important area.

When do you think this Diplomatic Security Service will be fully operational?

I'm hoping we can have the bureau established as soon as Congress approves the reprogramming. Actually fleshing it out is going to take more time. We need the legislation for that because whole areas of the bureau—including many positions—do not exist today. I hope the legislation will be passed early in 1986. We will probably spend most of the year actually staffing the bureau.

How long will it be before you are no longer sending people overseas to be post security officers without security training?

If we get our money, next year. I hope we can have training at FSI set up by the summer assignment cycle. We are already sending mobile training teams out to train post security officers in the field.

The Inman report was also critical of the quality of many embassies' local contract guard forces, and recommended more training and improved standards for hiring. What is being done in this area?

I see more local guards being used, for different purposes and with better training. If you look at our local guard force overseas, it's a mixed bag: everything from highly trained paramilitary units to little more than individuals who sleep by the embassy in an effort to keep intruders away. There is a different need in different countries, but I think we will see more professional and uniform standards. In October, the guard program was centralized in SY. Until then, guard forces were managed by individual posts. The Inman panel budget supplemental includes \$12 million in 1986 for local guards. By the end of that year we will be spending over \$60 million annually for guard services worldwide.

Who will provide the training and set the new standards? Will you be sending people from the Diplomatic Security Service out to do training?

There will be a variety of organizations and techniques involved. We don't need paramilitary units in every country. We have already begun to use the mobile teams to train some local guards; I think that practice will be expanded. We will probably also use some American guard companies.

Why not use American guard services exclusively?

That would be awfully expensive, and in many

countries the local security is really quite competent. Also, American guards would give a very different impression of our embassies. Would we be willing to let other countries bring in their paramilitary people to defend their embassy's perimeter in Washington?

What about the Marines?

We will be sending more Marine security guards to our posts overseas, but there is a certain amount of confusion about what the Marines are there for. The Marines are not out there to give us a defensive perimeter around our embassies. They are there to provide a 24-hour-a-day American presence on the premises to protect our embassies against surreptitious entry and espionage.

What about Foreign Service nationals—will some of them be replaced in the effort to create more security?

That is a very important question for us. Unfortunately, it is being somewhat overdramatized here in Washington. But it is an important issue, one that we have tended to discount. Changes will probably occur in two ways: one, greater compartmentalization within the embassies, that is, limiting places where FSNs can go; and two, scrutinizing the kinds of jobs FSNs are being given, particularly in the computer field.

Once you have the new bureau and security service in place, how will these changes in Washington affect the overseas posts? For example, will decisions on staffing and drawdown levels be made by security people rather than by the substantive bureaus? When considerations of policy conflict with those of security, what will happen?

There is an awful lot of misplaced concern about this new bureau. I do not see Security deciding unilaterally that we should drawdown a particular embassy. It will make recommendations, but the decision is going to go very high in this building, possibly to the secretary. The new bureau would not have the authority to make this decision—any more than a regional bureau could without consulting with Security.

In the security survey the JOURNAL did a few months ago, many of our respondents were concerned that ambassadors in particular didn't take the security threat seriously. Often they didn't want to alarm the host country and so would keep a lot of people at post. This could put the post security officer in a difficult position if he or she disagreed. Will the post security officer have a channel to Washington or a way to appeal if the ambassador refuses his or her advice?

I think there is ample opportunity for the security officer to make his views heard. He has the opportunity to communicate with Washington, with the area director of security, and within the mission. Now that doesn't mean his advice is always taken, just as mine isn't always taken.

After Beirut, do you think we'll be quicker to withdraw embassy personnel when there is a possible physical threat?

If a critical threat is generally recognized, I've



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We are out there to do our nation's business. Every time one of these terrorist groups can drive us out of the country or close down a program, they have accomplished one of their objectives

found good cooperation at cutting back the presence. Where there has been a difference of viewpoint on the immediacy of the threat, it's much more difficult to build the consensus for a reduction in personnel. In the places where we have people in danger, there have been reviews of each program.

We analyze the threats worldwide on a quarterly basis. I believe that is adequate. But there are places where threats can turn around overnight. However, I don't want us to have our programs overseas driven by security. We are out there to do our nation's business. Every time one of these terrorist groups can drive us out of a country or close down one of our programs, they have accomplished one of their objectives. I don't think we should cut our presence back because of a potential threat. But on the other hand, we do not want to risk anybody's life unwarrantedly.

Secretary Shultz said there is a possibility of closing some consulates, especially those that couldn't be adequately protected. Do you see that as happening?

It is certainly going to be considered. And it is not solely a question of whether they can or cannot be adequately protected. If you look at the history of our diplomatic presence overseas, we have opened and closed posts since 1789. Before we spend a lot of money on hardening a facility, we have to make sure the post is worth it. If it is, we ought to make our people safe. If it is not, it ought to be closed.

How will the recommendations of the panel affect USIA and AID posts? Will the bureau of security assume responsibility for them as well?

USIA and AID each present entirely different sets of problems. We are actively discussing with both agencies what the security policy will be for their facilities. We have agreed, and the secretary has told Director Wick that he envisions different standards for certain USIA facilities than for certain embassy facilities. I see different kinds of USIA facilities having different standards. Within an embassy, USIA facilities will have the same security standards as the embassy building. When they are separate, the standards will depend on the function of the facility.

AID represents a more complicated problem. AID argues that their people are not in as much danger as embassy people. They point to the fact that the only two AID employees who have been killed overseas in a facility were in an embassy. But we reason that as we harden embassies, other U.S. government activities in the area are going to become more attractive targets. Therefore AID should put more security in their buildings. We're arguing in many instances for co-locating. But I think the AID co-location question is going to be handled on a case-by-case basis.

What will lead you to determine the difference in standards for USIA facilities?

Within an embassy, where we have national security information, we will propose very strict measures to protect that information. But when you go to a USIA facility—a cultural center, for example—there is likely to be no national security information whatsoever. So we do not need to take any steps to protect

against espionage. There are some cultural centers that are shared with the host government. There are countries where those facilities are not subject to the same kinds of threats. Again, this is something to be looked at on a case by case basis. The secretary has made it clear—a very personal statement by him—that he thinks we will have more people using our libraries, even if they have to go through security measures, if they feel safe when they are in there.

What about consular offices, which have a large number of host country nationals visiting? Are they more likely to be separated from the main embassy building?

No. For security reasons, we prefer to have the consular section as part of the embassy building. The question is what crowd control measures we should impose to protect the consular officers and to keep that kind of traffic out of the main part of the building. We want to ensure that no one can get weapons or bombs into the facility and that they are not able to hurt our consular people. Of course, the means for screening large numbers of people are not entirely satisfactory today. We saw that here in the Main State building recently.

What is the status of the request for funds for rebuilding and relocating overseas facilities?

We're asking for a total authorization—to cover five years—of \$4.2 billion. \$3.2 billion is for embassy construction and relocation. The remaining \$1 billion is a supplemental over two years for other security-related expenses. Very little of that is for personnel. The biggest single item is for residential security. We are asking for \$150 million in 1986 to protect the homes of people from all agencies in our embassies—only 28 percent of whom are State Department people.

When is this request going to Capitol Hill?

We submitted it to the Office of Management and Budget on September 17, and OMB is now having hearings on it. However, OMB wants to send it to the Congress in January as part of the president's budget. The secretary has asked Ron Spiers to tell OMB that that is not satisfactory. This is an urgent program. If the request did not go forward until January, I doubt we would get any money before July 1986, and more likely August or September.

And when would the first bar be installed in the first window?

That kind of work would probably start in October. The construction programs will take much longer because of the magnitude of the job. We hope to use the \$3.2 billion to build 62 embassies and consulates as part of a five-year program. We need a six-month lead time before the contractors begin their work. Once we have the contracts we should have the buildings ready for occupancy in three years, which is a record performance.

So you're talking about 1989 before people start moving into new, protected embassies.

That's right.

Does the \$3.2 billion include the AID, USIA, and Commerce offices that have been identified as inadequate or is it only embassies and State Department facilities?

We tried to look at this whole program as government-wide, not just a State Department project. Whenever we build a facility, we have started from the presumption that all U.S. government activities in that city, with some exceptions for program reasons, be included in the new facilities. So we would be building offices for AID, USIA, and Commerce.

After you resolve the problems with USIA and AID that we discussed earlier, what will happen overseas? Will the Bureau of Security have some jurisdiction at those posts?

Our proposal to USIA and AID is basically a continuation of our historical approach to security services for those two agencies. They do not have many security people overseas and we do not want them to start setting up a separate structure. We would provide the security services for them in the field. They would have their own security officers in Washington to advise their agency heads and to do inspections overseas.

Concern has been expressed by several former diplomats that this security program, by turning embassies into "fortresses," will severely impede efforts by Foreign Service personnel to meet local citizens, go out into the community, and report on local developments. Is this part of diplomacy a thing of the past?

I understand that concern very much, but I think in some ways it is misplaced. We are proposing to replace those facilities that fall significantly below our security standards. But these don't have to be forts. In some ways, you get much more of the fortress mentality by putting layers of security on facilities that were not built to be secure than you do by building a facility that is up to standard. The security measures can be transparent. We have asked the National Academy of Sciences to help us design a more secure building. If it is done properly, we can build facilities that are warm and inviting and are still safe places to work.

I understand that the new facilities are most likely to be located in the suburbs. Won't that make it difficult for Foreign Service employees to get out into the local community and for those who have business at the embassy to get there?

I don't find that a very persuasive argument. If you look at our own society here in the United States, it's difficult to reason that an embassy would have more public traffic in a downtown area than in a suburban area. But the work of embassy people doesn't take place behind the walls of the embassy. It is up to us to get out to mix with the public. I don't see this kind of security program inhibiting that. What is crucial in our decision to relocate is our desire to get a setback. We need setbacks for technical security reasons and for physical security reasons.

You mentioned the importance of Foreign Ser-

vice people getting into the community. There has been criticism that the security program overemphasizes the protection of buildings while not adequately addressing the protection of individuals.

I see very few countries where people need bodyguards or firearms. We are protecting the embassies and residences, we have a greatly accelerated armored car program to protect people going to and from work. But these measures are for extreme cases. For the ordinary person who works in the embassies, we will be putting about \$4 million per year into security awareness training. That is really as much as we need in most countries. We don't want to create a situation where people are afraid to go overseas; we just want to take care in those exceptional circumstances.

The Inman panel concluded that "the principal reasons for organizational ineffectiveness in the department's security programs are dispersion of responsibility, a dramatically increasing workload, gross understaffing with a consequent inability to train properly, and a general loss of control over resources and priorities." Are you confident that the department and the other foreign affairs agencies are on the road to overcoming those difficulties?

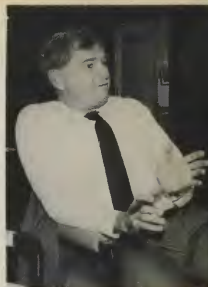
I'm not sure I would agree with each of those points. I think we've addressed some of them. But let me talk about the shortage of resources. The Office of Security has had additional functions added to it over the last 20 years, and it was never really adequately staffed. When I came into the Bureau of Administration in 1983, the Office of Security had 93 vacancies. That's incredible. But the recruitment effort in the last year has turned that around. We have hired enough people that even with the positions added in 1985, I think we only had 14 vacancies on October 1.

Do you foresee hiring even more as recommended by the Inman panel?

Yes. We need more regional security officers. We had 76 RSOs 18 months ago and we are planning a substantial increase. We also need more people in protective security. A foreign ambassador was recalled from Washington last year because his government did not think he was being adequately protected in the United States. The Secret Service has refused to take on the protective-security function. As a result, the secretary decided State would do it. We are going to do a first-class job, and we're going to seek the resources to do it.

How would you sum up the new security program for our readers?

I think there is a lot of concern in the Foreign Service today about the Inman panel recommendations. People see security as crowding out our program activities. They see security keeping them from doing their jobs. That is an impression I would like to try to correct. This new bureau should help people do their jobs by providing a secure climate in which to work. I see it not as a competition but as a partnership between the security people and the various program elements.



People see security as keeping them from doing their jobs. This new bureau should help people do their jobs by providing a secure climate in which to work. I see that not as competition but as a partnership

DIPLOMACY IN THE SCHOOLS: CREATING UNDERSTANDING

GILBERT J. DONAHUE

AS THE YOUTHFUL ambassador jots notes on the paper before him, the country team describes a nation that is rapidly disintegrating:

"Mr. Ambassador, the political section reports widespread unrest in the major cities. The prime minister is concerned that the military might be tempted to take advantage of the situation by making a grab for power."

"Mr. Ambassador, the economic section has concluded that the recent strike had a severe effect on exports and foreign exchange reserves. U.S. banks are afraid the government might renege on debt payments."

"Security at the embassy and residence compounds is being beefed up, but we don't know whether we can count on the local police to protect us for long if the crowd turns in our direction. The administrative section recommends evacuation of all dependents and nonessential personnel."

"Mr. Ambassador, the AID staff is attempting to get medical supplies to the people in the north, where cholera has been reported. However, our people are being harrassed by both government troops and the rebel bands, who are growing increasingly bold. We suggest curtailing our operations drastically until the current unrest subsides."

The ambassador listened as the other members of his country team—including USIA, Peace Corps, Drug Enforcement, and Defense Department representatives—confirmed the deteriorating conditions in the country. He would soon have to review the various recommendations and give instructions to his staff.

This country team meeting did not take place in Africa or Latin America, however. Instead it was set in the classroom of an American high school. The "ambassador" and his advisers were not members of the Foreign Service, but students. Across town, another class was grappling with the problem of securing crucial congressional support for the current foreign aid package. Yet another student group was debating the merits of using the strategic defense initiative as a bargaining chip with the Soviets in arms control negotiations.

How many high school students have a deep enough understanding of typical embassy operations

to be able to participate in the above discussion? The answer, unfortunately, is very few, excluding children of Foreign Service people. Even those familiar with current events would be hard put to describe the inner workings and concerns of an embassy and how it deals with a crisis.

These are difficult and complex public policy issues, yet students must have extensive background information if they are to participate in such exercises. Basic source material on the political issues themselves could well be supplied by the foreign affairs agencies in the form of speeches, published reports, answers to letters, and perhaps even through personal contacts with the Foreign Service employees who deal with these issues every day. Few high schools, if any, currently enjoy such contacts or have access to such information, and fewer still have the resources to imitate the workings of an embassy as it grapples with complex political issues. Is it any wonder that public knowledge, understanding, and support for the Foreign Service is virtually non-existent?

What is needed is a catalyst to spur better treatment of foreign affairs, along with a realistic portrayal of the problems facing policymakers and implementers. Many high schools and universities already participate in model United Nations programs, which have assisted greatly in enlightening students about multilateral diplomacy. We should now go beyond that and provide a vehicle for American students to develop an understanding of how bilateral diplomacy is conducted and how an embassy operates.

Such high school embassy programs would, of course, improve the participants' knowledge of foreign policy, but they could do more. By exposing the students to the role of an embassy and the difficulties faced by its staff, the programs may also contribute to more public understanding of those who serve overseas. The foreign affairs agencies have long lacked a broad-based domestic constituency, so a program aimed at high school and college students could enhance the appreciation for the Foreign Service and perhaps encourage some bright minds to consider a career in that direction, while improving public understanding of the way our foreign policy process works.

It should be clearly understood, however, that such a program would not be intended to generate public support for the specific initiatives of a particular administration. Most schools would undoubtedly hesitate before accepting a program that was intended to

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further the views of one political party. Moreover, a program that switched its opinion on controversial issues every time a new administration came into office would do more to generate confusion than understanding. One could argue that such a program should include consideration of long-term U.S. interests and policy goals, but in practice the line between these and current policy is so thin that it would be difficult to keep partisanship out of such a discussion. For that reason, the programs should concentrate on explaining the process of foreign policymaking, with special emphasis on the role of an embassy in running our day-to-day relations with other countries.

One government agency that has run such a program successfully is the Department of Agriculture, and we can learn much from their experience. The USDA has long cultivated a politically strong consistency through sponsorship of 4-H Clubs and the Future Farmers of America programs in rural high schools. Through these programs, and the department's affiliations with the land-grant colleges, the USDA actively assists in developing academic curricula, funds agricultural research, and channels bright graduates into USDA jobs. The department also runs a program permitting American and foreign high school-age farm children to change places for a year, with expenses borne by the individual participants.

In contrast, the foreign affairs agencies have tended to rely too heavily on the public news media and on normal educational facilities to provide the general population with information on foreign policy and policymaking. These channels have yielded understandably uneven results, for they must overcome both ignorance and apathy on the part of the public. Although economic and political interdependence are a fact of modern life, the average person in the street still has little appreciation for foreign policy issues. And, the public, which has no real understanding of foreign policy and the processes behind it, tends to shift quickly and massively from one side of the spec-

trum to the other.

Moreover, the Foreign Service itself would benefit from increased public awareness. Recent international terrorist incidents have sparked interest in the plight of U.S. diplomats overseas and fostered public sympathy for fellow citizens exposed to personal danger. A regular public program could help keep these issues and concern about them before the American people.

HOW COULD SUCH a program be restructured? The foreign affairs agencies should consider developing a "young diplomats" program to offer to interested high schools. The logical office to coordinate this program would be the State Department's Office of Public Affairs. If, however, there is concern that PA, which publicizes and explains current foreign policy, would politicize the program, the coordinating function could be given to the Foreign Service Institute, which obviously has extensive educational experience. If there are still fears that the program would be used to garner support for particular administration policies and initiatives, perhaps there is a place for a non-governmental organization, such as the Foreign Policy Association, which has run the Great Decisions programs for so many years, or perhaps AFSA. This organization could run the programs in cooperation with the schools while the foreign affairs agencies supply speakers and materials.

Assuming, however, that the coordinating role is performed by PA or FSI, the foreign affairs agencies could furnish the schools with packets of background information, including speeches, maps, and publications on major issues, and countries. These materials are already supplied to schools on request, but it seems many teachers are not aware of their availability. In addition, materials used in FSI training courses could be adapted for use at the high school level. Also, the coordinating office would have to develop a model embassy structure that was suitable for instruc-

tion on the mechanics of bilateral diplomacy. Employees on Pearson assignments and retired FSOs could be asked to oversee programs at nearby schools and to work with teachers in fostering the young diplomats.

For maximum effectiveness, the young diplomats program could be coordinated with civics, history, and foreign language classes. If, as is likely, actual classroom time is already taken up with important material, an embassy program could be run as an extracurricular activity, perhaps in conjunction with the international affairs club. The program would probably best be run continuously, but if the resources are not available, a single weekend or afternoon session would be possible and better than not attempting the program at all.

If the program is set up to run continuously over a period of time, the participating students would act as though "assigned" to particular "embassies" or "offices" for a semester. Each student would be given a specific task, such as reporting on political and military issues, supervising economic development projects, or fostering educational and cultural understanding. Periodically, the students would give the "ambassador" a status report in a country team meeting composed of members of the class. Either the teacher or one of the students could act as ambassador.

Along with the study of U.S. relations with individual countries, the program could include an in-depth study of major international political and economic issues, such as the debt crisis, military and alliance relationships, arms control, and Middle East peace. A typical assignment might be to present the administration position on a major issue—such as the Strategic Defense Initiative—to another student portraying an official of a Western European country, who in turn would give that country's position on the issue. A high school might even adopt a particular U.S. embassy and maintain correspondence, enabling the students to remain abreast of issues confronting the post. The embassy might create a position under the new spouse-employment program to conduct the correspondence with participating high schools.

The various junior FSO groups in a city or region might compete in a mock country team meeting in which they attempt to manage a crisis in a fictitious country, based on materials used in FSI officer training programs. The successful ones could be invited to a specially organized event in Washington that would include briefings on key issues, a tour of the building, a visit to the VOA studio, and meetings with foreign affairs committees on Capitol Hill. The foreign affairs agencies could host seminars for high school teachers to provide up-to-date information on issues as well as an in-depth look at the process of foreign policy decision-making.

THE AGENCIES ARE NOT the only ones with a stake in the successful implementation of such a program. AFSA would undoubtedly benefit from increased public understanding and respect for the Foreign Service, and the program would also offer an opportunity for the Association to promote the concept of a professional Foreign Service.

Just as the American Bar Association is interested in the education of future lawyers and the American Medical Association pays special attention to the needs of medical students, AFSA should seriously consider sponsorship of a young diplomats program. The Association could provide much needed professional input into education at the high school level, when students first become well acquainted with the world and current affairs. Not only would the program make AFSA and the Foreign Service better known, it would also considerably enhance AFSA's prestige as the professional Foreign Service equivalent of the ABA and the AMA. There are those among us who question whether the Foreign Service is in fact a separate profession, like, for instance, law or medicine. Involvement in an educational program could demonstrate that the Foreign Service does indeed perform a function distinct from any other, and, as in any profession, special training and skills are required. If we believe this, then it becomes even more important for AFSA to participate in a junior diplomats program and through it develop interest in and respect for the Foreign Service as a profession.

The most suitable role for AFSA would be to publicize the program and seek members' support. Retired FSOs, in conjunction with AFSA, might assist local schools in adapting department materials for classroom purposes. Ideal resource people, they could draw on their own expertise to advise the students on running an embassy. AFSA could sponsor a national mock embassy competition and could provide college scholarships or offer other awards for the best ambassador or the best essay about the experiences of the program.

To determine whether such a project is feasible and worthwhile, a pilot program should be attempted, ideally with the joint support of the foreign affairs agencies and AFSA. Since a group of retired FSOs in Florida—the Council of Diplomats [ASSOCIATION NEWS, November]—have already expressed interest in this idea, an initial effort might be organized there. It could focus on the Caribbean and Central America, drawing on natives of those countries resident in Florida as resource people. Possibly, the State Department could name an office in PA or FSI to communicate with the schools involved in the program and put together packets of materials. The retired FSOs would be invaluable in shepherding the schools through the program and providing feedback to develop better materials.

Would a young diplomat program work? Would it succeed in making people more aware of foreign policy issues, in encouraging more people to consider a career in foreign affairs? These questions can only be answered if such a program is undertaken. It may be too much to hope that it could single-handedly develop a strong domestic constituency for foreign policy as there exists for agriculture, labor, or industry. But, it is an opportunity for the foreign affairs agencies, and the Foreign Service, to provide a more sophisticated understanding of foreign policymaking than may be the norm. The agencies are already well versed in "telling America's story to the world;" we need to develop similar expertise in telling our story to America. □

FOREIGN STUDENTS SERVE OUR INTERESTS—IF THEIRS ARE MET

RICHARD T. ARNDT

FOR PERHAPS a century, students from abroad have found the United States a tempting venue for their work. By 1911, when we got around to counting them, we found 5000 on our shores. By 1930 there were said to be 10,000. Today the numbers and the different types of foreign students have surpassed our ability to count accurately, but estimates range up to 500,000.

From the idealist-internationalist viewpoint, these students represent a U.S. investment in educational growth worldwide and consequently in international good will. With their outward-bound U.S. colleagues, foreign students constitute a free-trade flow, subject to market forces, and an impressive invisible export, generating perhaps \$3-4 billion yearly. Even if an occasional individual experience is negative, it is assumed they add up to a net plus for our foreign relations. From the realist-nationalist viewpoint, however, these students represent a foreign policy resource that must be carefully managed: we need both macro- (government) and micro- (schools and universities) strategies designed to maximize the chances that their learning experience will benefit the United States. On the one hand, the realists argue, we should try to maximize benefits to the United States by recruiting only future elites and making sure they study and see only the "best" in the United States. On the other, we should strive to minimize a whole range of dangers, from the occasional example of militant anti-U.S. activity to disadvantageous technology transfer and perilous economic competition. For at least 40 years, our formal cultural diplomacy has tried to balance both sets of demands.

This paradox is nowhere more clearly displayed than in the October JOURNAL. Richard Bissell in his article "Increasing Understanding" has rendered signal service in raising these issues, but they warrant clarification and further discussion. Doubtless the need to be brief explains some important omissions, certain unsubstantiated assertions, and various *obiter dicta*. For one thing, it should be noted immediately that the federal government has been in close discussion with the university world on the subject of foreign students for about 30 years, and a great deal has

taken place. Since the dialogue is continuous, ever creating new programs and reshaping old ones, it is hard to see why Dr. Bissell's broad call for modernization need peal forth at this time.

We should begin by noting the difference between *bringing* more students and *helping* more come on their own. Bringing more students has always been an expensive proposition, at an approximate annual cost today of \$15,000 per person. Thus the import of students by government programs has tended to focus on one-year graduate students, or more accurately on those who have exhausted the educational facilities in their countries. Fewer than three percent of all foreign university students in the United States are funded by the federal government. So over the years attention turned to the student flow and its infrastructure, to seeding and developing overseas counseling, sensitive academic placement, campus advising, and enrichment activities, all done through private associations.

There has of course been persistent starvation. The dialogue on infrastructure first dwelt in an underfunded office of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU), then in its equally undernourished successor in USIA. Funds for this office inched up to about \$2 million in the early 1970s, then stagnated for a decade until fiscal years 1984 and 1985, when they increased to the still inadequate present level of \$3.6 million—less than \$10 per student.

Inattention to these functions is a story that goes back three decades. An example: when Congress recently mandated a doubling of exchange funds, USIA managers specifically excluded foreign-student support from its list of programs qualifying for the increase; only two years later did USIA request increases in funding. Another example: in the eight years since the foreign-student function has been lodged in USIA, the agency's research division has funded no projects in this under-studied field. A third: foreign-student support was scheduled to be halved under the threatened exchange cuts in the fall of 1981; only Congress and its move to double exchanges countered this action.

Dr. Bissell might have mentioned an example of a different kind, the President's Youth Initiative, operating since 1982. It has developed new programs and reinforced old ones so as to bring more teenage and high school students to this country, teaching young people outside the academic track, e.g., young farmers and trade union youth. It also launched an unprec-

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Are half a million foreign students too much for a nation of 230 million, with more than 2000 colleges and universities?

edented nationwide advertising campaign to promote citizen awareness and participation, while raising close to \$4 million in private contributions. Yet this energetic and creative effort, extended to developing countries only in its second and third phases, specifically eschewed long-range academic exchanges of undergraduates and only later included university students for short-term visits.

DR. BISSELL CALLS FOR more pressure on the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, despite 30 years of dogged federal oversight. Created in the 1950s to meet campus needs with initial help from the Ford Foundation and later from CU and USIA, NAFSA is an umbrella organization covering a group of programs aimed at such goals as counseling overseas and on campuses; advising on international testing services; improving English teaching; nurturing admissions officers and foreign-student advisers; monitoring the situation of foreign students on campuses; devising off-campus enrichment programs; and helping those few valiant individuals who have managed over the years, with little support, to turn out serious research on the foreign-student experience. Working with other associations, NAFSA has raised consciousness about foreign students. But underfunded from the start and periodically squeezed by sleuthing bookkeepers and trendy politics, NAFSA has seen its funding fall consistently behind inflation. It operates surprisingly well, but at a fraction of its potential.

The frustrations of these three decades, for NAFSA, for federal administrators, and for the universities, remind us sadly of the limits to federal power. For one thing, single interests even within the government are in conflict. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has its focus, the Department of Labor has another, State's Visa Office has its own laws to obey, and so on. Outside government, interest groups vie with each other. Less-than-scrupulous educational institutions, ranging from outright degree mills to respectable universities, fill out their budgets by accepting more foreigners than is healthy, allowing them to live together in national, regional, or linguistic ghettos, and even devising special curricula for them ("withour government guidance," as Dr. Bissell laments). Perhaps wise and strong political and administrative leadership will some day reduce these contradictions, but in an era dedicated to getting government off the American back it seems contradictory to expect our political process to prescribe the medicine of federal guidance for the foreign-student malady, assuming we agree on our facts and diagnosis.

Take the question of numbers. Without dwelling on the uncertainties of the statistics on Soviet exchanges on which we base our thinking, we can say the numbers on the U.S. side are still approximate and their meaning is not clear. Are half a million foreign students too much for our nation of 230 million, with more than 2000 colleges and universities? Many believe we can and should absorb many more students. Is the rate of increase really exponential? In fact, the rate of increase is actually fairly flat at pres-

ent, now that the sudden surge of Iranians and Southeast Asian refugees has begun to subside. The U.S. absorptive capacity is not the problem.

The dilemma, in my judgment, lies elsewhere. Permissive visa and entrance regularizations encouraged a gradual proliferation of numbers and produced in turn an unintended effect. As students flocked to the U.S. educational magnet, with USIS posts and NAFSA smoothing the way, a pattern emerged. Those who came were those who had learned good English, who had good school and university backgrounds and often family-supported informal education as well; in short, those wealthy enough to afford it.

Nothing is easier than designing a coherent paper policy to correct this. We could focus, for example, on bringing the best. Of the methods of prophesying future elites at tender ages, quality has worked fairly well. But a program built on such a base would then have to invent a reliable means test for foreign cultures, a system for evaluating non-speakers of English, another for predicting who would learn it well, and a method of testing ability in those who have been deprived of adequate school facilities—all methods which, even in the U.S. context, have eluded us.

The alleged effect of Soviet exchanges seems to motivate much U.S. concern, but their exchange programs have no such problems since education is not their goal. They deliberately reach outside the academic track to "*les damnés de la Terre*," in Frantz Fanon's haunting phrase. University costs are irrelevant. So is language instruction, even if it takes two or three years. Do our Soviet colleagues worry about educational quality? Do they arrange for foreign students to be invited regularly for dinner in typical Soviet homes? Are they impressed with their "separate but equal" facilities? In short, are the Soviets in their educational strategies really 10-feet tall?

In the United States, other factors affect our ability to enhance the foreign-student experience. A decrease in voluntarism and our generosity toward these foreign guests may be explained by recession and economic unease, unemployment, the equal-pay movement, new waves of refugees from South Asia, or xenophobic undercurrents epitomized by the anti-Iranian hysteria, still persisting in the aftermath of the hostage crisis. Have the winner-loser, good-guy bad-guy, we're-number-one metaphors that creep into the rhetoric of "restoring" U.S. pride and dignity dampened the national generosity toward others? Has a Me-First generation's attitudes begun to affect foreign policy? Whatever the impact of these factors, the effect has been that foreign students need more help than they are getting.

Rarely has effective national leadership been brought to bear on questions like these. A nation like ours needs leadership if it is to overcome its natural provincialism. Do any of our national heroes set an example of informed goodwill toward foreigners? Can anyone cite a U.S. president, since Jefferson of course, who was fluent in a foreign language, in contrast to the heads of state of most Western European countries? Attitudes can be changed in the United States because we are a nation capable of learning once we recognize a problem. But negative attitudes can also be reinforced.

Dr. Bissell worries about the loss of vital secrets through foreign students. Technology transfer must be one of the most complex questions in the educational exchange world, and it is unfortunate that he tells us too little about it to make his position clear. To analyze the potential loss of security secrets and industrial processes or the threat of Indian competition for IBM calls for a high degree of expertise and a sophisticated balancing of trade-offs. But are the dangers so ominous, are our defenses so weak? I do not believe we have lost our ability to stay well ahead in the research race; if we are ahead, the secrets of five years ago matter much less. I doubt IBM is more concerned about Indian competition than about Wang and Compaq. Yet our fears are so extreme in this area that the Department of Commerce is reported to be warning teachers of advanced technology that lecturing to a single foreigner may result in a heavy fine, for exporting technical data without a federal license (see Walter Karp's article "Liberty Under Siege," in the November *Harper's*). Can the free flow of knowledge be made less free without destroying the very idea of a U.S. university? At a time when the United States has nailed UNESCO on the cross of free information flow, are we prepared to check the flow at home?

Dr. Bissell's idea of harnessing the Worldnet concept to reach U.S. alumni all over the world is promising. True, the present costs of Worldnet transmissions are staggering, especially compared with the budgets for student-support services, and the legal aspects of TV transmission into other countries have not all been solved. The unimpressive history of educational TV in the United States and the rest of the world may also give us pause, not to mention the difficulties inherent in providing post-doctoral-level instruction in so many fields of interest. Perhaps these problems will find ingenious U.S. solutions over time; meanwhile, it is useful to remember that the United States can already be said to be running de facto a cheaper but effective—if a bit less flashy—continuing education service for U.S. alumni abroad through its network of USIS libraries, book translations, and inexpensive reprints (all of course under-budgeted).

There has been unusual attention to foreign students this year, witness the general jubilation over the Central American undergraduate program. In August 1984, in response to the Kissinger Commission's urgent recommendations—but without much apparent consultation with the administrators of its previous exchange legislation, the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1962—Congress decided that 10,000 students should be brought to the United States from Central America. The political purposes were obvious: the horse having been stolen, the barn door had better be locked. The move was unprecedented in that it aimed at undergraduates, in large numbers, many English-deficient, from one tiny crisis-ridden part of the globe. Senator Charles Mathias (R.-Maryland), reportedly contemplating a global undergraduate program for some time before, moved last March and in effect put this glaringly political action into a broader and less revealing mold, with his program of undergraduate scholarships for all Third World countries,

but it barely passed and has not yet been funded.

What are the implications of this episode? It seems to me that something important is happening. For 40 years since World War II, educational exchanges were designed to serve educational purposes, in the belief that this approach would serve the national interest. This country, convinced of its greatness, believed that foreign students on balance were a plus in political terms. We believed that anyone exposed to the United States in depth would understand us—and perhaps even agree with us on occasion. We were prepared to run a few risks, to "lose" a student here and there, because we knew that overall we would win. We did *cultural* programs and *educational* exchanges as ends in themselves. Education was good politics if it was good education.

Today we seem to be setting out to achieve specific political goals, some of them fairly short in term, through the use of cultural and educational tools. The dangers of such a line of thought, in a country ill-prepared to live the pure Machiavellian life, are illustrated by the well-intentioned congressman who, last spring, proposed that all universities receiving Central American students be compelled to offer a mandatory one-year course in U.S. politics and society. The response the U.S. educational world will make to a purely realist-nationalist foreign policy remains to be explored.

What worries me, as I ponder the implications of Dr. Bissell's remarks, are the alternatives. Surely the U.S. approach to foreign students since 1945 can be said to be the worst possible—except for all the others. We *can* make improvements, but there is a baby in the bathwater.

IN HIS PLEA to modernize educational exchanges, the author writes this revealing sentence: "Their goal should be the same as it has been for decades: to increase understanding between nations and advance the U.S. national interest by exposing foreign students to the best of U.S. culture, *political norms*, and intellectual traditions" (my stress). Most of this language is familiar, though the legislation to my knowledge says nothing about "the best of" U.S. culture, on the assumption I have always presumed that U.S. culture was a whole and that the whole was good. I will go further and confess with a blush that most of us, when we talked among ourselves, agreed that as administrators we had the responsibility of making sure that visitors *did* see the best, even if it seemed to reflect a slightly paternalistic or elitist slant, or a subtle apology for the rest of the great U.S. whole. Still, any of us might have written that a visitor should see "the best of U.S. culture... and intellectual traditions." But what are "political norms" and what are they doing jammed into this sentence? Just what kind of guidance is Dr. Bissell prescribing?

The JOURNAL deserves our gratitude for opening up this crucial issue, in a context which focuses sharp light on an important philosophical shift in our foreign affairs stance and its relation to cultural diplomacy. It is time to think more seriously and consistently about the cultural dimension of U.S. foreign policy. □



Do your Soviet colleagues worry about educational quality? Do they invite foreign students to dinner in their homes?

ISLAND IN THE SHADOW

Jamaica has been a major recipient of U.S. aid, but its economy has been darkened by other, unwitting, U.S. actions

JIM ANDERSON

ON THE WATERFRONT of Kingston, Jamaica, stands a handsome new building that could serve as a monument to that country's efforts at economic development and the troubles that have befallen it. The main hall of the Government Conference Centre is a cavernous room, complete with electronic vote tallyboard, translators' booths, and seats for 1050 delegates. There are also four smaller conference rooms and three caucus rooms. The complex was constructed on time and on budget by Jamaican artisans, builders, and architects, using local concrete, hardwoods, wicker, and aluminum. The building has everything but its intended occupants.

The center was built to house the secretariat that would administer the Law of the Sea treaty. But when the Reagan administration came into office in the United States, it withdrew U.S. support for the pact, voicing concerns over provisions that would have shared mineral rights and mining technology. Without the support of the United States and several other technologically advanced countries that followed it out of the negotiations, the treaty was soon dead in the water. Leaving aside the merits of the Reagan administration's decision, the effect on Jamaica was severe. Instead of becoming the host country for a well-paid international bureaucracy, it was left with an empty conference center. The Jamaican government has been able to rent out some of the offices in the complex and has—by heroic effort—brought in a few meetings to the main building. But most of the time the building stands empty, a reminder of the sometimes unwitting but overwhelming influence of the superpower to the north.

Of course, the United States did not set out to damage the Jamaican efforts. On the contrary, during the last two administrations, the island has been a major recipient of U.S. foreign aid—\$142 million last year, plus an emergency transfusion of \$30 million in economic support funds. The Reagan administration in particular has been keen to make Jamaica a showcase for what a free-market economy and friendship with the United States can do for developing countries. Edward Seaga, who succeeded Michael Manley as prime minister following the October 1980

elections, has been a frequent visitor to Washington, where the White House likes to portray him as an ideological soulmate of the president and the person responsible for setting Jamaica back on the road to healthy capitalist development.

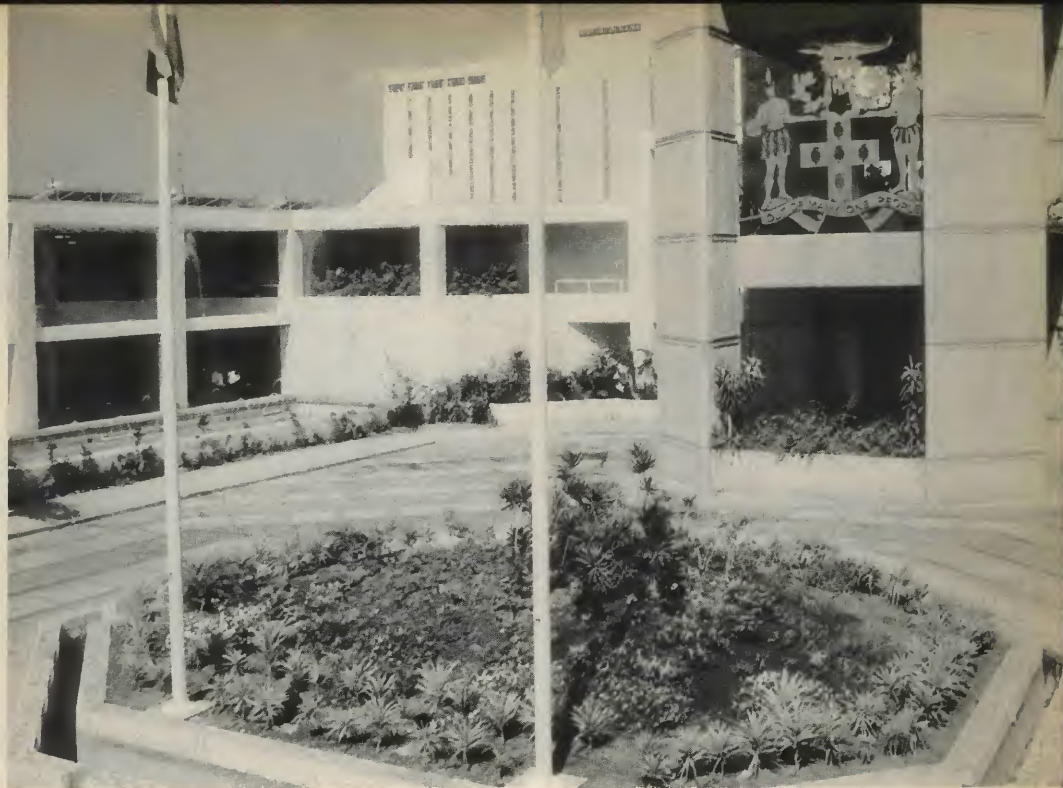
But Jamaica is not the only—or even the major—concern for the United States in the western hemisphere. Understandably, the first priority is the U.S. national interest, which then Assistant Secretary of State Langhorne Motley described in March 1985: "There are two things that the American people do not want in this region so close to home: they do not want a second Cuba, and they do not want a second Vietnam." Yet, administration perceptions of how those goals can be achieved, especially in the short-run, may lead Washington to take actions that undermine its long-term opportunities to make strong political and economic allies out of countries such as Jamaica.

For the leaders of some of the smaller Caribbean countries, even getting the United States to notice them is a struggle. By extending Motley's statement, these leaders could deduce that the most effective way to get U.S. attention and sympathy is to threaten to flirt with Cuba, or to claim Cuban infiltration. Anything between those two extremes will not get the attention of Washington, and with it the high priority in economic and political favors.

In the 1970s, Jamaica, with Manley as the prime minister, took the first path, alarming the Carter administration as it developed close ties to Cuba. Hundreds of Cubans were brought in as technical and military advisers, and U.S. capital began to flee, as did the skilled Jamaican technocrats. The country was close to economic ruin when Manley broke the terms of Jamaica's loan agreement with the International Monetary Fund and was then voted out of office and replaced by Seaga.

Since then, Seaga has begun to reshape the country along the lines of the "Puerto Rican model," diversifying the economy, expanding the manufacturing sector, and making the country accessible to outside investors. Calling his experiment "structural adjustment," Seaga has attempted to transform a crippled, confused economy into an aggressive free-market system based on tourism, manufacturing, and agriculture. But what may work in Puerto Rico—which, as a U.S. commonwealth, has special advantages including unrestricted emigration to the United States—does not necessarily work in a country that wants to

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retain its own identity and independence. Seaga's efforts—and his ideological support—have earned the prime minister friends in Washington, but the Jamaican economy is still far from healthy.

THE MOST MEANINGFUL indicator of the state of that economy is the floating value of the Jamaican dollar in relation to the U.S. dollar. In the early 1970s, one Jamaican dollar was worth \$US1.15. In October, one Jamaican dollar was worth about 15 cents. Seaga's economic program has created an extra \$270 million a year in foreign exchange earnings, averaged over the last four years. But in that same period, mainly because of the collapse of the aluminum industry, Jamaica lost \$500 million a year in foreign exchange. Thus, austerity plus imagination and hard work equaled a net loss of \$230 million for Jamaica every year.

Ironically, some of the most serious obstacles facing Jamaican development have their roots in the U.S. economy. U.S. aid to Jamaica has been substantial, but it has been dwarfed by the effects of shifting commodity and investment patterns, the high dollar, and the emigration of skilled individuals for better pay. And although the Caribbean Basin Initiative had the noble intent of opening U.S. markets to imports from that part of the world and encouraging investment there, it appears to have had minimal impact on Jamaica.

Seaga's intention to diversify the economy was well placed, for by 1980 it was clear that the island's chief earner of foreign currency—aluminum and its ore, bauxite—was sliding into oblivion. The cause is a continuing slump in world demand, mainly in the United States. Every aluminum beer can recycled by a Boy Scout, every new car with a plastic instead of aluminum radiator grille, represents another nail in the coffin of Jamaica's bauxite industry.

A few of the bauxite mills are still operating, sending the bulk of their output to Canada and the Soviet Union. The day is not distant, however, when the only remnant of the island's chief industry will be the hellish-looking, red sediment ponds in the hills. A recent study warned that along with being eyesores and an environmental hazard, they are also time bombs, needing only a fair-sized earthquake to break the dams and send the huge lakes thundering into the valley villages.

When Alcoa, for reasons that seemed sufficient at corporate offices in Pittsburgh, pulled out of Jamaica with 20 days' warning, Kingston was bitterly resentful. The company had been the economic mainstay of an entire region for 25 years, and the government suddenly had to readjust its national budget to reflect the abrupt loss of nearly one-fifth of its aluminum earnings. Almost immediately, the country had to cut back its struggling railroad line, which was a major link between the agricultural markets and a large section of the island's interior.

*Government
Conference Centre
in Kingston*

MUSIC AND MANGOES

A DETERMINED OPTIMISM is an important national resource in Jamaica, something that gives hope that the nation will survive, despite its own economic spasms and the disruptive twitches of the U.S. elephant. The embodiment of that native cheerfulness might be Pilot, a Rastafarian band manager and concert promoter, one of the hundreds of people who hang out at Tuff Gong, the late Bob Marley's recording studio just up Hope Road from the prime minister's office. Although Rastas (the name comes from their belief that Haile Salassie, Ras Tafari Makonnen, is the redeemer returned) represent less than five percent of the island's population, they and their reggae music are important, both as symbols and as earners of hard currency.

Pilot lives with no apparent means of support in a house with Marley's father-in-law, "Papa Roy" Anderson, and spends his days arranging, promoting, and hanging out. He believes that God favors Jamaica and, in the mysterious order of the world, when one crop finishes, another will be ready to fall off the tree. "Nobody has to starve, man. Everyt'ing's all right." He believes that we will make it if we can only hang on until the mango season. So far he has been more correct than the gloomy commentators in the island's only serious daily newspaper, *The Daily Gleaner*, who appear to differ only on whether the end will come by fire or ice, and how long it will be in coming.

Pilot represents the resilience and hidden strengths in an island where the statistics and news are perennially bad: 80 percent of all first births occur out of wedlock; the official unemployment rate hovers around 25 percent but, according to recent estimates is probably closer to 38 percent; doctors, teachers, and postal workers strike for more wages which the prime minister convincingly says are not there; gas stations close in support of the owners' demand for a larger share of the profits. Yet, somehow the traffic jams reappear after the



strike, even though it now takes more than an average monthly income to fill a small car's gas tank.

What these statistics don't show, but the traffic jams demonstrate, is the existence of a vigorous underground economy. As in many poverty-stricken Third World countries, much of the commerce goes on without ever coming to the attention of the fiscal authorities: a small-town electrician is paid in mangoes, Christmas bonuses are a recognized but undeclared form of income for all service-sector employees, and thousands of women work as household "helpers" for the growing foreign community. In a country where the statistics are bad and seem to be getting constantly worse, this alternative economy allows individuals to maintain some hope that they will eventually thrive. —J.A.

In Kingston, there were plans to buy some new garbage trucks and fire trucks (from the United States), clean up the ramshackle market areas near the conference center, and improve fire protection in the faded, old city. But the \$5.7 million for the project (then about \$US1 million) has been cut to \$100,000. Instead of several new trucks, the budget will support a few new tires and spark plugs.

Jamaica, of course, is not the only Third World country to find disaster in changing trade and investment patterns. Costa Rica's banana industry is disappearing because it is no longer economical for the successor of United Fruit to support the plantations; the Dominican Republic can no longer grow sugar profitably when the world market price for the refined product is 3.5 cents a pound (down from 65 cents a few years ago). Moreover, American corn farmers are increasingly converting their crushing surplus into a sugar substitute used in the new Coca Cola and other products. Jamaica, like many other developing coun-

tries, has discovered that a mere twitch in the economy of the First World can be a seismic event in the Third.

In the past, the solution to the collapse of one export market was to produce more of whatever else was needed—sugar, bananas, bauxite; anything that was cheap to produce in the Third World. But this no longer seems to work. As the traditional industries of the advanced countries have shrunk, so has the demand for many raw materials. True, the U.S. now has more trade with the Third World than with Japan and Western Europe combined, but much of that commerce is in specific raw materials—such as oil—that Jamaica lacks, or with the so-called NICs: newly industrializing countries such as Korea, Singapore, and Brazil.

The traditional trade pattern of Third World raw materials being exchanged for First World industrial goods is now broken. For Jamaica and the other countries like it that have not yet found a new niche, the

question remains: who will supply the locomotive that will help pull them out of their poverty? If the U.S. economic recovery continues to be located primarily in the service sector, will Jamaica and the others be able to develop new export markets?

Clearly, U.S. aid to Jamaica has not answered these questions; not for that country, its Caribbean neighbors, nor for the rest of the developing world. Yet there is little movement to even address the structural nature of these problems and seek remedies. On the contrary, the climate in the United States is more sympathetic to protectionism than to examining the declining exports of Jamaica.

Jamaica's inability to replace bauxite with another lucrative export has had another serious effect by severely limiting the island's ability to earn the hard currency needed to buy imports and to pay off its debts. Jamaica is running faster—its agricultural industry grew 30 percent in the last year—but it is competing in a race in which the finish line keeps receding ever farther. The value of the Jamaican currency decreased by about 35 percent in the last year. At present, 56 percent of all of Jamaica's foreign currency earnings go to pay the interest—not the principal, just the interest—on the country's loans from U.S. banks, the U.S. government, and other foreign lenders, including the IMF and the World Bank. Debt is nothing new to Jamaica—it was a central factor in bringing about the 1980 elections—but the strong dollar has compounded the situation, especially since most commodities that Jamaica must buy in the international market—such as oil—must be purchased in U.S. dollars. As the example of Alcoa illustrates, it is becoming increasingly difficult for Jamaica to buy the bootstraps it needs to pull itself up.

The economic squeeze caused by the strong U.S. dollar is easily visible at the food stores and street corner markets in Jamaica or any other Caribbean country. In Kingston, prices of essentials such as chicken-backs, yams, and ackee (the national dish, which is served with salt fish) went up some 30–50 percent within a week after the government announced an increase in fuel prices in January. With the Jamaican dollar declining in value, imported oil had become too expensive for the government to maintain its previous price. But the demonstrations that followed the price increases dealt the country a further blow in its efforts to earn foreign exchange. Exaggerated in their size and violence on U.S. television screens by some remarkably bad reporting, the demonstrations led to canceled tourist reservations and forced the government to spend more hard currency to pay for advertising to overcome the fears of American tourists.

THE LONG-RANGE IMPLICATIONS of Jamaica's inability to earn sufficient hard currency should be distressing to the United States. Not only would a Jamaican default be unwelcome to U.S. banks, but the high cost of buying U.S. food products has convinced Jamaica and other countries that they will not be truly independent until they become self-sufficient in food; a sobering

thought indeed for the Midwest, where the overabundance of crops is already a nightmare to farmers.

Recently, the U.S. economy has increased demand for one particular import, but it has not been one that Jamaica could easily spare. Silicon Valley and similar industries do import skilled people, but to the extent they are drawn from countries such as Jamaica, they represent a devastating loss to the Third World. Seaga recently estimated that half of all upper-level graduates have emigrated, taking their badly needed middle-management skills with them. Frequently they are replaced, for the short-term, by foreign experts on contract who are paid up to 10 times what the similarly qualified Jamaican would receive. A dental scholarship plan that involved training in the United States had to be eliminated when all 11 Jamaican participants reneged on their contracts and stayed in the United States, where they were offered relatively lucrative jobs. One foreign adviser in Kingston said that the only competent Jamaican engineer in that city's water department arranged, as part of his contract, to be sent to Australia on a two-year fellowship to study water-conservation methods. It was well understood, the expert said, that the Jamaican would not return. Now, British and American engineers are running the leaky water system.

This decaying economy is only the crust of the volcano. Beneath it is a bubbling, sometimes explosive society that is essentially West African (90 percent black, with a street patois that is a combination of Twi, an African regional tongue, and English) with an overlay of English common law and tradition. Cricket is the national sport, but a recent game described in the *Daily Gleaner* of Kingston shows how far Jamaican traditions have moved from the mother country. In the match, played in a Kingston suburb called Dublin Castle, a fan was so exercised by the inadequate play that he went on the playing field with a .38 revolver to encourage his side. He fired one shot, but was then set upon by a group of spectators armed with machetes, who hacked him to death.

On clear days in Kingston, one can sometimes see smoke from bonfires in the steep Wareika hills overlooking the city. These are the camps of outlaws who occasionally maraud through parts of the city. Sometimes the Jamaican Defense Force attempts forays into the hills with armored vehicles and police patrols, but the outlaws just melt away and return to their hideouts when the heat is off. The hills are a constant reminder to the government and its citizens of the violent side of Jamaican society.

Politics has not been immune from that violence. As Manley says in his book, *Struggle in the Periphery*, the sound of M-16s going off was practically background music for the 1980 elections. Many of the weapons came from Cuba, via Vietnam. Others came directly from the United States through drug traffickers. Still other weapons were stolen from the Jamaican army or taken off the bodies of dead police constables. More than 700 Jamaicans were killed during that election campaign. Proportionally, Jamaica lost more people in those nine months than the United States lost in the Vietnam war.

Connected with this violence has been the widespread availability on the island of cheap marijuana,

MELTINGPOT MINISTER

THE CENTRAL FIGURE in Jamaica is—no doubt about it—Edward Seaga. Boston-born of Jamaican parents of Lebanese origin, he is a white political leader in a country that is 99 percent black or East Asian. After attending Harvard, he returned to Jamaica to study the revivalist religions that flourish in the island's back country, just as they do in the U.S. bible belt. A successful entrepreneur, he revolutionized Jamaica's recdtd business by giving the musicians a fair shake of the profits. And, he was one of the people who first detected the talent of a Dylan-like Jamaican singer who called himself Bob Marley.

As a politician, Seaga ran for office from West Kingston, which would be equivalent to Representative Jack Kemp (R.-New York) using the South Bronx as his constituency. The prime minister is married to a former Miss Jamaica, who is "brown," and one of his children is a black foundling, literally discovered on his doorstep in the wretched ramshackle of his district. Since Seaga has become prime minister, West Kingston's housing and street repair have improved, but there is a noticeable need for such improvements in the surrounding constituencies, which do not support Seaga's Jamaica Labour Party.

In that part of Kingston in 1980, the key to survival in the tumultuous election campaigns was firepower, and Seaga had his own gunmen. The most famous of these was Trinity, now his chief bodyguard, a sort of Wyatt Earp figure, who would go into enemy (that is, Peoples National Party) territory and—in a break with honored tradition—come back with prisoners instead of shooting them. The captives would usually appear in the forbidding Kingston Gun Court, where crimes involving the use of firearms are tried and where the death penalty can be handed down. All trials are held in secret to avoid retaliation against witnesses, police, or judges. My most vivid memory of Trinity was during the January gas demonstrations, when he strode back and forth in combat uniform on top of the guard house at the prime minister's headquarters as an angry crowd gathered in the street. Somebody made the mistake of throwing a stone at him. He reached down, as if for the stone, but instead picked up several tear-gas canisters and hurled them into the crowd. End of demonstration.

As prime minister, Seaga has surrounded himself with an extraordinary group of skilled advisers. With one exception, chief of staff Don Brice, Seaga's inner circle is made up of women, all educated in the United States, Canada, or Britain's Oxbridge. As a group, they are intelligent, handsome, and devoted to the prime minister's philosophical goals. They have the advantage of not suffering from the common trait among Jamaican men of extreme pride, the "rudeness" that makes the first five minutes of encounters with a Jamaican man a subtle test of manhood and assertiveness. This circle of women, one of whom wryly described herself and her colleagues as "Eddie's Angels," is in direct, day-to-day control of the information agencies, including the TV and radio stations, tourism, education, finance, and contacts with the political groups in the country.



There is no question about who is in charge, however, when Seaga is in the room. He has a quiet, commanding presence, although he listens respectfully as the circle of black, brown, and white women make their recommendations. There is also no doubt, when the time comes for decisions, that it is Seaga who makes them. Then the authority is transmitted down the line, mainly through Eddie's Angels, who begin their instructions, "The PM wants..."

Seaga has occasionally skipped this informal chain of command, usually to his regret, as last January when he decided to announce, without explanation, a 20-percent increase in fuel prices, which precipitated the worst demonstrations during his term. It may be a sign of his isolation that he used a similar price increase as the spur for demonstrations that helped bring down the Manley government.

As one of Seaga's advisers put it, "His strong point is that he knows every detail of every program. His weak point is that he knows so much about the detail that he undermines his subordinates, and his own programs." In an incident all too typical of the prime minister, one adviser returned home from a party at one a.m. to find a message on her answering machine to call the PM. When she called and woke him, he reminded her to turn off her two-way radio overnight so the batteries wouldn't run down.

Internationally, Seaga has become an activist on the issue of international debt. At the Seoul meeting of the International Monetary Fund and at the United Nations, he urged that the World Bank and the IMF take the lead in extending the terms of current loans, without additional interest penalties, to take into account the new problems of the borrowing nations. His policy threads a middle, free-market course between Fidel Castro's demand for the cancellation of such debts and the conservative U.S. banker's views that a contract is a contract, and must be paid regardless of the political consequences.

—J.A.

known by its Hindi name, ganja. Previously, the government tolerated ganja farming as a means of easing hardship among small farmers hard-pressed by the loss of traditional crops such as sugar. It was also viewed as an encouragement for tourists and a steady source of political contributions for both the major parties.

But after a tardy realization that the really big money moved back and forth between Miami bank accounts, while Jamaican farmers received only crumbs that fell off the table, the government now appears to be making real efforts to stamp out the commerce. One government official estimated that the drug traffic involved some \$1 billion annually, of which perhaps \$25 million remained in Jamaica. The government also came to recognize that the crumbs falling off the table were poisoning the society, making addicts and dealers of young people and well-paid gun-slingers out of its underemployed young men.

Yet, despite the government's concern, its efforts cannot help but be hindered by the shortage of resources the economic difficulties have created on the island. A cabinet minister recently told a group that the "ganja barons" had the potential to outgun the government, which was so strapped for funds on that day that only one helicopter out of seven was in working condition and none of the Coast Guard vessels could put out to sea. As a result, not only marijuana boats were coming into Jamaican waters with impunity, but several Central American nations were sending in mother ships with smaller fishing boats to strip Jamaican waters of lobster. The United States has offered cooperation and technical help to the Seaga government to help stamp out the drug growing and trafficking, but the Jamaicans, intensely proud of their transition from a colonial plantation to a sovereign nation, are sensitive about any foreign military or police presence.

THE ISLAND'S DIFFICULTIES seem to be intensified by the polarization between the two main political parties: Seaga's Jamaica Labour Party and Manley's Peoples National Party. The heirs of the two competing Jamaican leaders—Norman Manley and Alexander Bustamante—have sometimes been more intent on bashing each other than in moving the country forward. In August Town, a rural settlement near Kingston that was one of the most violent battlegrounds during the 1980 campaign, the burnt-out shell of a shoe factory and several stores still stand as reminders that the local graffiti ("This is PNP Zone") are not mere rhetoric. Allen Zion, one of Jamaica's best known "intuitive," or primitive, painters and a resident of August Town, says the factory was "disrupted" (meaning destroyed by fire) and adds in a hoarse whisper, "by the terrorists." On the left side of his face is a large scar where he was shot by a policeman in a bar disturbance. Violence lives on every side in the arid valley while Zion paints sweet, idyllic village scenes—the sort of thing Grandma Moses would have done had she been born 2000 miles farther south.

The principal difference between the two main political parties comes down to the economic questions:

how to live and thrive in the giant shadow thrown by the United States and the rest of the developed world. Manley's PNP tried to thread a "middle course" between the United States and Cuba and only succeeded in panicking the middle class technocrats into migrating by the plane-load to the United States.

Seaga, who came to power promising to correct the economic abuses of the Manley government, did make some progress in rebuilding and readjusting the economy. However, he soon ran into other problems, including an overly robust U.S. dollar, escalating prices for imported fuel, and U.S. interest rates that went through the ceiling and remained there, attracting investments that might have gone to the Third World. Seaga was the first foreign leader to visit President Reagan in the White House and demonstrated his staunch support of the United States during the Grenada episode by supplying troops. But, after receiving strong vows of support from Washington, he found that the United States has a short attention span. As a result, he travels frequently to the United States, reminding the administration of its past promises and its stake in the Caribbean.

Seaga's energetic nature is felt not only in Washington, but in almost every sphere of the Jamaican economy. The government is involved everywhere, effectively running the island's only TV station and its news agency. The prime minister is actively involved in promoting investment and tourism, and in shaping the future of the agricultural and manufacturing sectors.

The future of the island remains clouded with the prospect of further political turmoil, reflected in a society marked by random violence. Vast disparities exist between the wretched poor of the urban slums and their neighbors, the entrepreneurs in the suburban villas. These are the ones who have figured out how to operate despite inflation, taxes, and an obdurate bureaucracy. But in the slums, the easy availability of firearms and a fatalistic sense of nothing-to-lose among the young poor has created a volatile situation, one that threatens the stability of a government that has made a deliberate decision to play it the American way. Meanwhile, the rest of the Caribbean, too, is watching the Jamaican struggle attentively as a test of U.S. capabilities, sincerity, and effectiveness.

Nobody I talked to in Jamaica expected or wanted the United States to solve the country's problems. But several recurring themes emerged in every conversation about U.S. policy in the Caribbean. First, a belief that Washington lacked understanding about the underlying problems of a developing country, and, second, a suspicion that the United States was involved in Jamaica only as a means of confounding Cuba and the Soviet Union. Jamaicans have no desire to be involved in superpower quarrels. Most people seem to consider the local economic problems solvable, given enough time, outside investment, and easier credit terms. What seems less manageable, however, is the mixed blessing of living in the orbit of the unpredictable giant up north, of setting a political and economic course that can be unintentionally thrown out of kilter by a small twitch on the part of a superpower that still has not realized its strength in the developing world. □

A Future

*A Foreign Service junior
changes assignments,
and changes his outlook*

ALEXANDER MCKEE

IT WAS A DISMAL day. Gray clouds hung heavily in the darkened sky. Thunder rolled in the distance and every minute or so flashes of lightning would briefly draw back the shades enveloping the world. I lay restlessly, not wanting to get out of bed.

Today was moving day. The building storm reflected the gloom inside of me. I was unhappy; not because I liked my current situation, but because I was not ready for a change. I had become accustomed to my lifestyle and did not want to know any other way of living. Of course, it was much too late for these thoughts. My father had accepted his new Foreign Service assignment months before. We couldn't change our minds now, and besides, the rest of my family was excited about the move.

Slowly, I crawled out of bed and flicked the light switch on the wall. Upon doing so, I noticed the large, empty cardboard boxes lying in the middle of the floor. This caused me to remember the instructions my parents had given me the previous evening. They would not be available today, so I had been left with all of the responsibilities. Sitting down, I contemplated the day's activities. I would pack everything in my room and show the movers what furniture to take. In the afternoon, my parents would come in a taxi to pick me up, and we would drive to the airport for our five o'clock flight.

For a moment, I sat staring into space. I thought about what I was leaving behind: Not much. I had not been bothered the day my father had come home with the news of our move. I had known it was going to happen. Besides, it did not matter much to me. I hadn't

Alexander McKee is a 9th-grade student and the son of a Foreign Service officer. This story appeared in On the Write Track, the literary magazine of Pyle Junior High School in Bethesda.

any good friends, for I had avoided the other kids as much as possible. Every night, I would come home from school and smile at my own shrewdness. I had kept from making friends, so I could move without hardship. Now I realized I had made a horrible mistake. By alienating myself, I had not made it any easier to move, but instead had wasted a couple of years of my life. Even though I did not know any of the other kids well, I had gone to school with them for two years. They had been kind to me, even though I had tried to ignore them. It was impossible not to want to remember them, but I had not allowed myself any memories.

I decided to take a shower, hoping the boxes would disappear. They didn't, though, and I began packing my belongings. In my eyes, the boxes looked like large, gaping mouths, ready to devour my possessions. I wanted to stop and let these cardboard monsters starve, but I knew there was no sense in trying to avoid the inevitable. Gradually, I began gathering my things and packing them in the boxes. Slowly, I took my posters and banners from all the places I had lived off the walls and put them into the boxes. There were many pictures of past friends, but hardly any from my present location. Bit by bit, everything was packed until my room looked naked. Its walls were bare, closets empty, and floor clean, as it hadn't been since I'd moved in. The boxes were satisfied, and their

mouths were taped shut.

When the movers arrived, I showed them what to take. I watched as they carried the furniture away. Wanting to remember this house, I walked through it, checking to be sure the movers had done everything correctly. Finally, they were gone.

I got my suitcase and went outside to wait for my parents. The sky was still dark and it had started to rain, so I sat on the front steps where I was under cover. Here, I had a good view of the neighborhood. Down the road, I could see my old school. I stared at it, and it glared back at me accusingly, with the eyes of the friends I hadn't made. I was anxious to leave and turned away.

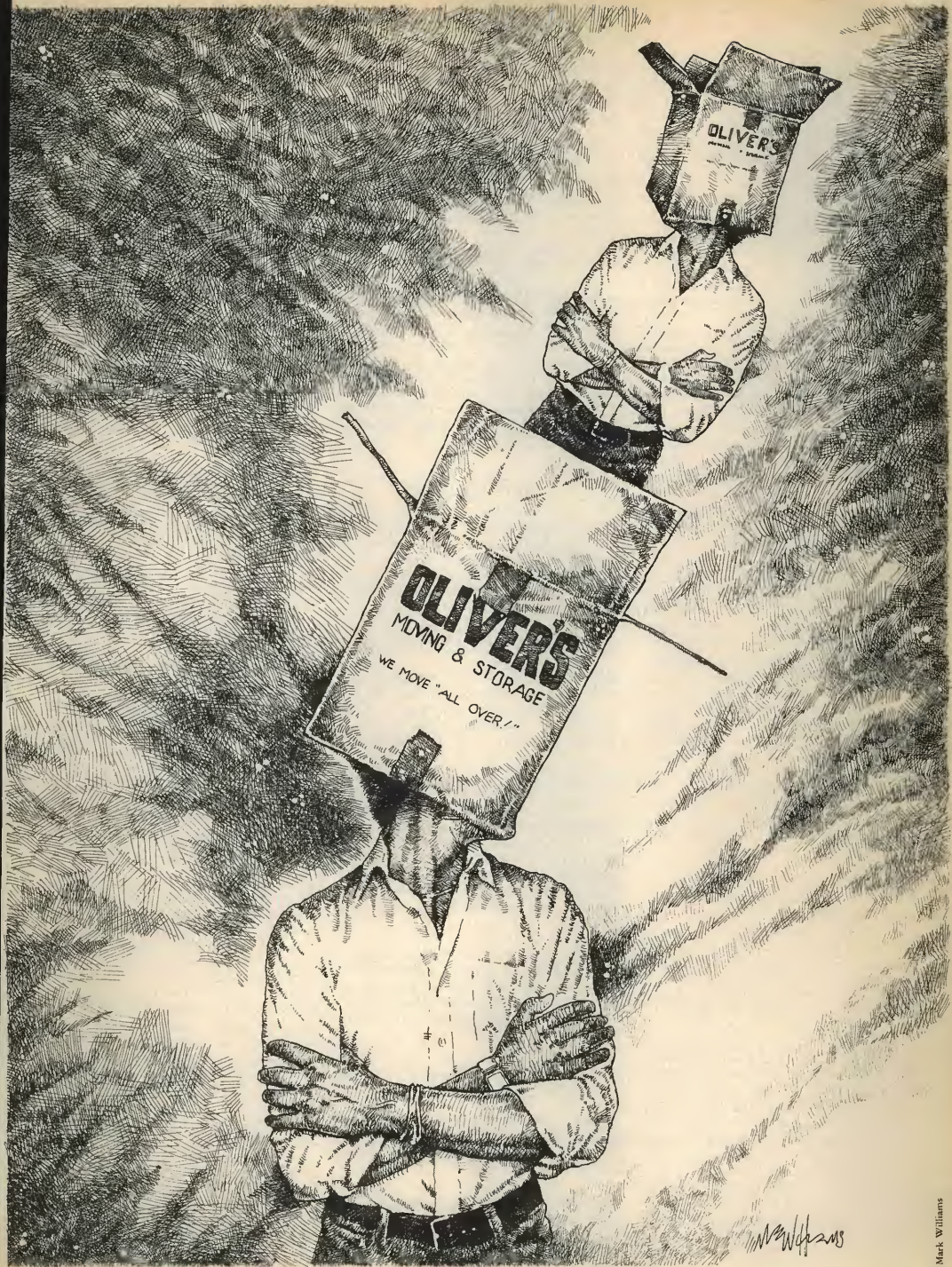
When the taxi with my parents pulled up in front of the house, I hastily ran through the rain, suitcase in hand. Without hesitating, I got inside and closed the door.

"Everything okay?" my father asked.

I nodded my head but said nothing. The driver headed for the airport. Inside the car it was silent, except for the sound of the rain hitting the roof and the squeaking of the windshield wipers. Through the window, I could see the blurred lights coming from the city, but I never looked back.

We got to the airport and went through the usual hassle before a flight. I was relieved when we were finally let on board our plane. My seat was by a window, and I looked out at the runway. The water on it reflected the light from the airport, and I could see the maintenance crew in rain gear doing their jobs. When the men outside started moving away, I knew we were ready for take-off. A flight attendant went through the in-flight emergency instructions as the plane started its engines.

Suddenly, I wanted to go back, but I couldn't. I knew there would be many other people in my life, and I was determined to become their friend. □



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PEOPLE

1985 Merit Award Prize Essays

Life in Schools Overseas: Have you ever wondered what it's like to attend schools overseas? Have you ever stopped to think about the tremendous demands made on our young students as they travel from country to country, adjusting to new schools, new friends, new languages, new cultural patterns? Adults go into similar work situations, but for students everything can be turned upside down, including the school calendar. To give you a brief look at the way two recent high school graduates viewed their overseas education, we present essays written by Richard Horowitz and Timothy Eaton as part of their AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award applications.

A Difference in Emphasis: I have had two opportunities to attend school overseas. The first, in Beijing from 1973-75, primarily involved taking an American Correspondence School course. However, for one year I also attended the local Pakistan Embassy School, during this time I learned little except how to imitate a Pakistani accent (a talent I have since forgotten). My most vivid memory of the Pakistan Embassy School concerned a visit to Beijing by then-President Ali Bhutto, who has since been hanged. My second experience of foreign schooling, the four high school years I spent at Cranbrook, a small private school in Sydney, Australia, was far more important to me.

The structure of the Australian school system is loosely based on the British system. After 10th grade most Australians leave school and get some sort of vocational training. The rest continue on through 12th grade, at the end of which each student undergoes a rigorous public examination in each subject he or she has taken. This exam, the Higher School Certificate examination, is the sole criterion for college admission. Each undergraduate course—medicine, arts, law—has a minimum required H.S.C. score.

However much I and other Americans may complain about the drudgery of filling out college applications, the Australian system of admission to university is

infinitely less fair than ours. In Australia there is entirely too much emphasis on one set of exams while the rest of one's school career is largely ignored. Furthermore, in order to retake the exam one must repeat the entire 12th grade, and even then the two results are averaged for admissions purposes. As a result, one bad exam, due to nerves, illness, or some other misfortune, can destroy one's entire career plan. If the U.S. admissions system puts too much emphasis on non-academic activities, at least it rewards consistent academic performance.

Australian teaching methods also differ from those I have experienced in the United States. First, they teach a little bit of each topic each year. For example, instead of teaching algebra, geometry, and calculus in successive years, a bit of each is taught every year. Cumulatively, however, they teach much the same material. There are also far fewer opportunities to work independently and, as a result, Australian students tend to accept unquestioningly the teachers' opinions.

For all my criticism of the Australian educational system, the four years I spent at Cranbrook School were the best of my academic career. Contrasted with the large public school I attended in Washington, Cranbrook provided the personal attention and intellectual stimulation I needed. It also provided opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities, both athletic and otherwise, which I had not had before. To look back on them, those four years were a great experience, different from any I could have had in the United States. □

Richard Horowitz is the son of Herbert Horowitz, State.

A Difference in Discipline: I have spent most of my life living overseas, where my father worked for the Foreign Service. For many of these years, I studied in the French school system because my father was assigned to a French-speaking country. Aside from the classes being conducted in French, which gave me a strong background in the language, there are many differences in the methods of teaching and attitudes about learning between the U.S. and French school systems, which I realized upon my return to the United States. I think the experience of having studied in both systems enriched my education and my understanding of different people and attitudes.

For one thing, in the area of discipline, U.S. schools are very lax compared with French schools. Student respect for teachers in general is much less in U.S. schools than in French ones. Although there is

always the occasionally rowdy student or weak teacher, when the bell rings in the French school, the class usually quiets down and work begins. However, much of the U.S. class period will frequently be wasted before the teacher begins class, and this is not always the fault of the students. In addition, when certain individuals refused to come to order in the French school, teachers didn't hesitate at all to punish the students, usually by a written assignment conjugating verbs, expulsion from the room, or an hour of detention. In contrast, although warnings of detention are prominently posted in U.S. schools, I have never once seen nor heard of any punishment of a student in cases such as this.

Secondly, there is a great difference in delegating responsibility. In the French schools, it seemed the teachers were responsible for seeing that the students learned the material. Here, it is obviously the opposite; the students are responsible for learning the material. For example, many American teachers don't especially mind if a student sleeps in class or even does homework, so long as he does not disturb others who are interested in the class. This would never happen in the French schools. But the U.S. system allows interested students to move ahead in their studies rather than being slowed down by the disciplining of uncooperative students.

Finally, there are far greater opportunities for above-average students in U.S. schools. There is hardly any course selection, except for languages, until the university level of the French system. In my school, there was no real individual research, scientific or literary, and relatively few extracurricular activities—no clubs and nowhere near the level of team sport competition found in the United States. Science courses included little lab work. They consisted mostly of demonstrations by the teacher and lecture sessions.

There are advantages and disadvantages in the two systems, which have important differences. These differences allow me to better appreciate the U.S. advantages than the average American student can. I feel privileged to have had these experiences, which give me a broader outlook on people and life in general. □

Timothy Eaton, son of George Eaton, AID, is a freshman at the University of Virginia.

AFSA Scholarship Applications Available

Applications are now available for the two scholarship programs: The AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award competition for high school

students graduating in 1986, and the Financial Aid grants for full-time undergraduate students in U.S. colleges. Write to the Scholarship Administrator, AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, today for applications for both programs. The deadline for materials to be received back in the AFSA office is February 15, 1986.

Deaths

PETER LOUIS BARRY, a student at Yale University and son of Robert L. Barry, U.S. representative to the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, and Margaret Barry, was lost at sea August 18 or 19. He was sailing on the Alaskan salmon fishing vessel *Western Sea* off the coast of Kodiak when the ship went down with all six crewmen. He was 20.

Mr. Barry attended St. Anselm's Abbey School in Washington and was graduated from St. Stephen's School in Rome. He had also attended Murch School in Washington and schools in Moscow and Leningrad. In September, he would have begun his third year at Yale, where he was a member of Dramat and participated in a

number of dramatic productions. He worked as a clam-digger and in a salmon fishery in Alaska last summer before joining the crew of the *Western Sea*.

In addition to his parents, he is survived by a brother, John; a sister, Ellen; and a grandmother, Mrs. Louis T. Barry of Lansdowne, Pennsylvania. A memorial service for Mr. Barry will be held December 23 at St. Anselm's Abbey at 11 a.m.

JAMES D. HATAWAY, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer September 13 at a hospital in Atlanta. He was 57.

Mr. Hataway served for four years as an Army counterintelligence specialist in West Germany after World War II, then graduated from Emory University. After entering the Foreign Service, he served in Austria, Switzerland, East Pakistan, Pakistan, and Vietnam. He retired in 1979 after 24 years of service as deputy director of the Office of Munitions Control. He moved to Roswell, Georgia, in 1983.

He is survived by his wife, Maud, of Roswell; a brother, Harry L., and a sister, Kay Graham, both of Atlanta.

ROBERT WILLIAM INCE, a Foreign Service officer, died of cancer August 7 at George-

town University Hospital in Washington. He was 50.

Mr. Ince served in the Marine Corps and was graduated from the University of Minnesota, where he also earned a master's in public administration. He joined the State Department in 1968 and served at posts in Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Colombia, and Bolivia.

Survivors include his wife, Jeanne Doris Jourdenais Ince, and two children, Elizabeth Anne Grannis and Michael Thomas Ince, all of McLean, Virginia; his mother, Margaret Elizabeth of Belle Plaine, Minnesota; a sister, Mary Elizabeth Lies of Minneapolis; and a brother, Thomas John, of New Iberia, Louisiana.

CATHERINE T. SIZER, wife of Foreign Service Officer Henry S. Sizer, died August 14 of cancer at Georgetown University Hospital. She was 44.

After her marriage in 1966, Ms. Sizer accompanied her husband on assignments to Tunis, Saigon, Paris, Beirut, and Muscat. She lived in Bangkok during part of his tour in Saigon.

In addition to her husband, she is survived by a daughter, Laura; a son, Michael; her father; and a brother.

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ASSOCIATION NEWS

Schumacher named new director

Sue B. Schumacher, a program manager responsible for support-service contracts for a consulting firm, has been named AFSA director for administration, the Governing Board announced in October. She replaces Lynne Iglitzin, who resigned last summer to return to teaching and research.

Schumacher has more than 16 years of experience in management, both within the government and the private sector. She has worked in staff administration, budgeting, legislative li-



aison, and outreach programs. She is a graduate of University of Cincinnati and holds bachelor's degrees in fine arts and education.

AID Standing cites flaws in agency open assignments system

AFSA's AID Standing Committee has complained to agency management about irregularities and delays in the open assignments system, as well as the handling of Washington personnel without Foreign Service jobs.

The committee, which had previously protested the three-month delay in the new assignment cycle, reported to management that there were numerous inaccuracies in the new position listings. Management replied that the delay was caused largely by reorganization of several bureaus, but the committee pointed out that the combined delay and incorrect data problems will make equitable response and consideration difficult if not impossible. In a subsequent cable and REOTOP, the committee urged members of the bargaining unit to proceed with the cycle but to bid on assignments that employees may be aware of even if they are not listed in management's cables.

In a related area, the committee complained to management

that it had misrepresented the placement of up to 200 employees on the Washington complement and in "D" and "E" positions. Management had said that other AID employees would not be disadvantaged by this process because the positions, which had been open for at least several months, were of "immediate availability." AFSA has learned, however, that at least some were only advertised between 10-15 days. The committee requested that the agency suspend the process until equitable procedures for carrying it out could be negotiated.

In an earlier questionnaire AFSA members in AID listed a fair and equitable open assignment process as one of their greatest concerns. Accordingly, the committee has designated Alice Shimomura to monitor open assignments and requests all posts to address concerns with the system to her as well as observations of changes, irregularities, or omissions in position listings.

Terror spurs plaque expansion



The expansion in progress of the plaques maintained by AFSA to honor Foreign Service employees killed in the line of duty. The toll of world-wide terrorism against diplomats has nearly filled the second such plaque in less than 20 years, leading the Association to expand the honor roll with major assistance from State Department management and many hours of work and planning by General Services, especially Frank Martus and his staff. Five persons already will be added to the plaque this year.

AFSA seeks help in reducing insurance costs

The Association needs assistance in a fight to reduce health insurance costs for employees who are married but have no dependent children. Currently, the only options available for coverage in the Federal Employees Health Benefits Plan are "self" and "self and family." Federal employees who wish to insure only their spouse are required to pay the same premiums as those insuring a spouse and children.

AFSA sees this as unnecessarily costly for couples with no dependent children. This is especially true for retired couples on fixed incomes. AFSA has

suggested to Congress that Title 5 U.S. Code Chapter 89 be amended to include a third category of coverage, "self plus spouse."

The Association hopes that our concern over this deficiency in the benefits plan will prompt a legislative remedy. We are asking you to voice your concerns on this inequity. Write to:

Rep. Mary Rose Oaker,
Chairperson, Subcommittee on
Compensation and Employee
Benefits,
Room 406,
Cannon House Office Building,
Independence Avenue SE,
Washington, D.C. 20515.

If you have any questions, contact AFSA Legal Assistant James Joseph at (202) 632-8160.

AID Standing pleads for more help

AFSA's AID Standing Committee, unlike its counterpart for State, has no full-time members, yet its burden of problems is normally much larger. Accordingly, Committee Chairman Bill Ackerman has requested members who are in Washington to con-

tribute to the committee's important work representing Foreign Service employee concerns to agency management.

"We urge you to participate in standing committee meetings each Thursday at noon in Room 3646," Ackerman said, "or in doing legwork on specific issues. Our responsiveness to constituents and effectiveness in dealing with management is proportional to our resources."

AID Standing protests GS conversions to Foreign Service

"Normally the Association welcomes conversions of general schedule employees to the Foreign Service," AFSA's AID Standing Committee told agency management, "but in light of both current and projected cutbacks of positions in the agency" the committee wants to ensure that the process does not disadvantage Foreign Service employees. The agency will reduce its direct-hire employees

by almost 300 positions by the end of fiscal year 1986. Management has assured AFSA that the reduction can be accomplished through attrition and retirements.

The Association has requested information regarding the nature of positions and the number of conversions carried out to date. The committee has urged that all such positions be advertised prior to conversion.

AFSA prevails in shipping, storage

After a one-year battle, the Association was successful in its institutional grievance against the State Department for its refusal to comply with a negotiated agreement on weight allowances for shipment and storage of effects.

The agreement, which became effective in May 1984, raised the combined shipment and storage weight allowance from 12,000 to 18,000 pounds. At the time the accord was reached, management agreed that all employees with effects in storage would be entitled to the new limit on the effective date. The department has never fully complied with the reimbursement of those affected by this retroactive increase in storage limitations, however. Accordingly, AFSA has been fighting for implementation of the retroactive clause since the signing of the pact.

Despite the fact that management had signed a letter of intent to make the retroactive change, State asked the General Accounting Office for a ruling on the legality of the new allowances in September 1984. The next month, the department informed AFSA that "all other provisions of the agreement have been and are being complied with." The department continued to delay its compliance with the agreement even after the GAO ordered the retroactive allowance last March.

This breach of the collective bargaining agreement led AFSA to file the institutional grievance. AFSA sought assurances that the department will make all employees aware of its intention to take responsibility for any late fees and finance charges assessed because of its non-compliance.

The department agreed to take care of all finance charges and late fees and to inform employees. After over one year of "delayed compliance," State will then finally take the action required by the 1984 agreement.

AID improves counseling, drawing Association support

AFSA's AID Standing Committee enthusiastically supports a focus on a new career development program for Foreign Service employees in the agency being carried out by several Foreign Service officers in career development officer slots. The agency's Foreign Service Personnel Division recently briefed members of the committee on the status of the development of a systematic approach to career counseling and development in

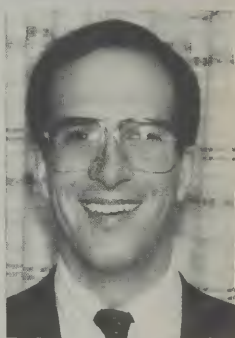
the agency.

The CDOs will soon send out letters requesting Foreign Service employees to complete an assessment worksheet on career plans. Participation in the program is voluntary, and CDOs plan to use the questionnaires as a basis for follow-up interviews with Foreign Service employees. The committee encourages employees to take advantage of this important opportunity for career counseling.

New grievance representative appointed

Gerald M. Kuncio has been named members' interest/grievance representative, to work with the Association's grievance counselor, Sabine Sisk. He replaces Brandy LeGrande, who resigned to become a paralegal for a Bethesda law firm.

Kuncio, a law clerk and paralegal with the firm of Reed Smith Shaw & McClay, received a bachelor's degree in history with a business minor from Duquesne University, which graduated him magna cum laude. He



brings to AFSA an interest in labor relations and skills as an experienced legal writer and researcher.

Association moves to end Alabama tax on FS annuities

The Association's general counsel has written to a number of Alabama officials, including Governor George Wallace, protesting that state's inequitable tax treatment of Foreign Service annuities. While Alabama exempts Civil Service retirement payments from taxation, it does not do so for the Foreign Service.

Like retired civil servants, retired Foreign Service employees have given years of dedicated service as employees of the federal government, AFSA said. Their pension funds are deposited in the same treasury, they also consist of contributions from both the employee and the federal government, and they

are subject to the same cost-of-living adjustments. These similarities give the state of Alabama no rational basis to treat the two disparately, the Association concluded. AFSA went on to say that this discrimination violates Foreign Service retirees' equal protection rights under the 14th amendment.

In addition to writing top state officials, the Association has contacted all retired members who live in Alabama and encouraged them to write to their state representatives. AFSA will be contacting officials in other states with similarly inequitable tax codes. If you have such concerns about the tax code in your state, please contact AFSA.

Legislative Alert

Deadline Near on Retirement

By **BOB BEERS**, *Congressional Liaison*

Time is running out for the enactment of a new supplemental retirement system for all post-1983 federal employees covered under Social Security. Under current law, these workers pay 7 percent of their salary to Social Security and 1.3 into the retirement trust fund. Unless a new supplemental retirement system is authorized by December 31, or, alternatively, the present law is extended, these employees will be required to deposit 7 percent of their pay into the retirement fund in addition to the 7 percent already going to Social Security, for a total of 14.

The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee reported out a new retirement bill with the ob-

jective of trying to schedule a floor vote before the end of October. As we go to press late in that month, the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service is drafting a bill in time for hearings, committee markup, and floor action by the end-of-the-year deadline.

Central to the question of whether any bill would be acceptable to the administration is its cost. The Senate measure would cost the government 21.9 percent of payroll, the House bill 25.5. Assuming both versions pass their respective houses, it is reasonable to expect that a Senate-House conference might produce a compromise bill with a price tag somewhere in the

area of 23.5 percent of payroll. Reportedly, the administration has indicated, however, that the cost of the new retirement system should not exceed 20 percent of payroll, so even if the legislation clears the Congress, the signature of the president is an open question.

As we have explained previously, the general framework and basic provisions of the new Civil Service Retirement Reform Act would apply to all post-1983 federal employees, including those of the Foreign Service. Both in hearings and in frequent meetings with congressional members and staff, AFSA has emphasized those special adaptations that would be required

to integrate the new retirement system into the Foreign Service personnel process.

At this writing, AFSA is hopeful that both the Senate and House versions of the new retirement bill will contain a special section applicable to the Foreign Service. In addition to other special provisions, this would continue the present authorization for voluntary retirement with no reduction in annuity at age 50 with 20 years' service and it would also permit the department to continue administering the Foreign Service retirement program, as it has from the beginning.

By the time this report appears in print, we will be better able to evaluate the chances of a new supplemental retirement bill's being enacted within present time limitations, as well as to calculate how its terms would eventually translate into actual post-retirement income levels for the new and future generations of Foreign Service employees.

Life & Love in the Foreign Service



"What do you mean they're all your clothes? I can't wear this for the presentation of credentials!"
John M. Hotchner, Falls Church

Honorable mentions:

"But Charles, when I married you, you never said we couldn't take our household effects as accompanied baggage"
Gary Cook, Washington

"My dear, I wish there were some easy way to tell you that our home leave has been canceled."
Mary Ann Lundy, Washington

Winners of the monthly LIFE & LOVE contest receive a certificate for a free lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club. Honorable mentions receive a free carafe of wine with a meal.

Mail entries to:

*LIFE AND LOVE #27
AFSA
2101 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037*

Competition #27





Managing Your Money

Assigning Power of Attorney

By **FRANCES J. CHETWYND, Attorney at Law**

Paul Perfect was a Foreign Service officer assigned to a Central American country. His wife, Gina, had not accompanied him to post, and he sometimes worked at the embassy quite late into the evening. On the night of June 5, 1985, he left the embassy about 10 p.m. He chatted briefly with the Marine guard while waiting for an embassy car to pull up to the entrance. The guard saw him get into the car and saw the car drive away. He noticed nothing unusual.

Paul never made it home that night. The embassy car was found abandoned the following day in a slum on the outskirts of the city. The next day, newspapers in the capital received stencilled copies of a flier in which a group calling itself the Urban

Guerrilla Army asserted that they had taken prisoner "a subversive tool of the American imperialists." A week or so after that, Gina received an envelope in the mail containing a Polaroid photo of a man resembling Paul, his head heavily bandaged. There was no written message with the photograph. No one has heard from Paul since.

Although the above is fictitious, it is not much different than events appearing on a distressingly regular basis in our daily newspapers. The perils of Paul will be used below to demonstrate some points that Foreign Service families should be aware of concerning the legal rights and obligations of various parties in a kidnapping situation.

First, some additional facts:

Let us assume that in 1979, before leaving for an earlier overseas assignment, Paul and Gina each executed a general power of attorney giving the other "full power and authority to do and perform each and every act necessary for the management of my affairs." While Paul was in Central America, his paychecks were deposited into his personal checking account—not a joint account. Paul continued to pay the mortgage, about \$1200 a month, on their Maryland home, and Gina and the children continued to live there. Gina, who was also employed, took care of other household expenses, although Paul occasionally contributed when expenses were particularly heavy. Paul also sent Gina occasional checks for

her to deposit into a money market account to which they both contributed and which they owned as joint tenants with right of survivorship. They had agreed between themselves that funds in the money-market account would not be used for regular expenses, but could be used for emergencies.

■ A Power of Attorney can be used to make withdrawals from a bank account owned by the principal. Please note that the person who gives a power of attorney is the principal, the person accepting is the attorney in fact. After Paul's disappearance, Gina had trouble making the mortgage payments from her own funds. When she was no longer able to carry this added expense, she contacted the manager of the bank where each of them had maintained separate checking accounts, showed the manager the general power of attorney that Paul had given her in 1979, and explained her need to write checks on Paul's account. The manager approved the use of the power of attorney, and bank records were revised to show that Gina's signature was an authorized signature with respect to Paul's account.

Gina was lucky to find an understanding bank manager. There is no rule that requires anyone to accept a power of attorney. Since the power of attorney Gina presented was already six years old, and since the couple was apparently separated even though not legally separated, the bank manager might have concluded that the power of attorney was insufficient evidence that Paul truly intended Gina, six years later, to have full access to his assets.

■ A power of attorney is not needed to make withdrawals from a jointly owned account. In unusual circumstances, a third party may require a power of attorney—as the State Department does before allowing dependents to cash checks at post. Had Gina chosen to do so, she could have withdrawn funds from their money market account without using the power of attorney, since she was a joint owner of the account. The disappearance, incapacity, or even death of one owner of a jointly

Assurances on mid-level course

The Association has received the State Department's assurance that its cancellation of the mid-level course will not disadvantage employees who ordinarily would need the course in order to be promoted to the FS-2 level.

Furthermore, according to an agreement AFSA worked out with the department, personnel who miss the course because of the restructuring of the mid-level program will have an opportunity to take it as soon as possible.

Overseas employees who were scheduled to take the course will receive priority attention for reassignment, according to the agreement. Some 32 have already been given other posts, and economic officers among those needing reassignment—as well as others with the required background—will be given the opportunity to attend the eight-week functional economic course in January.

AFSA Appreciates...



Caroline Osterling, who retired after three years on the JOURNAL Editorial Board, the last as its chair. Pictured above, AFSA President Gerald Lambery presents a certificate of appreciation to Osterling, who was cited for "significant contributions to the publication and the profession it serves."

owned account does not impair the right of the other to withdraw funds if the account is one in which both owners have survivorship rights.

■ *But what happens if family members do not have a power of attorney, or if a financial institution does not accept it?* Suppose Paul had not given Gina a power of attorney, could she have gotten access to Paul's account or obtained the authority to take other actions necessary for the management of his affairs? In Maryland she could have done so by filing a petition in the Circuit Court for the county in which she resided, stating that Paul was the "disabled person" within the meaning of Maryland statutes. (Under Maryland law, the definition of "disabled person" includes persons unable to manage their own affairs due to "imprisonment, confinement, detention by a foreign power, or disappearance.") The petition would have asked the court to appoint her as guardian of Paul's estate—i.e., to manage his financial affairs—during the period of his "disability."

If she were appointed guardian, Gina would have authority to take many kinds of actions for the management of Paul's affairs. This would include the authority to use Paul's assets "for the benefit of persons legally dependent upon the disabled person" (such as herself and their children). With the approval of the court, she could also use Paul's assets "for the benefit of other persons maintained and supported in whole or in part" by her husband (such as, for instance, Paul's elderly parents). If she needed to take a major step such as sale of their jointly owned home, she could ask the court to issue an order specifically authorizing her to take this action. However, she would have to account to the court regularly for her management of Paul's assets and would be required to "exercise the care and skill of a [person] of ordinary prudence" in dealing with Paul's affairs. She would be entitled to compensation from Paul's assets for the time she spent managing his affairs, but the court would have to approve such payments.

Upon Gina's presentation of

proper proof of court appointment as a guardian (usually a letter of appointment issued by the court), a bank or any other institution having assets belonging to Paul under its control would allow Gina access to them. A bank acting pursuant to a power of attorney runs the risk that the person who made the power of attorney may have revoked it or repudiated it. But a bank action pursuant to a court order appointing a guardian is taking almost no risk at all. It is difficult for anyone to challenge actions taken by a person properly authorized by court appointment or order.

■ *But what happens if there is no person who clearly should be authorized to act for the "disabled" person?* Suppose there were real animosity between Gina and Paul, and that members of Paul's family felt there was a risk that she would dissipate his assets for her own purposes, or that for other reasons—such as inexperience—she was not adequately qualified to manage his affairs. In such a case, other family members could challenge Gina's petition for appointment as a guardian and could file petitions of their own. The court would then consider the matters placed before it by all parties and would appoint the person or combination of persons who seemed best qualified. If no family member were qualified, the court might appoint a disinterested third person such as an attorney or an accountant. Such a person would, of course, expect compensation, but again, court approval would be required.

■ *Guardianship statutes vary from state to state.* Suppose Paul and Gina had lived not in Maryland but in D.C. or Virginia. The situation with respect to use of the power of attorney would be pretty much the same. But if Paul had not given Gina a power of attorney, or if the power of attorney were not honored, the situation would be different. There is no statutory provision in either Virginia or D.C. providing for the appointment of a guardian of the estate of a person disabled by reason of kidnapping or detention by a foreign power. (There is proposed legislation pending in

the District that would correct this situation.) In Virginia and D.C., statutes provide for the appointment of a guardian only in more conventional circumstances, such as disability because of mental illness or disappearance. Consequently, if Gina were to file a petition for appointment as guardian of Paul's estate in D.C. or Virginia, she would first have to convince a court that it should take jurisdiction of the case even though it had no clear statutory authority to do so. Most probably, the court would take jurisdiction and make the necessary appointment, but the procedure would be more difficult than in Maryland.

Some conclusions:

■ *Powers of Attorney:* If you are going overseas, particularly to an area where there is a significant risk of terrorism, you may be well advised to give a general power of attorney to a trusted person to enable him or her to manage your affairs. However, you should be aware that a general power of attorney gives extremely broad powers to the person you appoint. Your attorney in fact may be able to use the power to take money out of your bank accounts; sell stocks or bonds that you own, and to purchase others in your name; sell personal property belonging to you, such as automobiles, jewelry, etc.; dispose of your business interests; sign tax returns or other legal documents prepared on your behalf; and accept legacies or gifts on your behalf. In some (but not all) states, a power of attorney may also be used for real estate transactions.

Because a general power of attorney gives such broad powers, you should talk the matter over carefully with your proposed attorney in fact to make sure that both of you understand and agree to the terms of the appointment. Further, you should limit the power by making it valid for a set time period. This gives you some protection against unauthorized use far in the future, and also makes it more likely that any institution to which it is presented will find it persuasive evidence of authority.

If you have a complex family situation, a general power of at-

torney giving unrestricted powers of a single individual may not be appropriate for you. In such a case, you may wish to make a power of attorney that sets out defined powers, or it may be better not to give a power of attorney at all.

■ *Guardianship Affidavit.* An alternative to a power of attorney is a guardianship affidavit. This is an affidavit designed to assist a court if at some point in the future it is asked to appoint a guardian for you. The affidavit might nominate a particular person or persons as guardian or state the qualifications you would like the guardian to have. It might contain a list of your assets such as bank accounts, insurance policies, stocks and bonds, business interests, and real property, particularly any that might be overlooked. It might include your wishes with respect to particular items, e.g., that particular assets not be sold unless absolutely necessary. It should set out any limits that you would want a court to impose on the guardian's exercise of his or her discretion—such as a direction that a child's college expenses be paid only up to a certain figure—and it should be drawn up with appropriate state statutory provisions in mind. A guardianship affidavit will not be useful for short-term emergencies or general non-emergency use, but in case of kidnapping or a similar terrorist act would provide a clear indication of your wishes that would be of assistance to everyone concerned in setting up procedures to handle your affairs as you would wish to have them handled.

Although no amount of preparation can guarantee absolutely trouble-free support for your dependents and management of your assets if you are the victim of a kidnapping or similar act, planning ahead can avoid some of the obvious difficulties and make things easier for those who will be responsible for managing your affairs.

Frances J. Chetwynd, an attorney with the Washington firm of Cole, Raywid & Braverman, frequently lectures at the Overseas Briefing Center on legal problems confronting Foreign Service families.

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